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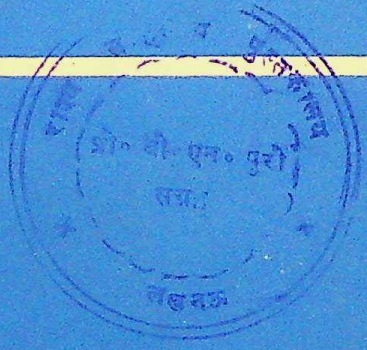
An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism

HINDU WORLD



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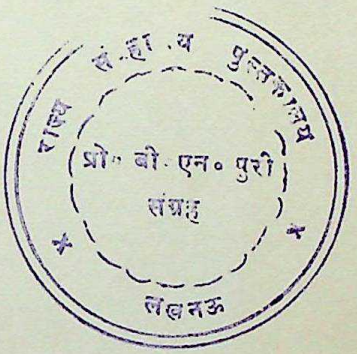

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HINDU WORLD

AN ENCYCLOPEDIC SURVEY OF HINDUISM

by

BENJAMIN WALKER

in two volumes

VOLUME I A–L

London
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
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PREFACE

The substance of this book is derived largely from the standard works of recognized authorities, supplemented by material drawn from traditional Indian sources. It contains much that is not easily obtainable without access to a large specialist library, and its chief justification is that it is the only work of its kind. While there do exist several reference books on various aspects of Hinduism, there is no single work that covers the whole field, and *Hindu World* is the first attempt to do so.

This does not mean that every byway of the vast panorama of Hinduism has been described here in all its scholastic variora. The wealth of data found in the authoritative writings on Hinduism have indeed been utilized in the compilation of the present work, but this has naturally had to be modified and condensed to suit its objectives. Imperfections of scholarship will be apparent to the specialists in their respective fields, and I hope they will pardon the occasional liberty I may have taken in my treatment of their evidence, and that my own non-specialist status will mitigate their understandable vexation if they find that I have skimped a subject to which they have devoted a lifetime.

Hindu World has been subjected to a continuous check for clearness and accuracy, but discrepancies will necessarily remain as long as there is no unanimity about the facts. Thus, little attempt is made to reconcile dates for the early historical period since traditional dates frequently differ from those given by modern scholars. Even for the recent period the fixing of dates is full of hazards. It will be observed that the etymology of Sanskrit terms given here is often based on commentarial tradition, and I have thought it preferable to retain this version so as to preserve an ancient concept which might otherwise be obscured by a newer interpretation. The translation of Sanskrit words and names might at times appear clumsy, but neatness of expression had occasionally to be sacrificed to obtain verbal exactitude. For example, *nish-kāma-karma* is rendered 'non-desire-activity', rather than 'service without reward', in order to indicate the literal meaning in the sequence of the original. An effort has been made to interrelate all connected articles by cross references, so that any subject may be read in its entirety if desired. An asterisk against a word signifies that there is a separate article under that heading. A reference to the Index will provide helpful ideas for further reading.

It is my pleasant duty to tender a word of special thanks to Mr Gerald Yorke for his patience and faith in this project. At every stage of the writing he was at hand with friendly advice and it was he who urged the book along those channels that make a publishable proposition out of an author's lucubrations. This work owes more than I can express to his guidance and mediation.

To Dr David Friedman of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, another great obligation is due. When the final bulky typescript was put into his hands he directed to it a keen and critical mind,

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particularly to the articles on philosophy and Buddhism. I have made the fullest use of his searching observations, but I must absolve him from the blame for any faults that remain.

It must again be emphasized that this book is the fruit of the labours of a host of devoted scholars who have done the spade work in delving into primary sources. My own function has largely been to garner their harvests and make such appraisals as are within my competence. The names of these scholars will be found in the bibliographies, which will also serve as a rough guide to the chief sources from which I have drawn my material. I express my indebtedness to them, one and all. If an occasional echo of their writings is heard in my own work without acknowledgment I hope they will be charitable enough to forgive the inadvertence.

BENJAMIN WALKER

January 21, 1968

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Key to the pronunciation of transliterated Sanskrit letters

a as in b*u*t
ā as in f*a*r
ai as in *ai*sle
au as in h*ou*se
b as in *b*at
bh as in a*bh*or
ch as in *ch*urch
chh as in chur*chh*ouse
d as in *d*o (dental, see note below)
ḍ as in *d*o (cerebral, see note below)
dh as in ma*dh*ouse (dental)
ḍh as in mu*dh*ut (cerebral)
e as in r*a*y
g as in *g*ood
gh as in log*h*ut
h as in *h*at
ḥ an aspirate followed by a short echo of the preceding vowel; thus saḥ would be pronounced sa-ha; tiḥ, ti-hi
i as in f*i*t
ī as in *ee*l
j as in *j*udge
jh as in jud*geh*ouse
k as in *k*ite
kh as in in*kh*orn
l as in *l*ong
m as in *m*ill
ṁ or ṃ a pure nasal (*boṁ* would be pronounced like the French *bon*)
n as in *n*o (dental)
ṇ as in *n*il (cerebral)
ṅ as in si*ng* (guttural)
ñ as in si*ng* (palatal)
o as in n*o*te
p as in *p*in
ph as in u*ph*ill
r as in *r*oad
ṛi as in *r*ill (this should be trilled)
s as in *s*un
ś as in *sh*ell
sh as in *sh*un (lusher than the *ś* sound)
t as in *T*om (dental)
ṭ as in *T*om (cerebral)
th as in an*th*ology (dental)
ṭh as in an*th*ill (cerebral)
u as in p*u*ll
ū as in f*oo*l
v as in *v*oice
y as in *y*et

Note: cerebrals (ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ) are pronounced with the tongue retroflexed, i.e. turned up and back against the roof of the mouth
dentals (t, th, d, dh, n) are pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper front teeth.

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VOLUME I

ĀBHĪRA, an immigrant, probably non-Aryan tribe of ancient India, concerning whose history there are abundant but extremely confused records. The *Mahābhārata* describes them as *dasyus* (slaves) and *mlechchhas* (barbarians) coming from the northwest. Some incline to the view that they were Central Asian nomads of Scythian stock. They founded a principality with the capital named after them, Ahichhatra (or Ahirkshetra or Abhirkshetra), in Bareilly District, afterwards taken over as the capital of the Northern Pañchālas. In the fanciful genealogy so characteristic of Manu, the Ābhīras were the offspring of brāhmins and women of the Ambashṭha tribe. They have been confused with the Śūra (or Śūdra) tribe, and have also been termed Śūrābhīra. It has further been suggested that their land was Ophir of the Bible, and also that the Vedic goddess Gāyatrī* was possibly an Ābhīra *gopī* maiden. Other authorities think that the Ābhīras entered India some time during the confusion which followed Alexander's death; they settled on the banks of the Indus and gave their name to the Greek satrapy of Abira. Here, it is thought, some centuries later, they may have come in contact with the first Christian* missionaries of St Thomas from whom they learned something of the life of Christ.

The Ābhīras are frequently mentioned in legends concerning Kṛishṇa. In these stories they are referrred to as a tribe of agriculturists and cowherds, whose pretty gopī maidens attracted the deity. In the *Padma Purāṇa*, Vishṇu exclaims, 'I shall be born among you, O Ābhīras, at Mathurā', a promise which was fulfilled in the birth of Kṛishṇa. The same Purāṇa speaks of the Ābhīras as great philosophers. The Ābhīras brought with them the worship of a boy-god of humble birth, together with legends of his divine origin, of a massacre of innocents, his discussions with learned priests and his encounter with demons in boyhood. Says Bhandarkar, 'It is possible they brought with them the name of Christ also, and this name probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa'. The importance of this tribe is further emphasized by A. P. Karmarkar who believes that the *Bhagavadgītā* represents a shrewd amalgamation by the Aryans of non-Aryan Ābhīra lore with their own teachings.

The *Mahābhārata* relates a curious incident that occurred after Kṛishṇa's death. When the surviving Yādavas, under Arjuna's leadership, were being led away from the doomed city of Dvārakā, they were attacked and defeated, and their women captured by the 'thieving and murderous Ābhīras'; a con-

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siderable victory for any tribe to have achieved over the chief hero of the *Mahābhārata*.

In the course of their wanderings the Ābhīras encamped on the Sarasvatī river which, it is said, disappeared underground in abhorrence of them. Subsequently they established an extensive principality in Saurāshṭra and Mālwā, and later a short-lived kingdom in Nāsik in northern Mahārāshṭra. In the period between the third and tenth centuries the history of the Ābhīras becomes extremely confused, both in brāhminical records and epigraphic inscriptions. They begin to be associated with ancient dynasties such as the Chedis and Haihayas, and are probably to be identified with the Kalachuri (or Kaṭachuri) dynasty, one of whose rulers inaugurated the Kalachuri or Chedi era* in AD 249.

The Ābhīras appear at various times in the dynastic chronicles of the kings of western, central and even south India. In some records their identity is merged with that of pious brāhminical rulers, and in others they are described as desecrators of the ancient religion. Thus one principality in Saurāshṭra was ruled by the Ābhīra, Grāharipu (*c.* AD 950), described as a mlechchha chief who ate beef and practised anti-brāhminical activities. The Kalachuri prince Bijjala (fl. 1156) who ruled at Tripurī in Madhya Pradesh, patronized the Liṅgāyat leader Basava.

The name Ābhīra has survived in a tribe of their descendants, the mild and easy-going Āhīr (the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Ābhīra) who are mainly cowherds, carpenters, and goldsmiths; today found scattered over northern India as far east as Bihār.

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VI. Vasu, S. B. *Ancient Tribes of India*, 1913.

ADITI, 'the unbounded'. Ṛig-vedic goddess, personification of the infinite and universal expanse. She is the supporter of the sky, the sustainer of existence, and the nourisher of the earth, often represented as a cow. Her antithesis or complement in the Vedas is the goddess Diti*.

Aditi is sometimes spoken of as self-existing, or again as the mother of Daksha. In the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* she is the daughter of Daksha, wife of Kaśyapa, and mother of Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation. In another context she is the wife of Vishṇu. Devakī the mother of Kṛishṇa is one of her incarnations, and in one legend Kṛishṇa recovers for her the earrings that had been stolen by the *asura* Naraka during the Churning of the Ocean. Aditi is also the mother of several major gods and as such she is addressed as Devamātṛi, mother of the gods. Eight sons were born from the body of Aditi. She ap-

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proached the gods with seven but cast away the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, the sun. These seven children of hers are collectively called the Ādityas.

The *Āditya* were celestial deities led by Varuṇa, who was *the* Āditya, and like Aditi they personified the infinite expanse. Originally seven in number they were later increased to eight and then to twelve, representing the twelve signs of the zodiac. Their names vary in different texts, but several are names of the sun, such as Aṁśa, Mārtāṇḍa, Savitṛi and Vivasvat. The Ādityas include Indra, Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Rudra, Pūshan and Tvashṭṛi. Among the lesser and almost forgotten Ādityas are:

Aryaman, of Indo-Iranian origin who was associated in the early Ṛig-vedic hymns with Varuṇa and Mitra. The worship of 'the glorious Aryaman' was already on the decline when the Aryans entered India. His name is also borne by certain godlings*, by one of the *pitṛis*, and by one of the Viśvadevas.

Bhaga, another Āditya, was a bestower of good fortune and may have been one of the earliest deities of the *bhakti** creed.

Dhātṛi, 'maker', Ṛig-vedic deity associated with health and healing, and the mending of broken bones; his name was later applied to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa.

Parjanya, lesser Vedic god of rain, clouds, storms and fertility, to whom three Ṛig-vedic hymns are addressed.

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II. Vaidya, D. *Hindu Myths and Their Meaning*, 1902.

See also under Mythology.

ADULTERY. The Hindu attitude towards adultery has varied considerably from age to age and from place to place. In general the transgression of the male did not greatly matter, and the lawgivers held it to be an offence for which no redress was available to the wife since, according to Manu, even if the husband regularly seeks other female companionship 'still he is a great deity'. Moral laxity was not generally condoned with 'base wombs', and it is said that the largest temple in Conjeeveram was built by a brāhmin in expiation for the crime of having committed adultery with a low-caste woman.

A number of ancient legends preserve details of a polygamous* and promiscuous* society in the Vedic age. Such are the tales of Satyakāma, of Draupadī and Kuntī. The beautiful Sarmishṭhā (*see* Yayāti) observed that there was no difference between one's own husband and the husband of a friend (I, p. 30). The sage Dīrghatamas, son of Utathya* encouraged his wife's promiscuity and lived on her earnings. From the story of Uddālaka* we learn that he explained to his son Śvetaketu that the sharing of women in common was an ancient custom and there was nothing wrong with it. In another context, however, Uddālaka insists that a wife should not have a secret lover, and if there was such a lover, the husband was advised to prepare a sacrifice and pronounce the following curse against him: 'You have put a libation in my fire. Therefore do I take away your in-breath and your out-breath, your sons and your cattle'.

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The *Mahābhārata* relates that Pāṇḍu, precluded by a curse from having sexual connection with his wife, tells her to seek another man for the sake of progeny. He explains to her,

'Formerly women were not bound in fidelity to their husbands, and they could go about enjoying themselves as they wished and were not considered sinful. This was the practice from ancient times and received the sanction of illustrious ṛishis fully acquainted with the rules of morality'.

The frequent references to women having a *jāra* or paramour would confirm the view that illicit love was by no means unusual (IX, p. 85). The birth of illegitimate children and their disposal by various means are mentioned in Vedic hymns (VIII, p. 10). Further proof of the tolerant attitude to free love is found in a detail of a *soma** ritual called *varuṇa-praghāsa*, performed at the beginning of the rainy season, in which the wife of the sacrificer is questioned about her love affairs and her lovers. Keith alludes to a Vedic rite that is to be performed 'when a man desires his wife to have lovers in plenty during his absence from her side'. The *Mahābhārata* states that the women of Māhishmatī had the privilege of free sexual relations with anyone they pleased without restriction. In a Ṛig-vedic hymn known as the *Gambler's Lament*, the gambler's wife is referred to as the object of other men's embraces. The wives of bards, actors, musicians and certain other professions were popularly regarded as being available for all who were able to pay for their services.

In the Mauryan age, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* permitted wives to contract temporary unions in the event of prolonged absence of the husband. In an earlier age, Kṛishṇa, we are told, was particularly well-disposed to women who left their husbands to come to him. In certain tantrik sects married women could be used by other members of the ritual group if the lot fell to them. It may be said that a form of legalized adultery was inherent in the age-old custom of *niyoga* (levirate*), which allowed sexual intercourse of a wife or widow with her male relations, with priests and even outsiders for the sake of progeny. It is also seen in the custom that prevailed in certain parts of ancient and medieval India which gave kings the right to enjoy the wives and daughters of their subjects (*see* Virginity).

Mūladeva, the authority on *kāmaśāstra*, wrote a complete treatise on the art of stealing other men's wives; while the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana similarly devotes an entire section to the technique of seducing married women. Bābhravya, Vātsyāyana's predecessor held that a woman's chastity should be respected until she was known to be intimate with five lovers (not counting her husband). In fact some schools like that of Yājñavalkya held that the transgression of a married woman, unless it bore fruit, was washed away by the next menstrual flow.

A surprising form of adultery occurs in the *guru-kula* educational* system. Normally the guru or preceptor was regarded as the pupil's father, and the guru's wife as the *chela's* mother, and dire penalties were imposed for the 'pollution of the guru's bed' by the chela. Sarkar, however, states that 'the brāhmin disciple indeed was often regarded by the preceptor's wife as being in the status of her husband'. The story of Uttaṅka's cohabitation with his guru's wife (while the guru was away) so as not to waste her *ṛitu* (*see* Men-

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struation), suggests that this relationship between pupil and preceptor's wife was allowed to be carried to the stage of intimacy.

Generally, however, after the Revival, all orthodox forms of Hindu society regarded adultery on the part of the wife as a serious matter, infringing the code of honour, the law of property, and often the rule of caste. The penalty for unfaithfulness varied a good deal. Women who were seduced suffered the same fate as their seducer. According to Manu punishment for the guilty pair was death by torture (brāhmin men were exempted). He ordained that a woman guilty of adultery be sentenced 'to be devoured by dogs in a place frequented by many'. Death in some form was the prescribed punishment, to be carried out by the husband. If he did not choose to take this extreme measure, she was to be banished from the village without being given the means to live. Before her banishment her head was shaved and she was made to ride through the streets, mounted on a donkey, with her face turned towards the tail. Or she had to stand up in a public place with a basket of ordure on her head. In some cases an adulterous woman had her nose and ears cut off (IV, p. 73).

This rigid code has of course been greatly mitigated by the present laws which in certain circumstances permit divorce* to husband or wife, on grounds of adultery by the other partner.

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ADVAITA (*a-dvaita*, 'non-dualism') the doctrine of monism, which teaches that only the Ultimate Principle is integral, whole and 'unsplit' (*abheda*). This Ultimate Principle alone has real existence, and all phenomena are either illusive (*māyā*) or ephemeral, although the illusion may be dispelled by insight or knowledge* (*jñāna*). The term is used in opposition to *dvaita* (or *bheda*), 'dualism', which holds that the Soul, of which the individual soul is a part, is a separate principle, with an independent existence of its own, and is only associated with or stands in particular relation to the Ultimate Principle. In other words, that there are two eternal realities, the Ultimate Principle and the Soul.

Many types of advaita and dvaita have been posited in Hindu philosophy, of which the chief are: the advaita of the Vedānta school, especially of Śaṅkara*, which Vallabha criticized as *kevala-advaita*, 'merely-monism', since it was a strictly non-dualistic concept, recognizing only Brahman and

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categorically negating the existence of the individual soul; the *viśishṭ-ādvaita*, 'qualified monism' of Rāmānuja*, which makes the human soul a distinct, if subordinate, reality; the dvaita or 'dualism' of Madhva*, which holds Brahma and the individual soul to be separate and distinct; the *dvaitādvaita*, 'dualistic monism' of Nimbārka*, according to which the soul is a reality distinct from but dependent on Brahma; the *śuddh-ādvaita* or 'pure monism' of Vallabha*, which postulates that the soul is permitted by Brahma to have a distinct individuality; the *bhedābheda*, 'different (yet) not-different', teaching of Chaitanya* and the Pāśupatas, which states, 'as fire and sparks, so Brahma and the soul'.

There are three periods of development in advaita philosophy: first, the pre-Śaṅkara period ranging from the Upanishads, the Brahma-sūtras and Gauḍapāda to Śaṅkara; second, the philosophy of Śaṅkara himself; and third, the post-Śaṅkara advaita philosophers such as Padmapāda, Sureśvara, Vāchaspati Miśra and others.

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AEON. Like all his creatures the god Brahmā himself has a fixed span of existence. A 'day' of Brahmā i.e. a day-and-night, is termed in Sanskrit *kalpa*, 'aeon' (see below), and is divided into a number of lesser periods called *manvantara* because a Manu* presides over each division. Such is the divine reckoning, but for mortals the kalpa is more conveniently measured in *yugas*. Considerable confusion exists in regard to the duration of the kalpas, manvantaras and yugas, though attempts have been made to co-ordinate the several, originally separate, systems.

A yuga is an 'age' of mankind, and there are four such ages, named after the throws of the Indian dice game, 'four', 'three', 'deuce' and 'ace'. Each yuga is shorter than the preceding one and is marked by progressive degeneration in the vitality and morals of mankind. This notion of yugas is believed to have been derived from the age concept of Jainism*. The four yugas are:

Kṛita-yuga, characterized by truth (hence also called *satya-yuga*) and righteousness. It is the Golden Age, without envy, malice, deceit, sorrow, pride, hatred, cruelty or other vices. All people belong to one caste (called the *haṁsa* caste), worship one deity, have a single Veda and one creed and are, without exception, brāhmins (hence the age is also referred to as *brahma-yuga*). The colour of the kṛita-yuga is white. Men live for 4,000 years and are physical and mental giants. There is no copulation and children, like all else, come by mere wishing.

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Treta-yuga, when the righteousness of the kṛita-yuga decreases by one fourth. The colour of the yuga is red, and its chief virtue is knowledge. The need for sacrifices and rituals begins to be felt, and men now seek reward for their work. There are now four Vedas instead of one. Men live for 3,000 years and procreation comes by touch.

Dvāpara-yuga, when righteousness exists in only half the measure of the kṛita-yuga. The colour of the yuga is yellow, the main virtue is sacrifice, and only a few adhere to duty or truth for its own sake. Disease, misery and calamity begin and the castes come into existence. The scriptures of this age are the Purāṇas. Men live 2,000 years, and progeny can only come by copulation, but this is pure and in accordance with the law: 'There is only one aperture, the vulva; there is only one vulva, the lawful wife's; there is only one time, the wife's *ṛitu* or time of desire'.

Kali-yuga, the present age of mankind, the first three ages of this kalpa having already elapsed. The kali-yuga began at midnight between February 17 and 18, 3102 BC at the time of the accession of Parīkshit son of Abhimanyu to the throne of Hastināpura. We are living in the sixth millennium of the kali-yuga and there are still almost 427,000 years to go before it is brought to an end, when Vishṇu will appear in the form of Kalki* and destroy the world by flood and fire. Righteousness is now one-tenth that of the kṛita-yuga. True worship and even sacrifice have ceased. The scriptures are the Tantras, and the colour of the yuga is black. Men live to variable ages and few see a century of summers. It is a time of anger, hatred, lust, greed, passion, pride, strife, discord. There is universal viciousness and weakness. There are diseases; physical, mental and spiritual. Youth no longer respects its elders and there is an excessive preoccupation with things material and sexual. Homosexuality is rife. Men seek satisfaction outside the marriage bond, delighting in intercourse with the 'base apertures' of low-caste women, with beings of the third sex and even with animals; they resort to other men's wives and defile virgins. Women of loose morals far exceed in number the women of virtue.

Each yuga is preceded by a period called its *saṁdhyā*, 'morning twilight', and is followed by a period called the *saṁdhyāṁśa*, 'evening twilight'. After the last saṁdhyāṁśa i.e. of the present kali-yuga, the earth will be destroyed and the four yugas start again after an interval. The calculation of kalpas in ordinary, solar or mortal years is as shown in the table overleaf.

The total of these four yugas makes one *maha-yuga*, 'great yuga', which is equal to 12,000 god-years or 4,320,000 solar years. A maha-yuga is sometimes called a *manvantara* (*see* Manu). One thousand maha-yugas make one *ardha-kalpa*, 'half-kalpa', or 4,320,000,000 mortal years, which is the duration of one day or one night of Brahmā. Two ardha-kalpas or 8,640,000,000 mortal years make one *kalpa* which completes the Day (i.e. a night-and-day) of Brahmā.

At the end of each mahā-yuga the world is destroyed by flood and fire, in a cosmological event known as *laya*, or dissolution. Each laya-phase is a passive one and is thought to be one of reabsorption, when our world re-enters the mind of Brahmā and all manifestation is dormant. Then the world is re-

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	god-years (one god-year = 360 solar years)	*solar or mortal years*	
kṛita-yuga saṁdhyā	400	144,000	
kṛita-yuga	4,000	1,440,000	
kṛita-yuga saṁdhyāṁśa	400	144,000	
			1,728,000
treta-yuga saṁdhyā	300	108,000	
treta-yuga	3,000	1,080,000	
treta-yuga-saṁdhyāṁśa	300	108,000	
			1,296,000
dvāpara-yuga saṁdhyā	200	72,000	
dvāpara-yuga	2,000	720,000	
dvāpara-yuga saṁdhyāṁśa	200	72,000	
			864,000
kali-yuga saṁdhyā	100	36,000	
kali-yuga	1,000	360,000	
kali-yuga saṁdhyāṁśa	100	36,000	
			432,000
	12,000		4,320,000

created anew and the mahā-yuga starts again, beginning with the first kṛita-yuga dawn of a new cycle. This phase is known as *sṛishṭi*, 'discharge', or the beginning of creation. Sṛishṭi is an active phase and is followed by a phase called *sthiti*, 'preservation', or 'evolution', during which the four yugas progress through their allotted spans.

The succession of sṛishṭi (creation), sthiti (evolution) and laya (dissolution) continues till the close of the day-half of the kalpa (i.e. one ardha-kalpa), when there is a greater dissolution called *pralaya*, 'chaos', involving the material universe and the lesser gods, after which Brahmā rests during his long night (the night half of the kalpa, i.e. one ardha-kalpa). On the following 'morning' there is a *pra-sṛishṭi* followed by a *pra-sthiti*, which are variations of the above sṛishṭi and sthiti, creation and evolution on a vaster, cosmic scale. A pra-sṛishṭi, pra-sthiti and pra-laya, constitute the duration of one kalpa, or full Day of Brahmā.

Brahmā lives for one hundred of his years, the present Brahmā being in the fifty-first year of his life. At the end of his existence there is to be a complete and universal conflagration known as the *mahā-pralaya*, 'great chaos', which destroys all gods, demons, and the whole cosmos, in which Brahmā himself perishes. After a further aeon as long as the life of Brahmā, during which chaos gradually subsides, another Brahmā is born, and the cycle of *mahā-pra-sṛishṭi*, 'great creation', and *mahā-pra-sthiti* recommences. And so the cycles are continued, ceaselessly and without end.

Books

See under Mythology.

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AESTHETICS has no equivalent in Sanskrit, but the term *chārutā*, 'pleasing' is sometimes used to designate the study of what is pleasurable, the laws underlying beauty, and the practical means of applying these laws with the purpose of creating or appreciating things that are outwardly beautiful.

In Hindu and Buddhist philosophy and religion, beauty was regarded as potentially dangerous since it was entirely a matter of sensuous perception. It was not regarded as a condition of the soul arising from participation in the eternal, and was thus quite unrelated to the higher levels of speculation. Buddha forbade the presentation of his *dhamma* (teachings) in attractive literary language. Buddhist legend tells of the monk Chittagutta, who lived in a monastery for sixty years and never once lifted up his eyes to look at the wonderful murals depicting scenes from the Buddha's life, lest his eyes take too sensual a delight in their beauty. In his classic *Viśuddhi-magga*, the Buddhist writer Buddhaghosha (fl. AD 430) denounced all painters, musicians, perfumers, cooks and elixir-prescribing physicians as purveyors of meretricious luxuries.

The Jains also warned against being deluded and enticed by pleasing forms in art and writing, into accepting ugly beliefs and evil doctrines. Several lawgivers placed under total condemnation all things likely to excite admiration or pleasure because of their beauty of outward form, whether literary, architectural or artistic. Beauty was a distraction and a lure, leading one away from the true perception of reality.

In secular literature on the other hand beauty was regarded as an end in itself. The chief concern of artistic or poetical activity was the creation of aesthetic pleasure, known as *chamatkāra* (surprise-making), which is the pleasurable astonishment arising from the contemplation of a thing beautifully created, or listening to a thought charmingly expressed. It manifests itself first as a gentle awareness of agreeable feelings, then an inward glow, followed by nervous excitement and exhilaration.

The relation of aesthetic norms to architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry (*see* poetics), drama and the minor arts was set forth on general principles and reduced to gnomic formulas for practical application. Ideas of proportion (*pramāṇa*), suggestion (*dhvani*) and gracefulness (*kānti*), and the techniques for achieving them were intricately worked out, and the mental attitude leading to aesthetic rewards elaborated with extreme subtlety.

Aesthetic emotions produced by musical, dramatic and recited works were dealt with under the moods of *anubhāva* (*see* Empathy), which themselves were intimately linked with the concepts of *guṇa* (qualities), *dosha* (defects) and similar metaphysical categories.

It is to be noted that the Indian aesthetic ideal was closely linked with ornamentation. The 'pure' structure was a mere skeleton, an ugly naked form which had to be embellished in order to be perfected. Poetry had to overflow with florid rhetoric, alliteration and ornate metaphors. The word for these rhetorical devices is *alaṁkāra*, 'enough-making', because without it the plain unadorned expression is 'not enough'. The Indian artist, it is said, had the *horror vacui*. In his eyes the wall panel, the stone gateway, the manuscript margin, were incomplete unless every bare area was exuberantly carved, decorated or painted in some way.

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ĀGAMA, that which has 'come down'; a tradition or spiritual teaching associated with the *avaidika* or 'non-Vedic' doctrines of Hinduism. The term is used in contradistinction to *nigama*, i.e. the pure Vedic text, or even Vedic doctrines like Vedānta. In general the term *āgama* is applied to the scriptures and theological manuals of the principal Hindu sects. They contain mythological, epic, ritualistic and metaphysical matter.

Śaivites traditionally list 28 āgamas and 108 *upāgamas* (lesser teachings) which constitute the common fund from which all Śaivite doctrine is drawn. Śaivites also sometimes distinguish between those treatises called the āgama, in which Pārvatī asks questions and Śiva answers, and the nigama (not to be confused with nigama in the sense referred to above) in which Śiva asks questions and Pārvatī answers.

The Śāktas recognize 77 āgamas, which are known as the Śaktāgamas or Tantras, although this figure does not indicate the number of Tantras actually in existence. The Vaishṇavas consider the Pañcharātra* āgamas to be authoritative, although they often refer to their scriptures as *saṁhitā*. The Jain āgamas collectively constitute the Jain canon.

Books

See under Jainism, Śaivism, Tantrism, Vaishṇavism.

AGASTYA, mahāṛishi, born together with Vasishṭha when the gods Varuṇa and Mitra let fall their seed at the sight of the beautiful nymph Urvaśī. Part of the combined seed was placed in a pot and from this came forth Agastya, who in the beginning was very small in size, not more than a span in length. In legend he remains dwarfish in stature, dark and un-Aryan in appearance, and is an adept in sorcery and witchcraft. His descendants, the Āgastya were often classed with the *rākshasas* (ogres).

Agastya was associated with the Deccan where he journeyed from the north. The story goes that the *ṛishis* once assembled in the Himālayas, but such was the weight of their wisdom that the earth started to sink. To redress this they asked Agastya who was heavier than the rest to go South, so that the earth's original position might be restored. From the Ganges Agastya took some water for the river Kāverī; from various ṛishis he took sons and daughters; from Dvārakā he took several ruling princes, and from other places gathered other classes of people making eighteen crores in all, which would suggest a veritable march of civilization from north to south.

Agastya was directed by the gods to check the arrogance of the Vindhya mountains which were daily growing higher and higher, were now taller than the Himālayas and threatened to obstruct the progress of the sun. On his way south Agastya therefore commanded the Vindhyas to prostrate themselves before him, which they did out of reverence for the sage, as a result of which they lost their original height. The mountains promised not to unbend until

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Agastya returned north after his southern pilgrimage. But the sage never came back and the Vindhya range has ever since remained bowed.

Agastya is 'lord of the southern region' of Bhārat, and his name is highly venerated in South India. Traditionally, he was the first teacher to bring the light of science and literature to the Dravidian peoples and was said to be the originator of Tamil grammar. Having committed these teachings to the Dravidians he retired to the inaccessible solitudes of Podiyil hill where he wrote works on medicine, astrology, sorcery and magic.

During the wars between the gods and demons, the demons once concealed themselves in the depths of the ocean. Annoyed with the ocean for permitting this, Agastya went to the shore, bent down and drank up all the waters. Later he restored the waters at the intercession of the gods, when the earth was in danger of drying up.

It is related that Agastya in a vision saw his ancestors suspended by their heels over a deep chasm, and was told that they could be saved only if he begat a son. In order to provide a suitable mate for himself he took the most desirable attributes from different birds, animals and flowers: the eyes of the doe, the grace of the panther, the slenderness of the palm-tree, the fragrance of the champak flower, the softness of the feathers on a swan's neck, and with these he fashioned a beautiful girl. This girl he named Lopāmudrā because the animals and plants suffered loss (*lopa*) in order to give her form (*mudrā*). To make his marriage regular he secretly introduced the girl into the palace of the king of Vidarbha where the child was taken for one of the king's daughters. When she was of marriageable age he claimed her hand. The 'father' was loath to consent but was obliged to yield to so powerful a suitor, and thus Lopāmudrā became Agastya's wife. She was a passionate girl and often complained of neglect and pleaded with her husband to relieve the tension of desire. Lopāmudrā was also called Kauśītaki, and Vara-pradā, 'boon granting'. A hymn in the *Ṛig-veda* is attributed to her.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Agastya is described as the chief of all hermits of the Deccan. He lived in his hermitage on Mount Kuñjara in the Vindhyas, and here he was visited by Rāma during the latter's exile. Agastya received Rāma with great kindness, gave him the bow of Vishṇu and offered him much wise counsel. Many were the rākshasas who infested the south but because of the power of Agastya 'they could only gaze upon but not possess the land'. The *Rāmāyaṇa* relates that the rākshasa Ilvala, son of Viprachitti, terrorized the Daṇḍaka forest where he lived. This ogre had an arrangement with his younger brother Vātāpi by which the latter would change himself into a ram, which would then be sacrificed, cooked and offered to guests and travellers who passed by. The meal over, Ilvala would summon his brother the ram, who would then burst forth from the stomachs of the guests and kill them, and Ilvala and the reassembled Vātāpi would feast on the bodies. They tried this trick on Agastya, but when Ilvala cried to Vātāpi to come forth, Agastya laughed out loud, 'broke wind like the noise of thunder' and exclaimed, 'Your brother is already digested'. Thereafter Ilvala became the slave of the sage.

Several Ṛig-vedic hymns are attributed to Agastya. He is one of the narrators of the *Brahmā Purāṇa*, and a writer on medicine. He is regent of the star Canopus which bears his name.

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Agastya was also called Agasti, Aurvaśīya (from Urvaśī), Ghaṭodbhava (pot-produced), Kalaśī-suta (pot-son), Kalaśī-yoni (pot-womb), Kumbha-saṁbhava (pot-produced), Maitrā-Varuṇi (from his two fathers), Māna (from his small size), Samudra-chuluka (because he drank the ocean by *chuluka*, 'handfuls'), Vindhya-kūṭa (from his deception of the Vindhyas).

Books

See under Mythology.

AGNI, god of fire (cf. Latin, *ignis*), a deity of Indo-Iranian origin worshipped in antiquity by Aryan nomads of Central Asia. More hymns are addressed to him in the *Ṛig-veda* than to any other god. He is variously called the son of Dyaus and Pṛithivī, of Kaśyapa and Aditi, of Aṅgiras, and of several other gods and sages. In one legend he is the oldest son of Brahmā, called Abhimānī; in another his mother is the semi-divine brāhmin woman Śāṇḍilī. He was both son and begetter of the gods and in him were comprehended all the divine host. He was the giver of good things and a relentless opponent of darkness and evil. With Indra and Sūrya he made up the Vedic triad of deities. Just as Indra's element was the air, and Sūrya's the sky, so Agni's was the earth. He was one of the *lokapālas* or guardians of the south-east quarter. At the command of Bhṛigu *agni*, or fire, was first brought down from heaven for the use of man by the Hindu Prometheus Mātariśvan, a wind godling.

Agni is depicted as three-headed, with either four or seven arms, and is often shown accompanied by a ram. He holds a flaming javelin; has seven tongues each one separately named, for licking up the butter used in sacrifices. His luminous chariot is harnessed with resplendent steeds, and driven by a golden-haired, red-limbed charioteer. The wheels of the chariot are the seven winds.

Agni was the personification of the three forms of fire, namely, the sun, the lightning and the sacrificial fire, and in the latter form was addressed as 'the prince of worship'. He was the source of the Vedas, possessing and knowing all created things, the mediator between men and gods, the protector of men and their homes. As witness of every action he was invoked on all solemn occasions. In the rite of cremation he assumed a more hideous form, being addressed as Kravyād, 'flesh-eating', a *rākshasa* or ogre, since he consumed the flesh of men.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Agni is described as having exhausted his strength by consuming too many offerings, and in order to restore his vigour he devoured the Khāṇḍava forest. This he did with the help of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna who were later rewarded for their services with celestial weapons.

A legend relates that once while the seven mahāṛishis were worshipping Agni he issued from the fire and beheld their wives and became hopelessly enamoured of them. Knowing they were unapproachable as the wives of powerful *ṛishis*, he wandered off dejectedly into the forest and here Svāhā, daughter of the arch-mage Daksha and Prasūti, saw him and fell in love with him. Assuming the guise of each of the ṛishi's wives in turn she lay with Agni. The form of the ṛishi's seventh wife, Arundhatī (wife of Vasishṭha) could not be assumed in time, so Svāhā gathered the seeds from the first

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six emissions and put them into a golden vessel, and in time there was born Kārttikeya or Skanda, the war-god, with six heads. The tale of Skanda's origin from Śiva is, however, better known (*see* Kārttikeya). The story continues that a wandering celestial saw Agni lying with what he believed to be the ṛishi's wives and reported the matter to the sages, who banished their consorts. The seventh wife was not suspected and was allowed to remain with her husband. She is seen as the small star near the Great Bear.

Agni's wife Agnāyī does not have much importance in mythology. His mistress and second wife Svāhā bore him Skanda, as related above, and three other sons, namely, Pāvaka, Pavamāna and Śuchi, who themselves had forty-five sons, and who with their father Agni make up the forty-nine members of the Agni family, identified with the forty-nine fires. The title of Āgneya or, Agniveśa, was given to the god's descendants and to various heroes, and ṛishis such as Agastya.

Another legend associated with Agni tells that he once wiped away the remainder of an oblation of ghee and threw it into the water (*ap*). From this three minor deities were created, known as the Āptya. They were named Ekata (first), Dvita (second) and Trita (third). One day while travelling through a desert Trita went to draw water from a well and his brothers, or certain *asuras*, threw him into the well and placed a cartwheel over the top. But this did not prevent his escaping, and it is to this incident that the *Ṛig-veda* refers when it says 'Indra broke through the defences of Vala as Trita through the covering of the well'.

Agni is also known as Abja-hasta, 'lotus in the hand'; Anala, 'fire'; Chhāga-ratha, 'ram-charioted'; Dhūma-ketu, 'smoke-forming'; Hutāśa or Huta-bhuj, 'devourer of offerings'; Jātā-veda, 'formed of the Vedas'; Pāvaka, 'bright'; Śuchi or Śukra, 'bright'; Sapta-jihva, 'seven-tongued'; Tomara-dhara, 'javelin-bearer'; Vahṇi, 'conveyer', i.e. of offerings; Vaiśvānara, 'belonging to all men'.

Books

See under Mythology.

AGNIHOTRA, 'fire-offering', an important Vedic rite which in its simplest form is a daily libation of milk into the *gārhapatya* (domestic) or the *āhavanīya* (sacrificial) fire, morning and evening by the householder. The *Mahābhārata* declares, 'As the king is the foremost among men, as the gāyatrī is the foremost among mantras, so is the *agnihotra* the foremost among the Vedic sacrifices.'

According to mythology, Prajāpati made twelve oblations to Agni, god of fire, from which many useful things arose, e.g. man, the horse, the cow, sheep, barley, the rainy season, etc. The thirteenth oblation was begun but not completed, resulting in the creation of evil powers, including icy winds, fog and hail. Therefore, in order to obviate any possible harm from the sacrifice, cold water or cold milk is often added to the pot of boiling milk that is used for the oblation so as to appease, soothe and temper the powers of Agni.

In its more elaborate forms various additional rites are performed to the accompaniment of mantras. The ceremony is concluded by taking a blade of

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darbha grass from a tuft previously laid aside, dipping it into the agnihotra milk, and throwing it into the āhavanīya fire. The agnihotra includes the ritual of *agnyupasthāna* (agni-upasthāna, 'fire-service'), i.e. the worship of the fires themselves, with invocations to the gārhapatya, āhavanīya and other fires.

An esoteric variant of this sacrifice was the *prāṇāgnihotra*, where the agnihotra became a sacrifice to the *prāṇa* (breath), in which the *vedi* (altar) was the sacrificer's heart, the fire was the officiant's mouth, the darbha grass the body hair, the offering made was by homage to the five breaths, and other such occult substitutions. An Upanishad* is named after this sacrifice.

Books

See under Sacrifice.

AGNIHOTRI, SHIV-NARAIN (1850-1923), Hindu reformer whose career may be taken as exemplifying the activities of numberless social and religious reformers who seceded from the larger progressive societies to form splinter groups of their own. Born near Kānpur of a distinguished brāhmin family, his early education was casual and he never acquired a facility in Sanskrit. At the age of sixteen he entered the Government Engineering College at Roorkee and later became drawing master in the Government School at Lahore.

At first he was interested in Vedānta; he then came under the influence of the Brahmo Samāj in Lahore, and in 1873 both he and his wife entered the Brahmo fold and rapidly rose to the front rank. In imitation of Salvation Army methods he organized a Brahmo Army. An eloquent and magnetic speaker he was convinced that he was born to lead, and his progress was not marked by any sense of humility. The samāj grew apprehensive lest he should declare himself a guru and the inevitable result was his resignation in 1887.

He founded the *Deva Samāj*, based on a divine revelation received by him as Guru and Prophet. In 1892 he declared, 'My mission is unique; I am free from sin. I am a ship of hope for elevating nations'. Those who joined his theistic samāj became partakers of the divine nature and often received a new name, suffixed by *deva* (for men) and *devī* (for women). The Universal Church of the future was to be known as the *Deva Rāj* or Kingdom of God. Much of its ideology was akin to the several reform movements then current in India, with slight theological and doctrinal variations.

In 1897 Agnihotri made a further radical shift in his beliefs. Aware that many social evils in India were buttressed by religion he discarded the idea of God, declared his samāj atheistic, and began to stress ethics and morals. For the godhead he substituted an impersonal law manifested in the *Deva Guru*, (himself), through whom a complete higher life, raised above the processes of degeneration and extinction, might be achieved.

In his later years he taught and practised spiritualism and claimed to have personal contact with the souls of the departed, and to have been the means of salvation of many who had gone on before. He himself was deified after

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death. Hymns are sung in his praise, his portrait garlanded and he is worshipped by his followers as *Satya Deva* or the True Divinity.

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AGNIVARṆA, a remote (twenty-second) descendant of Rāma, who typifies the unabashed slave of the fair sex. In the whole Solar dynasty there was no king so captivated by the charms of women as he. He acquired a love for them before puberty, and on attaining maturity devoted himself completely to their service. When he became king he found no time for government, neglected his duties, ignored his subjects, despised his courtiers, and counted his state functions a waste of precious time better spent in his harem. His days and nights were passed in amorous dalliance with his wives and concubines. He was unable to tear himself away from their caresses, and when his subjects and ministers wished to have a *darśan* (sight) of his royal person as was demanded by the *dharma* (law) he used to put his bare feet through the window for them to see and pay homage to his big toes.

He lamented the brevity of pleasure and frequently expressed the wish that he could multiply his body and live for ever, in full indulgence with females till the end of time. But it was the fate of this gynemaniac to die young, even before the birth of his first son. His chief queen who bore the child was proclaimed Regent and this sufficiently allayed her grief at the early demise of her spouse. The legend of this young man is retold in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, ostensibly to condemn the conduct of the royal reprobate, but actually in order to display Kālidāsa's own acquaintance with the arts of love.

The grandson of Agnivarṇa was Maru. Grieving for the lost days of kshattriya splendour when his famous ancestor Rāma had blazed an immortal trail in wars against asuras and ogres, and deploring the rapid decline of the great dynastic lines of yore, he retired to a cave in order to be ready, when the time was ripe, to reappear and become the progenitor of the princely caste of a new age. According to popular tradition he is said to be still living in the village of Kalāpa in a state of samādhi, awaiting a favourable moment to come forth and repeople the earth with true kshattriyas.

Sixth in descent from Maru's brother, and the last of the ancient Kosala kings of Ayodhyā, was *Bṛihadbala* who led the Kosala troops at Kurukshetra on the side of the Kauravas, and was slain by Abhimanyu son of Arjuna. A branch of the Kosala dynasty lived to carry on a long struggle with the kings of Kāśī (Banāras) and was finally absorbed by Magadha.

Books

See under Mythology.

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AHIṀSĀ, 'non-harming' or 'non-injury', ranks among the foremost virtues of the Hindu ethical* code, expressive of the sacredness of all life. In practice it means the relinquishing of all activities involving killing or the shedding of blood, and also abstinence from all animal flesh. In its most stringent form it implies living one's life without doing any hurt, physical, mental, emotional or moral, to any sentient being.

The doctrine was carried to extreme lengths by the Jains. With them it was based on the idea of the sinfulness of doing injury to things with three lives or *jīvas* (*see* Jainism), since *hiṁsā* (killing) is the worst of the eighteen great sins. Jains do not kill or eat any living thing. In certain Jain sects agriculture is forbidden lest the worms and snails that live in the soil be injured by the plough; a piece of cloth is tied over the mouth to prevent insects from flying in and being harmed; water is strained so that the minute organisms living in it are not swallowed; the path is swept before one with a broom to avoid accidentally treading on ants or other tiny creatures that might lie in the way. The hands or arms are never violently waved or flailed as that too is a source of disturbance and may cause damage.

The early Buddhists and Jains built hospitals for the care of animals, birds and even insects. Such institutions have survived through the centuries and are today known as *piñjrapol*. The English traveller Ralph Fitch, recording his travels in Bengal in the sixteenth century says,

'They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and for all other living creatures. When they be old or lame they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any live thing in other places and bring it to them, they will give him money for it or other victual, and keep it in the hospitals or let it go' (II, p. 24).

The sin of killing was especially heinous if it involved bloodshed, since blood, the principle of life, was filled with magical potency and its stain polluted the spirit. This notion led at times to strange practices, and the taboo against the shedding of blood even cast its shadow on the bridal bed. The kings of ancient Calicut used to pay priests to deflower their virgin wives for fear that the sins of causing pain and shedding blood would be on their heads (*see* virginity).

The doctrine of ahiṁsā is often held up as India's great contribution to ethics, though some authorities believe that the Chinese doctrine of non-violence played a significant part in the evolution of ahiṁsā in India (I, p. 15), and that whereas the Chinese doctrine was founded upon 'natural sympathy and active compassion', in India it was primarily a means of acquiring merit (*puṇya*), a device for self-promotion, a credit-earner in the treasuries of heaven. This fact is reflected in the name given to charitable medical institutions, namely, *puṇya-śālā*, 'merit-places'. In India the precept not to injure, 'does not arise from a feeling of compassion, but from the idea of keeping oneself undefiled from the world' (III, p. 80).

One view, although this cannot be accepted without reservation, is that in general Hindus, Buddhists and Jains have left the alleviation of suffering and sickness to the chances of casual charity. Pain was believed to be inherent in

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the very scheme of things, a link in the causal chain, and the sick were only suffering for the sins committed by them in a previous incarnation. There is, according to this view, little evidence of any humanitarian motive underlying the Jain and Buddhist institutions of hospitals for men and animals. It belongs not to the ethic of active love but to the discipline of achieving freedom from rebirth. And as for Hinduism, Albert Schweitzer remarks, 'The most ancient Hindu thought hardly knows sympathy with the animal creation'.

Ahiṁsā, 'non-injury', is a suggestive word, which brings out its passive character to the full. Here is no crusading mission of mercy, no forthright adventure of loving-kindness, but a neutral, 'aseptic' evacuation from the spirit of the will to hurt. Gandhi* carried ahiṁsā from the sphere of religion to the sphere of politics. With him it was a political expedient, depending upon and deriving its strength from the vast bulk of the Indian masses and the weight of numbers, so that it became in effect a form of brute force.

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AJANTĀ (or Ajaṇṭā), in Hyderābād, about 250 miles north-east of Bombay, is the site of twenty-nine Buddhist caves excavated in the rock. They consist of chapels (*chaityas*), monasteries (*vihāras*) and galleries extending for over a third of a mile in a sickle-shaped curve along the face of a cliff. The surroundings are extremely picturesque, the secluded site being ideal for a monastic retreat. Dating from about 150 BC to about AD 650 the caves are the work of the Vākāṭaka and early Chālukya kings. The work came to an end with the conquest of the Chālukya kingdom by the Pallavas.

There are actually two groups of caves, five Hīnayāna (Nos. 8 to 10, 12 and 13), and the rest Mahāyāna; the Mahāyāna group being excavated from the middle of the fifth century onwards. The vihāras vary in size, the largest, No. 4, is eighty-nine feet square. One, No. 6, is two stories high. The caves are embellished with horseshoe windows, colonnaded aisles, *dāgobas*, vaulted and ribbed roofs, antechambers, cisterns and finely chiselled statues, reliefs and friezes.

But above all it is the paintings on the walls of the caves that make Ajantā one of the finest memorials to Buddhism in India and have earned it world-wide renown.

Except for a few which date from about AD 150, all the murals belong to the half-century between AD 600 and 650. Technically the work is akin to tempera, not fresco. The rock wall was first evenly surfaced, then coated with a cement mixture made of earth, rice-husk, cowdung, pulverized rock, fibre and gum, over which was spread a ground of fine lime plaster. On this ground, which was kept damp as long as work was in progress, the paintings were executed. The artists, it is conjectured, worked in dim light reflected from outside by metal mirrors in order to avoid deposits of soot from torches.

Like much Indian painting, that of Ajantā tends to be decorative, and might be said to represent the perfection of the primitive and linear approach

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to art. The draperies are conventionally drawn, the compositions flat and wanting in shadow, the scenes are often overcrowded and without perspective, but an illusion of depth is given by placing the background figure somewhat above those in the foreground. Even the expressions, animated though they are, belong to an almost impersonal world. But that is the limit to which adverse criticism can go. The mastery of line, seen in some of the long strokes executed with a single sweep of the artist's brush, the maturity of colour sense, discernible in the now faded compositions, the vitality and movement of certain scenes, show workmanship of the highest standard executed by artists in full control of their medium.

A rich variety of subjects is depicted in the Ajantā frescoes, the best of them being found in caves Nos. 1, 2, 16, 17, and 19. There are many illustrations from Buddha's life and the *Jātakas*, besides historical and mythological themes. But the predominant note is not religious or monkish, for the painters were allowed full freedom to portray scenes from court and everyday domestic and village life, affording an extraordinary glimpse into Indian manners and mores of the seventh century. There is unfolded a panorama of dancing girls, boating and hunting scenes, bull fights, beggars, elephants and monkeys, birds and flowers, scenes capturing intimate details of women in boudoir and bedchamber. The female hair styles and fashions, the men's headdress and clothes are executed with a freedom and grace which have few parallels in Indian art.

James Fergusson distinguishes 'at least twenty different styles of painting; some recall Greek and Roman compositions and proportions; a few late ones resemble the Chinese manner to a certain extent'. Persian trends are also evident. Men wearing the 'Persian cap' are shown in several murals in different caves, and the Sassanian 'flying ribbon' is conspicuous. Indeed one painting depicts a group of officials accoutred in Persian dress, now believed to be the embassy of Khusrau II to the Chālukyan king Pulakeśin II in AD 625. If so, this would suggest the culmination of a long and fruitful period of commercial and cultural contact between the two kingdoms.

It would appear that the Ajantā painters came from widely separated areas. Some authorities find traces of the Pompeii school in the early work; Persian and Central Asian styles have also been discerned; from within India we know of links with the Sātavāhanas, Vākāṭakas, Guptas, Pallavas and Chālukyas. In its turn the Ajantā school influenced the whole of Central and East Asia, since itinerant Buddhist monks frequently carried pictorially illustrated manuscripts and scrolls in this style to convey the teachings of Buddha to distant lands. Ajantā influence is traceable in the T'ang paintings of China (seventh century); in Japanese paintings of the seventh and eighth centuries, found in the famous frescoes of the temple of Hōryūji in the holy city of Nara, Japan (*c.* 710); in the temple banners (*thaṅ-kas*) of Nepal and Tibet, which have mystical and symbolical designs depicting gods and goddesses, demons and monsters, and scenes from heaven and hell.

The last historical notice of the Ajantā caves before the present day is found in the writings of the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang who visited and described them in AD 640. By the beginning of the eighth century the caves must have been abandoned by the monks, and thereafter were virtually lost

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to history, and so completely forgotten by civilization for over a thousand years that no one even knew of their existence. They were accidentally rediscovered by some soldiers of the East India Company in 1819. A year or so later an English savant gave a description of the paintings in the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society, and this was followed by much persuasive work by James Fergusson, the historian of architecture. Since then interest has increased and Ajantā slowly came into its own. Frescoes continued to be brought to light till the beginning of the present century. Indeed some frescoes in Cave VI were discovered only in 1935.

The passage of centuries, the destructive effects of damp and dust, the depredations of bats, birds and insects, the fires of vagrants and itinerant tribes, have all made their contribution to the general deterioration of the frescoes. And since the discovery of the caves ill luck seems to have dogged all efforts to arrest further deterioration.

In 1844 an English painter undertook to copy the principal frescoes in oil, and completed the labour of love after twenty years. Three years later most of these works were destroyed in a fire at the Crystal Palace during an exhibition. Between 1872 and 1885 another English painter began a series of reproductions of the frescoes, but again many of them were destroyed by fire at the South Kensington Museum.

Several frescoes have faded and disappeared since their discovery. Others have been mutilated and defaced by the vandalism of early enthusiasts and the scribbling and scratching of thousands of tourists. One official guide at the beginning of the century used to cut out the heads to sell to visitors, which of course crumbled after a few days. When it was decided to take steps to preserve them from fading they were inadvertently subjected to still further deleterious processes by the ill-advised application of varnish, and the misguided pains of amateur restorers. It was only in 1920, after the Nizam of Hyderābād engaged Italian experts from the Vatican to clean the frescoes that some semblance of their original beauty was restored.

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AJITA (d. 480 B C) a nāstika* elementalist and sceptic, also known as Keśakambalin (*keśa-kambalin*, 'hair-blanket') from the fact that he and his followers used to wear a robe of human hair. Ajita taught that man and the universe are made up of four elements, water, air, fire and earth, and that from a combination of these in varying proportions the manifest universe was

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produced. Knowledge by insight was unattainable, since knowledge could only come through the senses. What was perceived was further formalized by reason and was therefore invalid. Both senses and reason are easily distorted by passion, so that what passed for knowledge was often vitiated by greed and arrogance. The 'knowledge' offered by the Vedas was 'the vomit of brahmins', compounded of their conceit.

Fools and wise men alike, he maintained, on the dissolution of the body are cut off and annihilated. After death they totally cease to be. There is no merit in sacrifice, and no demerit in vice and evil. Pleasure, if one is concerned with such a bauble, may be accepted or not, and enjoyed or not. It makes no difference. The giving of alms, the offering of sacrifices are futile. There is no after-life and no such thing as the next world, or the fruit of good and evil deeds.

The sect was condemned by Buddhists, Jains and Hindus alike.

Books

See under Nāstika.

ĀJĪVIKA, 'living', i.e. one who has devoted his life to certain vows. The name of a nudist, ascetic and strictly deterministic nāstika* sect which existed in India from about 700 BC, reached its zenith during the sixth century, and survived to influence Hindu philosophy till about AD 1300. The canon of the Ājīvikas and some of their tenets were cited by their opponents but little else survives.

Philosophically the Ājīvikas believed that there was no ultimate cause for anything. Objects and beings are as they are, good or bad, right or wrong, as we speak of them, without cause. There are only six inevitable categories in life, namely, gain and loss, joy and sorrow, life and death. All actions are conditioned by *niyati*, destiny, and swayed this way or that by causeless circumstances over which there can be no control. Human effort is useless and ineffectual and karma is a delusion, since karma teaches that man is capable of determining his future life by appropriate living in this incarnation. In fact, however, in spite of all the efforts a man might make, nothing can alter niyati. The Ājīvikas had a theory of elemental atoms, five in number, namely, one vital atom and the four atoms of earth, air, fire and water, which combine to form all things, animate and inanimate. Their atomic theory was probably the oldest in the world.

The Ājīvikas were a *daṇḍin* or staff-bearing sect who went about completely nude throughout the year. They begged for their food, some at every other house, some at every third, fourth or fifth house, and so on. Mostly they carried no begging bowl, but received offerings of rice-gruel direct into the hand. Though asceticism and the drinking of cow's urine were obligatory, wine was sometimes drunk. Their rituals called for dance and song on special occasions, and the Ājīvikas were in fact often itinerant bards. Sexual intercourse, regarded by them as no more sinful than 'squeezing a boil', was often employed in repulsive forms for occult purposes, and Ājīvikas were commonly found in association with prostitutes.

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The Ājīvika was initiated standing in a pit up to his neck, while members of his sect sat on planks placed over the pit and plucked out his hair one by one. Other ordeals included holding heated metal or stone with bare hands, and breaking a bone or severing a muscle, resulting in deformity. Ājīvika ascetics were thus often cripples. One magical ceremony necessitated the ritual lopping off of a hand or finger, and employing the vital forces thus released by the flow of blood for increasing psychic power. Many trantrik and yoga practices are indebted to the Ājīvikas.

Tapas or asceticism* in its extremest form was favoured by them. Their penances included remaining in a squatting position for several weeks; lying on a bed of thorns; living in a large earthen vessel; swinging upside down from trees like bats. They ended their lives by self-starvation, drowning, or some other fatal penance while sitting in their funerary urns. The lives of the three chief Ājīvikas, namely, Gośāla, Pūraṇa and Pakudha, exemplify the basic practices of the sect.

Gośāla (d. 484 BC), or Makkhali Gośāla, was so named because he was the son of a *maṅkha* (*see* hierophant) ascetic, and was born in a cow-shed (*go-śālā*), although some authorities feel that he may have belonged to one of the barbarian races of northwest India. He was first a disciple and later the adversary of Mahāvīra the Jain, and a formidable rival of Buddha, who condemned his teachings as totally pernicious.

Legend relates that he adopted his doctrine of extreme determinism after an incident with Mahāvīra. The Jain saint had declared that a certain sesamum plant they saw on the roadside would bear seven flowers when they returned. In order to prove him wrong Gośāla quietly uprooted the plant and threw it away. The shrub, however, took root again and was seen with seven flowers when the two philosophers passed that way again. Struck by this example of the inevitability of destiny, Gośāla conceived his doctrine of niyati.

Gośāla practised rigorous asceticism, abandoned all speech and became a powerful magician. Reputedly he could destroy individuals and burn down entire villages by the sheer force of his curses. It was said he acquired this power as a result of the strictest penances and asceticism, practised for a period of six months, when he remained seated facing the sun, with hands raised above his head, eating only a handful of beans every three days. He made his headquarters at Śrāvastī in the workshop of a potter-woman named Hālāhalā.

His end came when he returned one day to Mahāvīra to curse him for having warned his disciples against his teachings. Two of his own chelas, who remonstrated with him for cursing his former guru, he reduced to ashes with a curse. He then turned on Mahāvīra a malediction so potent that, as Mahāvīra declared later, it was sufficient to reduce sixteen great regions to ashes, and informed him that he would die in six months. The Jain quite unperturbed replied that on the contrary the curse had rebounded from him back to Gośāla himself who would die in seven nights, smitten by his own magic.

Retiring to his potter-woman's house Gośāla lapsed into a state bordering on delirium. Clutching a mango stone in his hand, he drank intoxicants, sang continuously, danced and paid homage to his patroness, Hālāhalā, and died

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at the appointed time. Soon after, partly as a result of Gośāla's curse, Mahāvīra* fell seriously ill, but recovered.

Pūraṇa (d. 499 BC) also called Pūraṇa Kassapa (or Kaśyapa), was the hundredth slave born in his master's house, hence his name, which signifies 'completion'. When twenty-five years old he ran away from home, but his clothes were stolen and he entered the next village completely naked. He was immediately taken for a holy man, and decided to retain his nudity and continue with his impersonation. He carried a begging bowl with four sections and gave the contents of the first to travellers, of the second to crows and dogs, of the third to fish and tortoises, and the fourth he kept for himself.

Buddhist legend relates that he was defeated in a miracle contest by Buddha, so he tied a pot filled with sand around his neck and drowned himself in a river, the only witness to his shame being a prostitute. Another version is that he died of self-starvation after twelve years of asceticism.

Pūraṇa is known chiefly for his doctrine that the soul is passive; that no action, the so-called good or the so-called bad, could affect it. There is neither 'cause' nor 'consequence'; man can earn neither merit nor demerit by what he does. His soul incurs no guilt if he slays all creatures and earns no merit by all the generosity, truth-speaking or good works of a lifetime. This theory, known as *akriyā-vāda*, 'non-action way', had a profound influence on both Buddhist and Hindu thought.

Pakudha (d. 440 BC) also called Pakudha Kachchhāyana, or Kātyāyana, a hump-backed philosopher who taught a primitive atomism, propounding a theory of seven eternal elements, namely, earth, water, fire, air, life, joy and sorrow. Man was naught else. 'So when one with a sharp sword cleaves a head in twain, no one thereby deprives another of life; only a sword has penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances'. Among his idiosyncrasies was his avoidance of cold water, which he regarded as divine. Even after defecation he did not wash unless hot water were available. He avoided crossing a stream, and if forced to do so he would atone for it by making a mound of sand as an offering to it.

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ALCHEMY. Hindu alchemical theory is almost wholly the product of foreign teachings on the subject. The earliest doctrines were traditionally ascribed to Chinese* adepts like Bogar who introduced alchemy to India, or to Hindu teachers like Vasishṭha* who acquired their knowledge from China and Tibet. Whatever progress was made in alchemical study in Alexandria was also passed on to India, and some acquaintance with Greek science is suggested in the alchemical references found in the *Arthaśāstra*. Chemicals, such as a salt

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called romaka, known to Charaka and Suśruta, and śākaṭā a vegetable pigment, preserve their western origin in their names.

The Buddhist Nāgārjuna* added much esoteric lore to the body of alchemical doctrine, and his treatise was the direct precursor of hundreds of works on *rasa* (see below). Notable successors were Vāgbhaṭa, Vṛindā, Chakradatta and other writers on Āyurveda. The esoteric Siddha philosophy of the tantrik period (AD 600–800) was largely devoted to the elixir of life and similar themes of alchemical provenance. Subsequent developments in the field were to a great extent brought about by the Arabs who were responsible for introducing many of the laboratory techniques and most of the appliances known to medieval alchemy.

The practical aim of much alchemical experimentation was the isolation of elements and their use in their 'primary' form. There was, according to the theory, an original material in the universe, the ultimate basic substance out of which the whole cosmos was formed. This material could be made manifest in a twofold form, namely, liquids and powders. Powders (*chūrṇa*) were made by pulverizing solids in a mortar or by grinding on a grinding stone, but such a process did not yield the essential alchemical element. The material had first to be burnt, since burning helped to disperse any superfluous accretions of a particular substance and reduce it to its pure primal state. Ashes* (*bhasman*) were thus thought to be a manifestation of pure substance.

The ash-form of matter had further to be dissolved in a still more elemental substance called *rasa*, 'liquid'. It was said that the primeval form of all things was the cosmic sea, the very essence of wetness, the basic element of all vital matter. In Indian alchemy the term rasa has an extensive application, covering the 'wet element' in all its aspects. It is used to mean sap, juice, elixir, fluid, quintessence, water, blood, urine, semen and all other liquids, as also all substances dissolved in liquids or in their liquid or molten state e.g. gold, copper, tin; also mixtures of magical drugs and medicines (*aushadha*), and so forth.

The absolutely irreducible form of matter, the quintessence of all substances, and thus the fundamental rasa, was held to be mercury (*pārada*), which played an important part in āyurveda and occult chemistry. Neither Charaka nor Suśruta make any reference to mercury, and it was probably introduced as an alchemical element some time after they wrote.

Mercury, regarded as the seed of Śiva, was called by many grandiloquent titles which were also applied to all mercury preparations. Like the mercury of medieval European alchemy it acquired magical and esoteric properties. A fabulous literature grew out of the beliefs relating to mercury and the rasas. Elixirs of immortality, tonics and aphrodisiacs compounded of mercury, ash and bodily substances were called *rasa-rāja* (king of liquids), *rasendra* (Indra of liquids), *rasanātha* (lord of liquids). Alchemy became essentially *rasavāda* ('rasa-way'), a way of life, a mystic doctrine and a means of salvation.

Scores of untranslated and often untranslatable treatises were written on the mysteries of rasa, *uparasa* (the lesser rasas), *mahā-rasa* (the great rasas), and the *parama-rasa* (the supreme rasa). In haṭha-yoga the purest rasa was believed to be the *amṛita* or nectar seeping from the *sahasrāra chakra** at the top of the head, and techniques such as the *khecharī paramudrā**, and the

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upward movement of the *bindu** were devised to prevent this seepage. For this reason the teachings of *kāya-sādhana* (or physical-culture*) were closely linked with alchemical theory.

Alchemists ignored the postulates of Indian medicine in regard to the *doshas* (humours), and rejected the distinction made by Charaka and Suśruta between curable and incurable diseases, since, according to alchemical theory, rasa compounds were believed to cure all diseases. These amalgams could destroy poverty, weakness and death, give kingly attributes to the lowly and power to the powerless. Gazing at a specially prepared amalgam could restore strength to weak eyes, and applying other balms to the body could heal diseases of the skin, flesh and bones. One text states that it is possible to fly if one holds mercury 'confined' by mystic mantras.

Although alchemy was in theory concerned mainly with methods of 'amalgamating' mercury and air, mercury and blood, mercury and semen, mercury and various ashes, in actual practice many other substances were also involved. Chief of these subsidiary ingredients were: mica (*abhraka*), which like mercury was given a magical status and spoken of as 'the seed of Gaurī' (consort of Śiva), sulphur (*gandhaka*), orpiment (*tālaka*), pyrites (*mākshika*), cinnabar (*darada*), calamine (*rasaka*), various alkalies (*kshāra*), bitumen (*śilājatu*), as well as gold, silver, zinc, lead, iron, copper and other metals, arsenic, alum, acids and many kinds of drugs.

Of the several varieties of salts (*lavaṇa*) used, the principal were sea salt (*sāmudraka*), rock salt (*saindhava*), and a special medicinal salt imported from the Mediterranean and named after Rome (*romaka*). Numerous other ingredients were introduced from foreign countries, especially after the Muslim invasions, which long retained their foreign names. These are inconsistently spelt and there is much uncertainty as to their identification. They include *Roma-kānta* (from Alexandria), *Śākaṭā* (from Greece), *Chobchīni* (from China or Tibet), *Khorasāni Vācha* (from Iran), *Sulemanī Khujāri* (from the Persian Gulf), *Yavapuri Lūp* (from Java), *Kushāṇa Shīri* (from Central Asia).

Great precautions had to be taken in the building of an alchemical laboratory. Details of construction were secret and are seldom given in the medieval books on architecture. All alchemical operations are to be carried out in a country whose ruler fears the deity and is a devotee of Śiva. The laboratory (*karma-gṛiha*, 'work-chamber') must be situated in a forest, its foundations laid at an auspicious time, and its construction entrusted to men who understand the laws of the occult currents that flow from the four quarters. The main chamber should not be too large, should have only one door and one small window.

Since alchemy was primarily a Śaivite occupation, being concerned with siddhis, it was important that a liṅga of Śiva be duly installed in the laboratory. The liṅga itself had to be small, and fashioned from eight substances including mercury and gold. It was to be placed on the east side on a pedestal made of black stone.

The apparatus (*yantra*) employed by Hindu alchemists was mostly borrowed from the Arabs, and the shapes of the various crucibles (*mushā*) and furnaces (*chullī*) were modelled on the Arab prototypes. All furnaces were to open to the south and had to be protected from the unfelt winds coming from

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the east, north and west, which were inimical to alchemical fires. Instruments and other working appliances had to be stored in the south-west, all washing done in the west, and drying in the north-west.

All alchemical processes were undertaken in certain fixed ways or modes, but the precise techniques employed are never uniformly given and are seldom the same in any two treatises. Traditionally eighteen modes are recognized, and although the actual number of modes far exceeds this, eighteen still remains the number in the texts. They are: (1) perspiration, a preliminary mode to ascertain whether the substance has 'life'; (2) friction, (3) stirring and (4) turbulating, in order to increase the potency of the substances; (5) decreasing, (6) restraining and (7) tensing, to prepare it for its specific purpose; (8) heating and (9) conserving, in order to facilitate the final processes. The remaining nine modes are again discrepantly named and described: (10) killing, (11) resting, (12) reviving, (13) maturing, (14) purifying, (15) chromatizing, (16) reddening, (17) empowering and (18) perfecting.

The major objectives of all alchemical processes were identical with the aims of the European exponents of the Great Work, but the methods in India took on characteristically Hindu features. There was the proverbial quest for the Philosopher's Stone (*sparśamaṇi*, 'touch-gem') so called because contact with it was believed to turn any metal into gold. This stone did not exist in a natural state but had to be 'confected' in the laboratory, by means of certain arcane formulas known to a few select adepts. There was also the search for various 'powders of projection' and 'prescriptions for precious metals'. These are named in their hundreds, each one containing at least one ingredient whose nature is concealed in obscure phrasing. For example: 'To form gold-making granules, take the scrapings of the bark of the tīṭa tree (no indication of what this tree is) on the sixth night of the waning moon; mix with pith of right horn of yellow-coloured bull, boil in three heatings of cow's milk, mix with amalgam of mercury and lead, and dry in a copper pan in the incinerator using only cowdung cakes for fuel.'

Another important objective of alchemical research was the compounding of the elixir vitae, known generically as *rasāyana*, which could restore or preserve one's youth, prevent disease, improve the memory, increase sexual vigour, revitalize one's energies, prolong life and even revive the dead.

A few such elixirs are named in the texts but each one has dozens of methods of preparation and these are so obscurely hinted at that it is impossible to determine the ingredients used, or their proportions, or the method of employment. Modern Indian drugs bearing these names are contrived from āyurvedic manuals and have little if any resemblance to the alchemical originals. A few of these are named below:

Brāhmya, relating to Brahmā, is made with not less than 21 or as many as 208 ingredients. It includes sea-salt, 'dead' mercury, the ashes of 5 trees, alum, cow excreta, bull semen, gold, salt, copper, iron, silver, the pulp of the āmalaka fruit, dew on darbha grass, and so on.

Chyāvana, named after the ṛishi who was restored to youth by the Aśvins, contains 38 ingredients, requires immersion in a special bath for 3 days, the bath water to contain the stone found on the head of a cobra which is over

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500 years old (its age being ascertained from markings near the tail). The patient had to drink a concoction made from the bark of a felled tree, the excreta of a horse and elephant (which animals had previously been fed on black salt, mercury and sulphur), plus the urine of a carnivorous animal.

Tejo-vardhana, 'splendour-increasing', which had to be prepared on the sixth day of the waxing moon, with 9 herbs, mercury in 3 forms, ox-bile, gold after its third purificatory bath, seven roots, and the urine of a pregnant cow; the whole to be preserved in an earthen jar for seven months.

Yoga-sāra, 'magic nectar', made from mercury, sulphur and gold, mixed with the ashes of human bone dissolved in a copper pan in the juice of seventeen kinds of herbs. This was then put through a 'century' of processes, at each stage of which a fresh ingredient was added. One recipe called for 111 ingredients, another for 119, a third for 146. The patient had to retire to a cave for 21 days while under treatment.

Sarvaushada, 'panacea', a name given to hundreds of cure-alls, most of which contain mercury; other common ingredients are the water of boiled rice, curds, cow's urine, tamarind pods, nīm-leaf pulp, pulverized bull's hoof, and various mountain herbs.

It will be seen that the use of bodily by-products was prominent in Hindu alchemy. This aspect of the study 'was very secret and not to be divulged'. It was spoken of as *sarva-maṅgala*, 'all-auspicious', and prescribed the employment of scatalogical* substances, either one's own, or another person's, of either sex, or of animals. Such compounds were believed to give great siddhis. Thus siddhas have claimed to transmute any base metal into gold by coating it with their own excreta. Again, the magical ointment known as *yoga-rochanā*, compounded of human excrement and semen when applied to the forehead made one invisible, when dabbed over the left breast rendered one invulnerable, when applied to the eyes gave one supernatural sight, to the anus the power of flight, to the sex organs made one irresistible to women.

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(*See also under* Science.)

ALEXANDER. The invasion of India by Alexander the Great was the beginning of one of the most important changes in the course of Hindu civilization, and the story of that invasion must here be briefly told. After subduing Bactria, Alexander began preparations for the Indian campaign. From a base near Kabul he sent his generals Hephaestion and Perdiccas by a direct route to the Indus, while he himself proceeded through the mountainous country to the north of the Kabul river.

After many months of fighting against the fierce tribes who inhabited the hills and passes Alexander reached the plains and crossed the Indus in 326 BC, celebrating the momentous achievement with sacrifices and games. An Indian rāja sent the conqueror three thousand oxen and ten thousand sheep

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for the triumphal festivities. At Taxila between the Indus and the Jhelum the Greeks for the first time saw the fabled gymnosophists of India, a meeting which has been preserved for us in the story of Kalyāṇa*.

Advancing further into the interior Alexander defeated the army of Porus and the tribes of Cathaei, Malli, Oxydracae and others. He continued his advance with the intention of taking the eastern kingdom of Magadha, modern Bihār, only twelve days march across the plains, which, according to Plutarch, Chandragupta himself said Alexander might 'easily have conquered'. But his soldiers, yearning for home, weary of the long campaigns and suffering in the Indian heat, mutinied and refused to go beyond the river Hyphasis (Beas).

Alexander gave orders for the retreat of his army, and erected twelve great sculptured fire-altars to mark the farthest point in his conquest of India. The site is now lost, but we know that Chandragupta Maurya used them for sacrificial ceremonies, and that for years Indian kings who crossed the Hyphasis worshipped there in reverence to the immortal Macedonian. The brief apparition that blazed like a flash of lightning on the Indian horizon was not easily forgotten, and the memory of Sikandar (as Alexander was known to the world of the Middle East) may be preserved in Skanda, an alternative name of Kārttikeya the Hindu god of war (II, p. 59).

Reaching the Hydaspes (the river Jhelum) Alexander built a great fleet, and early in the cold season of 326 BC, after pouring out libations to the deities, he gave orders for the armada to set out on its way to the sea, the Indian onlookers, according to the Greek chronicles, dancing and singing 'in their barbaric manner' (VII, p. 60). Reaching the head of the delta Alexander proceeded along the coast of Makran, while his admiral Nearchus took the fleet home through the Persian Gulf.

Alexander made Peithon satrap of the regions west of the Panjāb, placed Sind under Eudamus, and certain other commanders further towards the west, but after his death in Babylon a few months later, most of these Macedonian generals returned to settle disputes of succession nearer home. Peithon, the last of Alexander's satraps in India left Gandhāra in 316 BC but Seleucus Nicator returned in 305 BC (*see* Seleucids), and considerable numbers of Greek colonists remained in the Panjāb, united by ties of marriage to the country of their adoption.

Certain Indian historians appear to be imbued with a sense of retrospective shame at Alexander's campaigns in India and the defeats of long ago. Referring to one such event a Hindu scholar affirms, 'Partly due to the unfortunate rain of the previous night the battle was lost to us' (I, p. 102) although this can hardly be described as an adequate summing up of the causes of that particular disaster. Another seems to hint that the retreat of Alexander was the result of the severe thrashing he received 'at the hands of the Indian army' (VI, p. 116). While yet another dismisses the campaign with the observation that 'the adventure cannot be regarded as a brilliant military achievement, as Alexander had never been brought face to face with any of the great nations of Hindustan' (V, p. 51).

These conclusions are unfair and grossly understate the extraordinary achievements of a handful of Greek troops fighting almost three thousand

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miles from home, in a torrid climate, in difficult country, against immense odds. True, Alexander's task was at times rendered less difficult by the perfidy and timidity of some of the local rulers, but that was his good fortune. The two most powerful kings who stood in Alexander's way were Ambhi, king of Taxila, who sent a mission to Alexander offering to help him if his own kingdom were spared, and Porus (Purus? or Paurava?) who decided to oppose the Macedonian with an army of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots and 200 elephants. He was defeated by Alexander whose forces in this battle comprised 11,000 men and cavalry. Porus, severely wounded and barely able to stand, was brought before Alexander who asked him what sort of treatment he expected. His proud reply that he expected to be treated like a king pleased the Macedonian who confirmed him in the governing of his dominions as a vassal.

One of the most remarkable things in the foreign policy of Alexander was his encouragement of interracial marriages. Alexander has been called the pioneer of one of the supreme revolutions in the world's outlook, for he was the first ruler known to history who contemplated the brotherhood of man and the unity of mankind. His will, according to Diodorus, deals among other things with a plan for the resettling of men and women from Asia to Europe and from Europe to Asia. He dreamed of uniting East and West by the natural bonds of marriage. At Opis he prayed for the joint rule of East and West, and did all he could to show by precept and example that this was his wish. Eratosthenes refers to him as 'the reconciler of the world'. He followed his own policy by marrying two Persian princesses, Roxana and Statira, who were his only two legal wives, and encouraged his soldiers to seek brides from the Orient.

More than one martial tribe of northwestern India traces its descent from the Macedonians and claims to belong to the stock that sprang from the union of Alexander, or one of his generals, with a local princess. Of the ruling Frontier families eight claim direct lineage from the son born to Alexander by Cleophis queen of the Assakenoi. Again, the White Kafirs of Kafiristan, classed in Aśoka's edicts as definitely Greek, are said to be descended from Alexander's men. The city of Kāpiśa, an important Greek and later Śaka* centre, perhaps bore their name.

Brief though Alexander's sojourn in India may have been, there is no doubt that it was an important element in the progressive miscegenation* of the Indian peoples that was to continue throughout the period of Greek* influence in the country.

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ALLĀHĀBĀD, the modern Muhammadan name of one of the seven holy cities of the Hindus, situated at the confluence of the Ganges, Jamnā and the fabled subterranean Sarasvatī. Because of its location at the meeting place of three rivers it is also known as Triveṇī (*tri-veṇī*, 'triple-braid') and referred to as 'the navel of the earth'. It was anciently called Prayāga, 'the place of sacrifice', and was conceived of as 'the sacrificial altar of Brahmā', for it was here that Brahmā performed his first *aśvamedha* sacrifices to commemorate the recovery of the lost *Vedas*. It has been a celebrated place of pilgrimage from time immemorial, honoured with the title of Tīrthrāj (*tīrtha-rāja*, 'pilgrimage-king').

The vicinity of Allāhābād was also the site of Pratishṭhāna (*see* Purūravas) the semi-legendary capital of the lunar kings, situated near the town of Vāraṇāvata. There in Epic times Yudhishṭhira* and his brothers dwelt during their exile. Allāhābād continued to play a prominent role in Hindu history until its conquest by the Muslims under the Ghori kings in 1194. When it passed to the Moghuls it was given its present name, which means, 'The Place of Allah'. It subsequently fell to the Marāṭhas, the Paṭhāns and finally the British.

Allāhābād contains a famous *akshya-baṭ* or tree of immortality, described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang in AD 540 when he visited Prayāga with the emperor Harsha. The present tree is known to be of comparatively recent date, although it may be a graft of the tree described by Hiuen-Tsang (*see* fig-tree). Every year a religious fair (*mela*) of great antiquity known as the *Māgha-mela* is held during the asterism of *Māgha* (Jan-Feb), when thousands of pilgrims flock to Allāhābād to bathe at the junction of the sacred rivers. Every twelfth year the great festival of the *Kumbh-mela** is held at the same place.

Allāhābād remains one of the most sacred spots on earth for the devout Hindu, and one of the three cities that must be visited if one is to perform a pilgrimage completely satisfying to the ancestors. Such a pilgrimage entails having all the hair on one's body, including the eyebrows, shaved off at Prayāga; performing the *śrāddha* to one's ancestors at Gaya; and making the final offerings at Kurukshetra. If a pilgrim does this and then in due time dies at Banāras he is sure to join his forefathers in the next world. The very site of Prayāga, the uttering of its name, the application of its sacred clay to one's body, frees one from all sin. The merit of giving alms to brāhmins is enhanced a thousand-fold if the gift is made at Prayāga. At the time of the universal cataclysm that marks the end of each kalpa, Prayāga of all places in the three worlds will not be destroyed.

Books

See under Towns.

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ALTAR. The nomadic Indo-Aryans brought with them to India several sacrificial features of their own from their Iranian homeland. One of these was a portable fire-altar in which the sacred fire was carried. This was a special *ratha* or chariot, drawn by men or animals, containing the ever-burning fire-shrine, built on the pattern of the squat flat-topped pyramid erected over the larger fire-altars of Central Asia. Over the altar rose a tall peaked canopy to give it added sanctity.

Under the influence of indigenous Indian customs the upkeep of 'ancient' fires was gradually discontinued, and fires were kindled anew for each sacrifice. The Zoroastrian tradition of preserving fires, such as is still the practice among the Parsees, lost favour, and each sacrifice became an ad hoc rite, with fires ignited by means of rubbing sticks. Elements of the ratha pattern, however, survived in temple architecture when permanent structures were built in later times.

There were no temples in the Vedic period. Domestic sacrifices were performed by the paterfamilias in his own house at the *āyatana* or domestic hearth, and larger sacrifices took place in a specially consecrated plot of ground known as the *sthaṇḍila*. Any place considered suitable could serve as a sthaṇḍila, but generally a site on the bank of a river was selected as being particularly auspicious.

A portion of the selected plot was levelled and cleared for the erection of a *yāgaśālā*, 'sacrificial hall', where the ceremonies took place. These places were not necessarily used again, but if so, had to be re-consecrated and the hall set up anew. Attempts have been made to compare the Vedic place of sacrifice with the later Hindu temple, and to find comparable factors in the two, but without much success. In the first place not enough is known in detail about the Vedic sacrificial set-up, and secondly indigenous practice has to a considerable extent obliterated the purely Vedic features in many cases.

The yāgaśālā was covered by thatching laid on a framework of poles and the whole sacred area was known as the *āyatana*, after the domestic hearth referred to above. Just outside the yāgaśālā stood the *yūpa** or sacrificial post, which played an important part in all Vedic sacrifice. It is equated with the *dhvaja* or flagstaff of the present Hindu temple. Within the yāgaśālā a number of subsidiary enclosures were also set up. Among them were the *sadas* or 'place' where the assembled public sat to witness the ceremony and where the soma was taken (this was said to correspond to the maṇḍapa of the later Hindu temple); the *havir-dhāna*, 'oblation-place', the sacrificial store-room, situated at the north-east or south-east corner of the yāgaśālā; and the *patnī-śālā*, 'women's chamber', a shed for the wives of the sacrificers.

Either immediately within or just outside the yāgaśālā was the central feature of the sacrificial hall, namely, the *vedi*, generally translated 'altar'. Here the sacred fires were kindled and here the *havis* or burnt offerings and oblations were made to the deities. It is said to correspond to the *garbhagṛiha* of the Hindu temple. In early times the vedi was sometimes a simple raised mound, but more frequently a long shallow pit (*kuṇḍa*) with raised and sloping sides. It was made to slope to the north (the zone of the people) and east (the zone of the gods), while the south part (the zone of the demons) was raised. The shape of the vedi itself was narrow in the middle, and it was often

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compared to the female waist. The vedi was embanked with bricks or earthen shards, and one portion covered with grass on which the gods were supposed to sit when summoned to attend and on which the food offerings were placed for them.

Later the construction of the vedi became highly elaborate and took on a mystical and occult significance. The digging, laying on of the sacrificial grass, the placing of the bricks, the formation of the brick-work, the interior lining of the fire-pit, were all endowed with magical symbolism and required the formulation of a complex ritual demanding the services of specialist priests.

The ground for the altar was first ceremonially ploughed. As digging or ploughing constituted wounding the earth, appeasing and soothing mantras were intoned. The bricks or shards were brought to the spot in oxhides and placed near the altar site. A horse was led to the middle of the area where the altar was to be set up, and on the spot where the horse put down his foot a lotus leaf was laid. On the lotus leaf was placed a gold plate, and on the plate a golden image of a human-headed snake which was first worshipped as the representative of the chthonian deities. The attending ritual included the *sarpa-nāma*, 'serpent-naming', consisting of formulas of homage to several kinds of snakes as well as demons.

The altar was built up by laying bricks layer by layer with mantras, sāmans, sacrifices and libations. Then a special kind of plant and a frog were tied to a bamboo cane and drawn over the altar in order to 'temper the heat, of the fire, and to neutralize the potent occult forces generated during the construction of the altar. The vedi was always regarded as sacred and taboo, and was not to be touched on completion until after a protective layer of sacrificial grass had been spread over it and sprinkled with water.

The laying of the altar-bricks for some of the larger soma rites was performed with elaborate religious ceremonial and cult drama which became the subject of much later speculation. All the great mysteries were believed to be revealed to the man who knew how to build up the bricks of the fire-altar and make the right offerings on it. The construction of the altar was intimately linked with the deeper symbolism of the cosmos, and thus provided clues to many hidden relationships in the universe.

Altars were built in ten possible shapes, mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *śulva-sūtras*. One was in the shape of a falcon; a second in the shape of a heron; a third in the shape of a carrion-kite; a fourth was triangular; a fifth in the form of two triangles; the sixth wheel-shaped; the seventh shaped like a bucket (*droṇa*); the eighth like a circle (*maṇḍala*); the ninth in concentric circles; the tenth tortoise-shaped. Each altar had to be at least knee-high and had to have at least five layers of bricks.

The most complex of the fire-altar rites, known as *agni-chayana*, 'fire-heaping', was associated with some of the great soma sacrifices, and in its fullest form lasted for over one year. The largest altar was built of 10,800 bricks in the form of a great bird with outspread wings. The key bricks placed at certain points of the altar each had their own name, and their own characteristic virtues or potencies. In the lowermost layer of bricks were buried the head of a man who had been killed by an arrow, along with four other

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sacrificial animals. In the *sāvitra-chayana* the altar was piled up in the form of the sun, with thirty chief bricks, all of which had names. There were also other 'brick-piling' rituals performed for various specific purposes.

For all these rites, sacrifices were performed and animals and (sometimes men) slain. The bodies of the victims were thrown into a pool of water from which came the clay for the manufacture of the bricks for the *ukha*, 'hollow', the earthen plastered fire-pan for the interior of the altar-pit in which the fire was to be maintained, sometimes for as long as fourteen months. Elaborate prescriptions accompanied their making, including the mixing of the clay with the hair of a black antelope and the dung of an 'uncrossed' heifer.

Besides the main altar there were also several side altars, sometimes as many as eight in number, called *dhishṇya*, sprinkled with sand on the top. The earth for these altars was supplied from trenches specially dug for the purpose. Thus the *chātvāla* was the pit which provided the earth for the northern altar. These trenches were believed to provide a place for the demons who haunted the sacrificial ground.

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ĀLVĀR (or Āḻvār), a group of Tamil Vaishṇava poet-saints, whose origins are traditionally ascribed to the period 4000–3000 BC, but who actually flourished between the seventh and ninth centuries AD. Twelve Ālvār saints are especially famous, four of whom came from the Pallava country, four from the Chola, and the others from the Kerala and Pāṇḍya regions.

The Ālvārs probed deep into the mysteries of divine things; believed in the personal existence of the Supreme Being, and emphasized his love and compassion. They were concerned not so much with metaphysics as with personal experience of the deity. They sang in praise of Nārāyaṇa and Rāma and of the love of Kṛishṇa and the gopīs. Their deeply devotional songs collected in the tenth century constitute the prayer and hymn-books of the southern Vaishṇavas.

The first three Ālvārs were said to have been born on the same day, but at different places. Poygai (or Poykai) in a tank at Kāñchi; Pūdam (or Bhūtam) at Mahābalipuram; and Pey (or Pey Ālvār) in a red lotus at Mylapore. One day as they took shelter from a storm in a confined space, each became conscious of another presence in their midst, the presence of Vishṇu himself, and at this realization all three burst into ecstatic song, which now forms part of the Ālvār canon. God-intoxicated and god-enamoured they wandered about from place to place, singing and dancing. Their names (actually epithets bestowed on them by the people) signify madcap, ghost and lunatic.

Tirumaḻiśai was born three months after the first three Ālvārs. Reputedly the son of a *ṛishi* and an *apsarā* (nymph) he was abandoned by his mother and brought up by a man of low caste, a story probably indicating his low-caste origin. Like the others he was said to have lived for 4700 years. He sings, 'I have not been born in one of the twice-born castes; I am not learned in the four Vedas; I have not conquered the five senses; save for Thy shining feet

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alone, O Lord, I have no other hold'. Further he writes, 'Jains are ignorant; Buddhists have fallen into a snare; Śaivites are without enlightenment; and those who will not worship Vishṇu are low indeed'.

Nammāḷvār (*c.* AD 800) the greatest of the Ālvārs, was born of a śūdra family in Tinnevelly. Tradition says that for the first sixteen years of his adult life he remained under a tamarind tree with his eyes and mouth shut. When roused from his meditative trance he composed four long hymns which are held to contain the essence of the four Vedas. His poems, more than the work of any other saints, have shaped the religious beliefs of the southern Ālvārs. One of them, the 'Tiruvāimoḷi', has been called the Upanishad of the Dravidians. His work has a majestic cadence, a simplicity that is lofty and noble, and is full of spiritual value.

Four other Ālvār saints also deserve mention. Kulaśekhara, a king of Malabār who retired to the sanctuary of Śriraṅgam and spent his life in pious poverty and devotion to Vishṇu. He declared that rather than be a king on earth or in heaven, he would fain be a fish in the temple tank, a tree in the temple garden, a step at the temple threshold, so that he might be in the vicinity of the sacred shrine. Āṇḍāḷ (or Godā) the only woman Ālvār refused offers of marriage so as to devote herself entirely to God, spent her days and nights before the idol. Legend has it that one day in the presence of a crowd of people she ascended the plinth of the image of the deity at the temple of Śriraṅgam, embraced the god and merged into it. Tiruppāṇ belonged to the Paraiyan ('pariah') caste, wrote ten verses now part of the canon, and like Āṇḍāḷ was absorbed into the idol of the Śriraṅgam temple. Tirumaṅgai (fl. AD 820) the last of the Ālvārs, was a local military chief under a Chola king. He devoted himself to the extension of the Śriraṅgam temple robbing the Buddhist temple near by, and even resorting to highway robbery in order to complete the task. Any means, he felt, justified the pious end. If the four poems of Nammāḷvār be compared to the four Vedas, the six poems of Tirumaṅgai are the six Tamil darśanas (philosophical systems).

Associated with the Ālvārs and following immediately after them was a class of Vaishṇava teachers known as the *Āchārya*, who based their teachings on both the Sanskrit and Tamil scriptures. They regarded the Ālvārs as worthy of worship, in fact as the incarnations of Vishṇu's weapons. The first of the Āchāryas, Nāthamuni (?824–924?) was responsible for gathering together and arranging the Ālvār hymns into a compendium called the *Nālāyira-prabandham* (Collection of Four Thousand Songs), which was spoken of as the Tamil Veda. It was a labour of love on his part and the work was largely instrumental in popularising the hymns. He proved that poetical works written in Tamil were no whit inferior to works in Sanskrit. Another famous Āchārya was Nāthamuni's grandson Yāmunāchārya (AD 1040) (also called Āḷavandār), a profound scholar and theologian. The great philosopher Rāmānuja* was in the direct line of succession, from master to pupil, from Nāthamuni.

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AMARU (?AD 640–800?). Sanskrit poet of unknown origin, 'whose name is as strange as his date is doubtful' (I, p. 109). He has been variously identified as one of the gems at the court of Vikramāditya, as a contemporary of Kālidāsa, and as King Amaru whose dead body was occupied by the philosopher Śaṅkara* when the latter desired to acquaint himself with the arts of love.

His *Amaru-śataka* (Amaru's Century) or the Hundred Stanzas of Amaru, sometimes classed with the *kāvyas*, aims at creating a series of emotional word-pictures, often within the compass of a brief stanza, very much in the manner of the *Sattasai* of Hāla*. It is an important lyrical work portraying sensuous and erotic rather than romantic love, although its theme has been interpreted in religious terms as the passionate quest of the soul for god.

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ANĀRYA (*an-Ārya*, non-Aryan), a comprehensive term applied in the ancient texts to all those aboriginal, native and hence inferior non-Aryan tribes and peoples who inhabited India at the time of the Aryan invasion, in contradistinction to the noble Aryan conquerors. Ethnologically it embraced the Negritos, Proto-Australoids, Kolarians and Dravidians, besides other prehistoric tribes who had migrated from the Central Asian highlands to the fertile plains of India.

The fair-skinned Aryans had many opprobrious terms for the natives, and much fanciful nomenclature drawn from their habits and appearance. Formerly scholars based their ideas mainly on the face value of the evidence provided in the Vedas, and lumped together in a single category all the non-Vedic elements with whom the immigrant Aryans came in contact in India. They were spoken of variously as *nishāda* (squatters), *rākshasa* (ogres), *daitya* (devils), *dānava* (titans), *asura* (demons), *mlechchha* (barbarians), or by their totemic designations such as *vānara* (monkey), *nāga* (snake), *matsya* (fish), and so on.

Many of these tribes were enslaved by the Aryan invaders and according to some authorities degraded to the category of *Dāsa* (helots). Others however identify the Dāsas with the Dahae of Iran who entered India before or after the Aryans and put up a valiant defence against them. The *Ṛig-veda* states that Dāsa women were trained to fight and took part in battle, acquitting themselves heroically alongside their men. Associated with the Dāsa people and often mentioned together with them were the Dasyu, dark-skinned evil beings, hostile to the gods, although supposed to be descended from the sage Viśvāmitra. In later times the term was applied to robbers, outcastes and slaves.

Apart from these designations, the *Vedas* refer to the indigenous Anārya

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people as *anāsya*, 'noseless', i.e. flat-nosed; *adevayu*, 'godless'; *abrahman*, 'worshipless'; *akarman*, 'riteless'; *ayajvan*, 'sacrificeless'; *avrata*, 'lawless'; *devapīyu*, 'god-reviling'; *kāla-mukha*, 'black-faced'; *kṛishṇatvach*, 'black-skinned'; *malina-mukha*, 'foul-featured;' *mṛidhravāch*, 'evil-tongued'; *nara-bhuk*, 'man-devouring', i.e. cannibal. For certain tribes the Aryans coined descriptive names, such as: *Eka-pāda*, 'one-footed', a fabulous race dwelling in the forest, referred to in the *Purāṇas*; *Karṇa-prāvaraṇa*, 'ear-covered', a tribe who used to cover themselves with their ears, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*; *Loha-mukha*, 'iron-faced', spoken of in the *Mahābhārata* as one-footed cannibals who can chew even trees; *Oshṭha-karṇaka*, with lips extending to their ears, also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

This prejudice against the conquered continued in spite of positive evidence that some of the native races were highly civilized, more so than the Aryan invaders. Anārya peoples included 'noseless' platyrhine aboriginals and primitive tree-dwellers, but also advanced national groups who possessed horses, chariots, and cattle, adorned themselves with gold and jewels, had their own religious systems and their own dynasties of kings and highly organized governments 'based on a long-established tradition of literate urban culture' (X, p. 257).

The notion of Anārya backwardness persists to this day. Of all the erroneous ideas current about Hinduism, the most widespread is the one concerning its 'Aryanness'. It is now securely established, although still insufficiently known, that the best part of what is called Hinduism is not Aryan but indigenous. The old Vedic, especially Ṛig-vedic mythology, with its pantheon of benign nature deities, and its moving apostrophes to the sun and moon, its spontaneous paeans of praise to the dawn and the day, and its simple forms of worship by fire and sacrifice, libation and hymns, cannot account for anything but a small fraction of Hindu belief.

The theory that the Aryans, completely equipped with their hierarchy of beings, divine and demoniacal, with a comprehensive liturgy of tribal and private worship, with a profound metaphysical system providing a subtle and satisfactory theory for the whole cosmic structure, entered the Indian peninsula, found it occupied by a dark-skinned race of uncivilized aborigines who worshipped strange gods with horrible rites, that they proceeded to conquer these uncivilized people and impress on them their own Aryan Vedic religion, and that with slight modifications this Aryan way of life and worship still survives as Hinduism—all this convenient fabric of theory must be discarded as no longer valid.

Modern research has shown that it is far removed from the truth. The foundations of Hinduism were laid long before the Aryans came. Not only was the veneration of the snake, monkey, bull, tree and stone, indigenous, but Śiva, Śakti, and possibly some features of Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa, and the cults associated with them, were already ancient when the Aryan nomads first appeared on the Indian scene. 'Speaking in the Indian way,' says S. K. Chatterji, 'one may say that over twelve annas in the Indian rupee (sixteen annas) is of non-Aryan origin' (VIII, p. 164).

When the Aryans descended upon the Indian plains and started their holy

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war against the phallus-worshipping, snake-adoring, black-skinned children of darkness, they little realized that their own conquest by these same heathens who were 'an abomination unto Indra', would be merely a matter of time, and that the glamour of native religious beliefs would in the fulness of time cast upon them an irrevocable spell.

Most of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon today are non-Aryan. Gaṇeśa's pre-Aryan origin is proved by his elephant head, and by the same token the totemistic and zoomorphic deities like Garuḍa, Hanumān (the name is Dravidian), Nandi, and the Nāgas, are also Anārya. Brahmā was the Dravidian god Nārāyaṇa, god of waters and seas; Kumāra was the Dravidian god Mūrugaṇ. The two most prominent deities of the Hindu pantheon after the decline of Indra were, and continue to be, Śiva and Vishṇu. Both appear in the Vedas as minor deities. Both have evolved from Dravidian cults (VIII, p. 162), and both gradually usurped the position of power and authority which had hitherto been the inalienable preserve of Aryan divinities. The incorporation of 'native' deities into the Aryan pantheon was generally effected either by identifying a native god with an Aryan, as Śiva with Rudra, or in the case of a goddess by the expedient of uniting her theogamously with the Aryan deity.

In many respects the indigenous Indian peoples whom the Aryans encountered were far more cultured than they. The Aryans were a simple, rough, pastoral or nomadic people, as yet unused to the refinements of civilized life and settled government, and the contact they had with the native Indians, with their splendidly-built iron-gated forts and massive-walled cities, which they described along with the countless other new wonders they saw, must have been something in the nature of a revelation. The formidable reputation of kings like Hiraṇyāksha and his successors, and of Rāvaṇa, survived even the violent Aryan prejudice.

Like many later intruders, they too in due time fell a prey to the sophistication both of thought and life, of the 'native' Indians. The early Vedic texts, albeit reluctantly, ascribe to the aboriginal inhabitants an advanced culture, an acquaintance with unheard-of luxuries, and credit them even with the ability to restore the dead to life. In innumerable passages they are represented as being superior to the gods in the arts of civilization.

In agriculture, town-planning, the basic forms of architecture, the building of multi-storied houses, wide and durable roads; in sculpture and painting, in the cultivation of domestic cereals and plants, the domestication of animals, religious ideas, forms of marriage, cosmology, dress, forms of worship, the pre-Aryan contribution to Hindu culture was overwhelming.

Non-Aryan influence is also traceable in the rising predominance of goddesses and consorts in the Hindu pantheon, such as Pārvatī, Umā, Kālī, Durgā, and particularly in the worship of the female aspect of divinity (*see* Śakti), and the various village godlings*. But perhaps the Anārya contribution is best revealed in the emergence of Kṛishṇa, a black-skinned, aboriginal chieftain who opposed the forces of the Aryans headed by Indra. That the Aryans were ultimately obliged to accept as a supreme deity the Anārya Kṛishṇa who repeatedly discomfited their own chief divinity, stormed the Aryan heaven, turned people from the worship of Vedic gods and insisted on

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the aboriginal forms of worship, was one of native India's greatest triumphs.

But the triumph was not achieved without a long preceding interlude of bloodshed and hatred. Anārya towns and villages appear to have been models of tranquil living. The people lived sheltered lives and there was an abundance of all that was required for contentment. Vedic records confirm that the inhabitants were peaceful and the towns prosperous.

Into this idyllic scene stormed the illiterate (V, p. 186) Aryan barbarians (X, p. 257) with deadlier weapons and stronger arms. The defenders of the walled towns of the north were not warlike and had poor weapons. Mohenjodaro was sacked and pillaged and its inhabitants slain without mercy. Groups of skeletons of men, women and children, in contorted attitudes found in the houses and streets tell all too plainly that the end of this flourishing civilization was abrupt and savage (XI, p. 18).

Not for nothing was the epithet 'Puraṁdara' (sacker of cities) conferred on Indra, for like the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes, the Aryans left in their wake a trail of smouldering towns and villages. From the *Ṛig-veda* we learn of the slaughter and devastation of the great Indian tribes of yore. Uritsa was 'devoured', Bala was overthrown, the seven cities, the cities of Pipru were razed, the fortress of Sushṇa levelled, the hundred castles of Śambara shattered, the hundred cities of Vaṅgrīra sacked, the treasure of Anhas cut off, the kingdoms of Chamūri, Dhūni and Kolāra decimated; and the loot in horses and cattle, carts and chariots, gold and jewels taken from the desolated and devastated towns and forts, was distributed as booty among the marauders. In Aryan eyes the Dasyus were heathens and therefore enemies fit to be destroyed; they were created for the sole purpose of being destroyed; and the instruments of war were especially devised for the purpose of encompassing their destruction (XIII, p. 38).

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ANATOMY. In ancient India the study of the structure of the human body was strictly confined to so-called 'coarser' anatomy. Āyurveda* took cognisance of the bones (*śārīra-sthāna*, 'bone-topic', or osteology), muscles, heart, lungs, kidneys, bladder, and various other internal organs. Also included in the scope of the study was *dehavṛitti* (*deha-vṛitti* or 'body-action')

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relating to the operation of the organs and the physiological functions. It did not take into account the subtle body, or the study of the *chakras*, *nāḍis*, *kośas*, *indriyas* and so forth, which were outside its province and formed the subject of a special branch of occult physiology.

Early Indian anatomy proceeded not by description but mainly by enumeration and classification. Both these procedures were often inaccurate and at variance, while inference as to the operations and functions of organs, just as often bordered on the fanciful. Knowledge of the brain was elementary; the distinction between bone and cartilage confused; and knowledge of the muscles extremely poor. The strong prejudice against touching a corpse (*see* surgery) made progress slow and uncertain. But where opportunities existed for practical observation, theory was sound. As compared with the other nations of antiquity the ancient Indians had a good idea of the working of the heart, and an unusual insight into the process of digestion and the digestive apparatus. Says Dr Kutumbiah, 'The frequent use of enemata in therapeutics led to a remarkably accurate knowledge of the rectum'.

The parts of the body are differently classified by the early and medieval writers, and in some cases there is much overlapping. Thus, blood is included among the *doshas* (humours) and also among the *malas* (secretions), as well as the *dhātus* or bodily-substances*, but in each class it is described with a varying significance. One simple scheme of anatomical classification was as follows:

(1) *Aṅga*, 'limbs', of which six are listed, namely, the head (śiras), arms, trunk and legs.
(2) *Dhātu*, the material elements of which the body is composed, e.g. bones (*asthi*), 36 in number; muscles (*peśī*), 500 in number; joints (*saṁdhi*), 210 in number; sinews (*snāyu*) or ligaments, 900 in number. Associated with the dhātu are the *kalā* or fluids, seven in all, separating the dhātu.
(3) *Ādhāra*, 'reservoirs', or vessels of the body of which the lungs (for air), the heart (for blood), the womb (for the foetus), and the abdominal organs (for food), are the most important. The latter, the abdominal or digestive organs, called *koshṭha*, include the stomach (for undigested food), liver (for bile), gall-bladder (for bile), bladder (for urine), intestines (for digested food) and the rectum (for indigestible food).
(4) *Charman* or skin, is arranged in six layers, namely, the outer or sixth layer which is proof against water; the fifth layer which is proof against cold; the fourth layer or skin-pigment layer, which gives a man his complexion and is the seat of diseases like leucoderma; the third layer which, when diseased, gives rise to tumours; the second layer which when diseased results in abscesses; and the first or innermost layer which when diseased results in leprosy.
(5) *Dosha*, the humours* or flowing elements of the body, of which three are named, namely, bile, wind and phlegm. They regulate the proper functioning of many bodily organs.
(6) *Mala* or secretions and by-products, namely, tears, bile, ear-wax, perspiration, fat, phlegm, sperm, blood, marrow, urine, faeces, nasal mucus, and menstruation. Nails and hair are also listed as mala in some texts.

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(7) *Chhidra* or orifices* leading outside the body, usually nine in number, namely, eyes, nose, ears, mouth, anus and urethra. They play an important part in occult practice.
(8) *Srotas*, 'canal', a category which includes all the channels, vessels, pipes, ducts, passages and nerves of the human body, such as the veins (*dhamanī*), arteries (*sirā*), intestines, spinal cord, which conduct the bodily fluids and nerve currents. The whole physiological system is believed to centre around the region of the navel and heart, which moisten the body as a stream moistens a garden. The precise differentiation between the terms srotas, dhamanī, and sirā, remains uncertain, and their classification has been called 'the standing puzzle of Indian anatomy'. Some speak of ten *mūla-sirā* or 'basic tubes', the great rivers of the body; from these there branch out about 700 subsidiary sirās which ramify into still lesser vessels. They should not be confused with the nāḍis, which are the invisible channels* of the subtle body.
(9) *Marma*, 'juncture', although often translated 'joint', is actually the meeting place of five basic organic structures, namely, ligaments, blood-vessels, muscles, bones and joints. Marmas are vital areas of the body and its most vulnerable parts. They are called subordinate centres of life and play an important part in surgery. It is believed that a person injured in any of the marmas either dies within seven days of the injury or is permanently maimed or paralysed. There are said to be 107 marmas, e.g. near the big toe, near the ankle, knee-joint, between scrotum and groin; wrist joint; various parts of the abdomen and chest; near the windpipe; temples; back of the ear; above the eyebrow; the cranial sutures, and so forth.

Books
See under Āyurveda.

ANCESTORS, in Sanskrit *pitṛi*, 'fathers', are the patriarchal progenitors of gods, demons and men. Often confused and identified with the *prajāpatis* and *mahāṛishis*, they were sometimes spoken of as the sons of the gods. Two hymns in Book X of the *Ṛig-veda* are addressed to the pitṛis, and in subsequent works they are venerated as the progenitors of mankind. The king of the pitṛis is Yama*; their mother (or wife) is Svadhā (oblation) daughter of Daksha; and their high priest was the ṛishi Aṅgiras. The chief pitṛi is referred to as Pitāmaha, 'grandfather', a title often used for the god Brahmā.

More specifically the term pitṛi refers to the manes or human ancestors of a Hindu worshipper, generally up to the seventh generation, who are honoured in the post-funeral obsequies*, particularly during the *śrāddha** rites, when offerings of *piṇḍa* or balls of rice and flour are made to them. The regular performance of these rites is obligatory on all caste Hindus as it placates the spirits of the departed ones. Those pitṛis who, while they lived on earth, maintained the household hearth and offered fire oblations to the ancestors are called *agni-dagdha*, 'fire-burners', and are especially blessed, being as it were, custodians of the spiritual line of descent and of the family traditions.

The pitṛis or manes are supposed to dwell on the other side of the moon, and certain nights are consecrated to them. The time of the new moon on earth is midday for the pitṛis; and our full moon is a time of darkness for

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them. Hence funeral oblations are made on new-moon days when it is bright on the moon and the pitṛis can partake of the sacramental meal offered to them.

The dark half of the month of *Āśvina* (Sept-Oct) is known as *pitṛi-paksha* (manes' fortnight), when the manes and spirits in general are said to become active, when the ghosts of witches and wizards become restive and malevolent and must be appeased. Special care is taken to protect children from their influence, and for this purpose propitiatory offerings are made to evil spirits. In holy places like Gaya the chief śrāddhas are performed during this time.

Several classes of pitṛis are distinguished, but their names and functions vary considerably in different texts. The commonest classification is given below:

1. *Agnishvātta* (also called *Phenapa*) are the pitṛis of the gods.
2. *Barhishad* (or *Sudhāvat*, or *Nāndi-mukha*) are the pitṛis of the demons.
3. *Vairāja* (*Subhāsvara*, *Somasad*, *Saumya* or *Raśmipa*) are the pitṛis of the great ascetics.
4. *Somapa* (or *Ushmapa*, or *Gārhapatya*) are the pitṛis of the brāhmins. (In some accounts they are the pitṛis of the śūdras.)
5. *Havishmat* (or *Āṅgirasa*, *Havir-bhūja*, *Upahuta* or *Ekaśṛinga*) are the pitṛis of the kshattriyas.
6. *Ājyapa* (or *Susvadha* or *Kavya*) are the pitṛis of the vaiśyas.
7. *Sukālin* (*Mānasa* or *Kāla*) are the pitṛis of the śūdras. (In some texts they are the pitṛis of the brāhmins.)
8. *Vyāma*, 'fumes', the pitṛis of the barbarians.

Books

See under Mythology.

ĀNDHRA, a Telugu-speaking people who have for over two thousand years occupied the region between the Godāvarī and Kistna rivers. In the Brāhmaṇas they are referred to as *dasyus* and Anārya (non-Aryans), and in the Epics as a primitive indigenous tribe inhabiting the wild, inaccessible Daṇḍaka forest. Pliny speaks of them as the Andarae. From the Purāṇas we learn that they permitted the marriage of cousins and their kings were known by their maternal names, following the matrilineal system of the South. Some of the later Āndhras claimed brāhmin lineage and added the suffix *ayya* to their names to indicate their status.

In the fourth century BC the Āndhras became vassals of the Mauryas, and are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions as a people dwelling on the fringes of his empire. On the death of Aśoka and the subsequent decline of Magadha power the Āndhras were among the subordinate provinces who strove to become free, and who finally did succeed in establishing a kingdom of their own, under a line of possibly foreign kings.

This line, the earliest of the historical Āndhra dynasties, was that of the *Sātavāhana* (28 BC–AD 250) (also known as Śālivāhana) which numbered thirty kings over a period of three centuries. Its founder, Sīmuka (65–25 BC)

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slew the last Kāṇva ruler of Magadha in 28 BC and made himself independent. There is considerable uncertainty about Sīmuka's antecedents. Some authorities claim that he belonged to the potter caste and was of local indigenous origin. But an older tradition represents him as a *vṛishala*, a term not only used in the sense of a śūdra, but also for a Hinduized foreigner or a non-Aryan. He may thus have been of Parthian or Śaka stock, but his descendants soon assumed brāhminical status.

Sātakarṇi (25 BC–AD 20) son of Sīmuka raised the dynasty to eminence. He first joined forces with the ruler of the western Deccan, expanded his kingdom and performed an *aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice). In some later accounts he is identified with the semi-mythical Vikramāditya. His name is also frequently given to the whole Sātavāhana dynasty. A patron of art he was responsible for beautifying the balustrade and gates of the Sānchī stūpa.

Shortly after his death the growing Sātavāhana empire became involved in a prolonged struggle with the Kshaharāta clan of Śakas ruling at Nāsik who for some time submerged them. A great deal of confusion surrounds this period of Sātavāhana history. At least five branches of the line are listed, with their chief towns at Dhanyakaḍa (also called Dharanikoṭa or Śrīdhanya-kaṭaka), better known as Amarāvatī, near modern Bezwāda on the Kistna; Pratishṭhāna (modern Paiṭhān) on the Godāvarī; Śrīkakulam, not far from Masulipatam; Nāsik in the northern Deccan; and Vaijayanti in North Kanara. Pliny speaks of the Āndhras as having thirty walled towns, innumerable villages and a huge army.

The semi-legendary Sātavāhana king who rejected the manuscript of the poet Guṇāḍhya* may have lived at about this time. The Purāṇas name the poet Hāla* as the seventeenth king of the main Āndhra line, accord him a reign of five years, and place him fifty years before Gautamīputra (below), whereas his work is known to date (*c.* AD 500) about four centuries later.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the twenty-third ruler of the Sātavāhanas was the śūdra Gautamīputra (AD 106–130) (or Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi), also sometimes identified with Vikramāditya. In all likelihood he had a considerable Śaka pedigree, since a king named Śakasena preceded him on the Sātavāhana throne, and other Śaka-named kings succeeded him. He defeated the Kshaharātas, and the Nāsik Cave Inscription of his mother, Gautamī Balaśrī (AD 146) speaks of him as the destroyer of Śakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Persians), which would appear to indicate the incursion of barbarian hordes as far south as the Sātavāhana borders. His own empire at one time stretched from Mālwā in the north to the Kanarese country in the South. But before he died he lost most of the territories he had conquered from the Kshaharātas and Śakas, to Rudradāman, a neighbouring Śaka chief of the Kardamaka family.

Vāsishṭhīputra (AD 130–145) son of Gautamīputra, also known as Śrī-Pulumāvi (also called Pulumāyi or Pulomā), married the daughter of the above Rudradāman (the Kardamaka), but his domains continued to suffer attrition at the hands of the Śakas. The dissolution of the Sātavāhanas began with the struggle of their subordinate provinces for freedom. By about AD 250 the *Vākāṭakas* rose to power, and their emergence in the region of Berār saw the beginning of Sātavāhana decline. The Nāsik region was tem-

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porarily lost to the Ābhīras*. The Veṅgi country to the east seceded from the empire in about AD 350 under the Pallavas.

For a time a minor branch of the Sātavāhanas set up a separate dynasty known as the *Chuṭukula* with capital at Vaijayanti (or Banavāsi) in North Kanara, but their career was terminated by the Kadambas. The *Kadamba* dynasty established themselves at Vaijayanti from where they started harassing their overlords, the redoubtable Pallavas* of Kāñchi, until they secured their independence (*c.* AD 480). Kadamba rule lasted till the beginning of the seventh century, when the *Chālukya** (*c.* 608) of the Godāvarī valley took their capital and slew the Kadamba ruler, thereby bringing the dynasty to an end. The further fortunes of the Āndhra people are traced in the histories of these successors.

The possibility that one of the Āndhra dynasties of the sixth to eighth centuries was partly Greek* in origin has sometimes been suggested. According to Sir William Hunter, the Yavanas of Orissa were dispossessed in the fifth century by the Keśāri line of kings, and sought a new home in the Āndhra country where they established themselves about AD 575, with their northern limit somewhat south of Nāgpur. Here they settled down and ruled for over four and a half centuries as the Kaiṅkilā (white-leprous) Yavanas of Āndhra. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* refers to these invaders as those who were 'not crowned religiously', i.e. they usurped power. Local records confirm this usurpation, and the reign of nine successive kings of the Yavana race, who, like many of their Indianized compatriots, favoured Buddhism. They ruled till the ninth century, when they were overthrown by a religious revival inspired by the brāhmin priesthood. Further, Dr Buchanan shows that one branch of the Yavana family reigning in the Āndhra area spread westwards across the Deccan, drove out the rulers of Tuluva in AD 782 and reigned on the west coast for half a century under Indianized names like Purañjaya, Rāmachandra, Dharmavarman and so on.

The early Sātavāhanas patronized Buddhism and contributed men and material for the erection of Buddhist shrines. They spent large sums on building schools, rest-houses, wells, tanks, bridges and ferryboats, and on the upkeep of monastic establishments at Sānchī, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and elsewhere. From epigraphic inscriptions it appears that the Sātavāhana provinces enjoyed a large measure of independence, and village self-government was a well-established feature of Āndhra rule. Trade, the main pillar of Āndhra economic life was in the hands of powerful guilds, like those of the goldsmiths, ivory-workers, carpenters, druggists, blacksmiths, oil-pressers, potters, weavers and braziers, whose affairs were decided by vote at a democratic assembly. It was chiefly owing to the liberal endowments of the Sātavāhana kings and rich mercantile guilds that the cave temples at Nāsik and Kārle, and others in western India were built. Gold and silver coinage was current, and some coins bear, significantly, the figure of a ship. Prākṛit rather than Sanskrit was the language that received royal patronage.

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ANDROGYNY. The condition of hermaphroditism was in some phases of Hindu esoteric belief regarded as an ideal to be pursued. According to tantrik belief the Supreme Being is of one complete sex, possessing within himself both the male and female principles. Such a deity is said to be *ardhanārī* (*ardha-nārī*, 'half-female') and bears the qualities of both genders. Śiva is sometimes represented as Ardhanārīśvara (Hermaphrodite Lord), fused halfway into the form of his spouse Pārvatī, or shown as a half-male, half-female figure in sculpture and painting, exhibiting male elements along the right side of his body, and female elements on the left side. Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa and other deities are often sculpturally portrayed in the same manner.

Vishṇu took on a female form in a legend connected with the Churning of the Ocean. When the chalice of nectar* appeared on the surface, a quarrel arose between the gods and demons as to which side should have the first quaff of the fragrant liquid. As they quarrelled there came before them a woman of ravishing beauty named Mohinī, who offered to settle the dispute. She was none other than Vishṇu in disguise. Charmed by her beauty they handed her the chalice which she promptly gave to the gods declaring that the idea of churning the ocean was theirs and they were entitled to the first draught. After the gods had drunk she disappeared, along with the chalice.

So enchanted was Śiva with the charms of Mohinī that he begged Vishṇu to assume that form again, and when she appeared he embraced her sexually. The child of this union was a deity named after the two gods Vishṇu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara), Harihara. Harihara is identified with a pre-Aryan androgynous deity who is worshipped in South India as Aiyaṇar (or Ayyaṇar), the guardian of the highways in the Tamil and Malayāli countryside. He is represented riding on horseback, and in time of famine and pestilence animals are sacrificed to him.

Several other features of the androgynous ideal are found in Hindu mythology as also in religion and sociology. The change-of-sex theme recurs in the stories of Śikhaṇḍin, who was born a girl; and Sudyumna, Bhaṅgāsvana, and the *ṛishi* Āsaṅga, who became women. In legends about Śāmba, who used to dress up as a pregnant woman, and of the hero Arjuna, who donned female clothes and taught the art of dancing to the ladies at the court of Virāṭa*, the change is effected by transvestism.

In the mundane world all men and women reflect the duality of Deity-Śaktī which exists in the absolute. Every man and every woman contains within himself or herself both male and female principles. A man is a man only because of the excess in him of the principle of masculinity, and a woman is a woman because of the predominance of the principle of feminity. It is believed that this maleness and femaleness generally remain in conflict within the individual and can to some extent and for very brief periods be made to harmonize in contact with the opposite sex during sexual intercourse, when the couple, symbolizing deity and śaktī, realize the Absolute.

The permanent resolution of the conflict can only be attained within the

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individual's own being, since he is a microcosm* of the whole universe. By meditative techniques, by yoga practice, by tantrik methods, he can (to employ one of many possible analogies) unite the opposite forces of the *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* and make them flow through the *sushumṇā* (see *nāḍi*). In other words, one has in an esoteric sense, union with oneself. One loses one's own sex and finds the other, and in the process an area of 'commonness' or fusion is reached, which is a state both of enlightenment and bliss. The temporary loss of the king's virility was part of the *rāja-sūya* (royal-consecration) rite by means of which he was enabled in an androgynous state mystically to overshadow the kingdom he was about to rule.

Of the many sects who aspire to the androgynous condition the most notorious are the Sakhībhāvas. *Sakhībhāva*, 'companion state', is a form of Vaishṇavism which holds that only the godhead, Kṛishṇa, is truly male, and every creature in the world is female, created for the pleasure of Kṛishṇa. The sect practices transvestism and is androgynous in its mode of life. Among the Sakhībhāvas the worship of Rādhā, the favourite *gopī** of Kṛishṇa, is prominent, and the object of the devotee is the attainment of the state of a female attendant (sakhī) of Rādhā. Female followers of the sect grant their favours freely since Kṛishṇa himself is believed to participate in all sexual acts with them. Male followers dress like women and affect the behaviour, movements and habits of women, including the female bodily functions like the monthly indisposition. During this time they retire and abstain from worship. Many of them are eunuchs, and some of them castrants, but they permit the sexual act on their persons, which they hold to be an act of devotion. Says Bhandarkar, 'Their appearance and acts are so disgusting that they do not show themselves very much in public'.

In tantrik sects like the Śāktas* who worship Durgā in the form of Tripurasundarī, the male votaries have a religious exercise where they habituate themselves to thinking that they are women. The Sahajīyā at a certain stage of his spiritual development believes that he must transform himself into a woman and realize the nature of the woman within himself in order to experience true love. Rāmakṛishṇa* practised transvestism to attain trance-like states.

An alternative method, often regarded as a compromise between the facile eroticism of maithuna, and the arduous change-of-sex techniques of the individual within himself, consists of perverse*, *maukhyā* and similar practices with members of the 'third sex'. The consonance of sexes by such means is believed to result in emancipation from the pressure of 'opposites' (*viparyaya*) and the illusive bondage of gender*. The third sex is divided into four categories, namely: (1) *klība*, 'waterless', the male eunuch, with desiccated testes, (2) *mushka-śūnya*, 'testicle-voided', a castrant, (3) *shaṇḍha*, 'neuter', a hermaphrodite, and (4) *nastrīka*, 'not-woman', a female 'eunuch'.

Among the members of the third sex, those who are decidedly male, wear beards and make advances like men; those decidedly female wear false breasts, imitate the voice, gesture, dress, delicacy and timidity of women. Those in between assume either form. Their main function, since they share, though inadequately, in the physical attributes of both sexes which may arouse revulsion in the genuine sexes, is to provide alternative techniques of

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sexual gratification. These men were in demand in harems where they practiced oral congress and other deviatory methods at which they were thorough masters. They are also favoured by homosexuals.

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AṄGIKA, 'bodily' positions, sometimes called *aṅga-bhāva*, 'body-state'. It is essentially a stylized form of communication suggested by the reciprocal arrangement of the parts of the body in gesture, facial expression, movement or stance, and plays a cardinal role in dance, drama and in sculptural symbolism, as also in ritual, meditative and occult practice.

The term *aṅgika* was earlier used primarily for bodily movements as depicted in the dance*, and thus covered footwork (*tatkar*), progression (*gati*), 'facial acting' (*abhinaya*), hand gestures (*mudrā*), and acted compositions (*karaṇa*). Later the term began to be used for the stationary postures deliberately assumed by the body for occult purposes. Such aṅgika positions fall under the categories of *sthāna* (upright), *upaveśa* (seated), *śayana* (recumbent), *adharottara* (upside down), *bhaṅga** (bent) and *kuṭila* (twisted). The term *āsana** (literally, 'seat') is applied to any posture assumed in meditative yogic exercises.

Generally speaking every stance assumed and gesture performed by the body may be said to imprint its seal on the ether, just as sound sends forth a continuous stream of vibrations that impress the atmosphere. To be really effective there must be a deliberate and intended arrangement of the body or parts of the body, to bring the physiological system in harmony with the cosmic forces and so form a magical microcosm through which the macrocosm can be represented, channelled and utilized. The aṅgika in all its variations is therefore a traditional bodily pattern, an archetypal posture of profound occult significance.

The aṅgika is believed not only to illustrate and emphasize the meaning of a ritual, give significance to a sculptural image, a dance movement or meditative pose, but also to intensify their potency. In its highest form it is a magical art of symbolical mimicry through which the invisible forces may operate on the earthly sphere.

Books

See under āsana, bhaṅga, dance, mudrā.

AṄGIRAS, a mahāṛishi and prajāpati, who was also the chief priest of the *pitṛi* and priest of the gods. He is closely associated with Atharvan*. The name Aṅgiras, if not Persian, is probably Dravidian. Some authorities hold that it is derived from the same root as '*agni*' (fire), which may be supported

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by the fact that he is referred to as the Lord of Sacrifice, and sometimes as the father of Agni, god of fire. Another legend makes him the son of Uru by Āgneyī, daughter of Agni. Again, he was said to have been born from the mouth of Brahmā. Many hymns of the *Ṛig-veda* are attributed to him.

His wives (or daughters) were referred to as spiritual or abstract qualities. They included four daughters of Daksha: Śivā, 'auspicious'; Smṛiti, 'memory'; Śraddhā, 'faith'; and Svadhā, 'oblation'. By these wives he became the father of the pitṛis or manes (*see* ancestors) called the Havishmat. According to the *Purāṇas* he 'begat sons possessing brāhminical glory' on the wife of Rathītara, a childless kshattriya.

The descendants of Aṅgiras, called the Āṅgirasa, were generally referred to in connection with Agni or other luminous deities and celestial phenomena, or with ritual and sacrifices. The Āṅgirasa served for a time as the hereditary priests of the Videha and Vaiśālī kings. Famous among the Aṅgiras ṛishis were Utathya, Bṛihaspati, Mārkaṇḍeya, Dīrghatamas, and Ghora the teacher of Kṛishṇa.

The name Aṅgiras was also given to an inspired lawgiver, and a writer on astronomy.

Books

See under Mythology.

ANIMALS. The term *jaṅgama*, 'moving', is used for the whole animal world. Various classifications of the animal kingdom are given in the Upanishads, Patañjali, Charaka, Suśruta, the *Purāṇas* and other works. Thus animals are classified according to their mode of generation, e.g. *jarāyuja*, producing living young, like mammals; *aṇḍaja*, 'egg-born' or oviparous, like birds, reptiles, fish; *ayonija*, 'non-womb born', like worms (kṛimi); *svedaja*, 'excretion-born', like various kinds of vermin and ants (pipīlikā); *jalaja*, 'water-born', like leeches (*jalauka*) and fish.

Types of fauna are further distinguished according to their attributes: by the number of legs; whether horned, winged, hairy; with or without a shell; by their internal anatomy i.e., those with bones or without bones, those with blood, or bloodless; or by their mode of locomotion, walking, swimming, flying; by their eating habits, carnivorous, herbivorous; by their habitat, water-living, air-living, land-living; by their peculiarities, poisonous or non-poisonous, and so forth.

Among the larger beasts a distinction is made between the *paśu*, the tethered or domesticated animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, asses, dogs; the *mṛiga* or game, like deer, antelope, gazelle; and *vyāla*, the 'vicious' or 'treacherous' animals in their wild state, like the tiger, wild elephant and rhinoceros.

According to legend Śiva created the different species simply by assuming their characteristic *āsanas** or stances. Brahmā also had a hand in the creation of the animal kingdom for he concealed in each species a profound secret: the secret of the *anusvāra* (*see* mystic syllables) in the horse, the secret of internality in the cow (*see* ear), the secret of longevity in the crow (*see* birds). Many gods of the Hindu pantheon are associated with an animal

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*vāhana** or vehicle. When Vishṇu appeared on earth to save the world from some invincible demon he often came in an animal metamorphosis, the fish, tortoise, boar or lion, since it was only in this form that he could overcome the formidable tyrants. Several ancient tribes were totemically related to animals (*see* names).

The science of *paśu-vidyā*, 'animal-lore', was considered an essential study for anyone who wished to understand the mysteries of the universe or to gain magical powers. Paśuvidyā covered the subject of the dumb creation in its entirety, including the language of beasts and birds, the latter being a very important *siddhi* or occult acquirement. Rarely did one man master the secrets of more than one animal species. The snake-charmer understood only snakes; the monkey-man only monkeys; and others only the scorpion, lizard or fish. In Āyurveda it embraced the study of animals in sickness and the means of curing their ills. Buddhists and Jains paid particular attention to the needs of sick animals, birds, fishes and even insects, and established hospitals for their care (*see* ahiṁsā). As a valuable asset on the battlefield, the horse* and elephant* came in for special treatment, and Indians were known from earliest days as supremely skilled in the training, breeding and care of horses and elephants.

The *kambustha*, 'shell-dwelling' creatures like crabs, molluscs and snails were considered unclean and generally killed by drying in the sun. But shells themselves were highly valued and put to a variety of uses. Sea shells were used for ornamental purposes and some like the cowrie (Hindi, *kauṛi*) a gasteropod which is prized among many primitive peoples, were long used as currency (*see* numismatics).

After Kṛishṇa* slew the marine demon Pañchajana who lived in the form of a shell at the bottom of the sea, he used his body, the *pāñchajanya* for a trumpet. The *śaṅkha* or conch-shell first emerged from the Churning of the Ocean (*see* nectar) and was taken by Vishṇu from whom it was later stolen by the shell-demon Śaṅkhāsura. When Kṛishṇa slew this demon he dedicated his shell, the śaṅkha or conch, to his own service and hence conches are blown to this day in temple worship* and in battle. The śaṅkha also has a sexual significance, perhaps because of the longitudinal opening and the light transparency of the interior. The Epics speak in glowing terms of 'the splendid great-shelled women', the term śaṅkha here denoting the vulva.

Just as the great warriors were distinguished by the flags* they carried, so were they distinguished by their conches. Each had its distinctive shape, size, colour and sound. Thus, Vishṇu's or Kṛishṇa's conch, pāñchajanya, was small, slender, black, and sweet-sounding; Yudhishṭhira's conch, *ananta-vijaya*, was long, slender, mellow, yellow; Arjuna's, called *devadatta*, was medium, slender, white, high-pitched; Bhīma's, *pauṇḍra*, was huge, thick, brown and booming; Nakula's *sughosha* was large, thick, grey and neighing; Sahadeva's *maṇipushpaka* was long, slender, pink and mooing.

Among the insects the bee (*bhramara*), 'the beast with two *r*'s', is frequently described in the *kāvyas* as eternally drunk with honey. Kāma god of love has a bow-string made of bees, which cause the sting's of love's passion.

Fish (*matsya*) are prominent in Hindu mythology. Vishṇu in his first *avatāra* took the form of a fish; Vaivasvata* the Hindu Noah was saved by a

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great horned fish; one of the earliest Nāthas, Matsyendra*, was associated with a fish. The Matsya people of Hindu mythology were probably totemically related to the fish and a fish culture. Another fabulous fish mentioned in mythology is the *Timi* (or *Samudrāru*) which, with its fellows forms an infinite cosmic chain of fish creatures. There is a larger fish than the Timi, called *Timiṅgila*, or 'Timi swallower', and a still larger one, the *Timiṅ-gila-gila* (or *Timi-timiṅ-gila*), followed by a series of larger and larger fish, and so on *ad infinitum*.

The crocodile also figures in Hindu mythology. Two types are distinguished, namely, the snub-nosed *magar*, and the long-nosed *ghariyāl*. The crocodile is the vehicle of the river-goddess Gaṅgā, as the tortoise is of the Yamunā. Crocodiles are often kept in sacred tanks where they are worshipped and fed on meat. In some places they are caught from rivers, worshipped and then turned loose in the water again. A mythological variety of the magar, the *makara*, is a sea-monster, which represents the Capricorn of the Hindu zodiac. It has the head and forelegs of a deer, and the body and tail of a fish. It is the *vāhana* of Varuṇa and also figures on the banner of Kāma, god of love.

Birds*, the study of their cries and behaviour constituted a science of its own. They are the messengers of the gods, have access to the celestial and infernal realms, and are the custodians of many secrets hidden from mankind.

Serpents, especially the *nāga**, or cobra, have always been venerated in India and continue to receive homage to this day. Mastery of *sarpa-vidyā*, 'serpent-lore', was a tradition in certain sects of Hindus from time immemorial, and is still a requirement among certain kinds of Kāpālika* yogis.

Among the other reptiles the lizard (*godha*) and chameleon (*kṛikālasa*) were looked upon as prophetic, and the sight or sound of these creatures was interpreted in ingenious ways. The call of the lizard, its position on the wall of the house, its fall, were all interpreted as revealing the future. An elaborate literature arose on the omens of the house lizard which is still consulted by the curious.

Above all animals the cow* was raised to a position of supreme sanctity, and everything that issued from the cow was held to be sacred including its excreta. The bull also received veneration as a symbol of virility. The buffalo, vehicle of Yama, was not generally used for ploughing or drawing carts in place of oxen, till quite recent times. A buffalo-demon was once slain by Devī, hence the buffalo is commonly sacrificed to her.

The pig is considered sacred to Gaurī and its flesh is sacramentally eaten by some Rājput tribes. The people of Bāghera regard the boar as sacred; the Prabhu sect of Bombay eat wild pig once a year as a religious duty. Vishṇu in his third *avatāra* incarnated as a boar to save the world from the demon Hiraṇyāksha.

In folk tradition the rhinoceros is regarded as extremely valuable. Its horns are used for drinking vessels, while rings of sliced rhinoceros horn are worn as amulets of great potency. Its bones are shaped into talismans; its urine is used as an aphrodisiac and antiseptic, and its dung employed in the preparation of medicines. Rāma's impenetrable shield was made of rhinoceros hide. Aśoka in one of his pillar edicts declared the rhinoceros to be sacred. According to Manu the rhinoceros is one of the few animals whose meat, if offered

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at the *śrāddha* rites, will satisfy the manes for eternity. After the battle of Kurukshetra* the Pāṇḍavas sacrificed a rhinoceros. In certain parts of eastern India, notably Assam, the rhinoceros is slain, its flesh offered up as a sacrifice and eaten, and young men of the tribe take turns in sitting inside its disembowelled body to gain physical strength.

Although dogs* were generally regarded as unclean they too figure prominently in Hindu mythology, and are worshipped in some parts of India as descendants of Khaṇḍobā.

Monkeys are treated as sacred animals all over India, probably because of their resemblance to men and for the part the *vānara** (monkey) folk played in helping Rāma in his great adventure.

Several mythological species of animals are mentioned in Hindu legend. One such is the *yāli*, depicted as a lion with a long snout or proboscis, or a half-lion half-elephant. The yāli can be seen carved on the walls of many South Indian temples, and yāli-like creatures frequently form the shafts of temple pillars. Then there is the *śārdūla*, translated 'tiger' but actually a kind of leogryph, a hook-nosed or beaked lion, which also figures in temple carvings. The *īhāmṛiga* is half elephant and half fish; a dance drama (*see* theatre) bears its name. Another mythical monster, the *śarabha*, is described as having one, two or three horns, from six to eight legs, and sharp arrow-like spikes on its body in lieu of hair. It was said to be extremely fierce and could easily overcome an elephant or lion in a fight. Some authorities think it may be a reminiscence of the extinct stegosaurus. The śarabha form was once used by Śiva (*see* Hiraṇyāksha).

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ANIMAL SACRIFICE was a prominent feature of ancient Indian ritualism. In Vedic times it was known as *paśu-bandha*, 'animal-binding', the term including animal sacrifices of all kinds, along with the attendant rituals. It was so called because the animal had to be bound to the sacrificial post or *yūpa**, which in this case was a young tree specially cut for the purpose. The chief wife of the sacrificer had to anoint the sides of the sacrificial post with ghee, while the sacrificer anointed the top.

Among the animals that were allowed for sacrificial purposes were the milch-cow which had ceased to give milk, the horse (for which a special ceremony called the *aśva-medha*, 'horse-sacrifice'* was evolved), animals with young, animals having a dewlap, and animals like the goat and ram. In some cases an elephant could also be sacrificed.

All the orifices and organs of the animals were first sprinkled with water and wiped by the chief wife of the sacrificer, to the chanting of *mantras*. The animal was then killed, generally by strangulation by the priests, during

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which rite all others present had to avert their faces, and the victim was then cut open. Burnt offerings of the meat and fat were made to the gods as part of the general *homa* rite. The caul or omentum was removed, and later this and some fat (*vasā*) were offered to soothe the wrath of any gods who might be displeased. The blood was poured out to the *rākshasas* or evil spirits.

The paśu-bandha included a sacrifice known as *śūlagava*, 'impaled ox', which took place in spring. A young ox that had just cut its teeth was offered to Rudra to ensure an abundance of cattle. The name is supposed to be derived from the fact that after its sacrifice the animal was cooked on a spit (*śūla*), after which certain portions were offered to the deity and the rest eaten by the participants.

With the rise of Buddhism animal sacrifices were to some extent replaced by the indigenous bloodless *pūjā** offerings. On a small scale animals are still sacrificed in the rites to Kālī and Durgā, and such sacrifices play a major role in tantrik worship, in which latter cult the flesh of the victim is also ceremonially eaten. In Kālīghāṭ near Calcutta goats are sacrificed to Kālī to quench her appetite for blood. In Devīpātan the place where the right hand of Satī* fell, pilgrims sacrifice suckling pigs by dashing out their brains on oval stones and letting the blood flow over the altar. During an annual *mela* (fair) at the end of the last century over twenty thousand animals were thus sacrificed. It is said that one of Aurangzeb's officers despoiled the Devīpātan temple dedicated to Satī and was secretly caught, killed and buried near by with dire curses. Pilgrims who sacrifice pigs to the goddess let the blood drip over the grave of this man so that his spirit might never find rest or be freed, but be constantly disturbed by the dripping of pig's blood on his grave, a terrible calamity for a pious Muhammadan.

There was a widespread belief that the greater the suffering of the victim the greater the merit to the sacrificer. It was thought that the cries of the victim attract the gods who must be given time to come and to enjoy its agony, and that they would be angered to find that the victim was already dead before they had reached the spot.

Among certain primitive tribes, notably the Khonds of Orissa, the cruelty of the sacrifice is without parallel in India. The limbs and ears of the animal are torn from the body while alive; or the animal is cut up bit by bit into thirty-two pieces in a prescribed manner, also while the animal is alive. Frequently the belly of a pregnant animal is slit open and the foetus pulled out from the living mother. Live pigs are thrown from a height into a pit of sharp spikes and left to die a lingering death. Buffaloes are herded into pits and pierced to death with sharp swords, or their forelegs cut off after which they are left to stand on their stumps till they die. Fowls are tossed up and down until they expire, or are bitten and their blood sucked while they are still alive.

The British authorities successfully stamped out these practices in many parts of India, but they are said to survive in a number of places, not only in out of the way jungle villages but also in some of the larger temples to this day.

Books

See Sacrifice.

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ANTINOMIANISM. The idea that a man is not necessarily bound by the moral law, and can reach a state that takes him beyond its purview so that he can cease to obey its precepts, is prominent in the Indian religions, particularly in the left-hand tantrik cults like those of the Śāktas, Nāthas, Kaulas, and Kāpālikas among the Hindus, and the Vajrayānas and Kālachakrayānas among the Buddhists. The Sanskrit equivalent for the term antinomianism is *nirdharma*, 'unrighteousness', which implies a lack of regard for the norms of religion and the conventions of society. Tantriks believe that the goddess Śakti is gratified by all forms of antinomian activity, where the established laws of society, morality and religion are transgressed, and that the performance of all prohibited and reprehensible acts are particularly acceptable to her.

The sinister sects of Hinduism and Buddhism are called *vāma*, 'left'. Some derive the term from vāmā, 'woman', since sex mysticism is prominent in them. The consort, it is pointed out, sits on the god's left hand; and man's left thigh must bear the female (*see* Gaṅgā). The left-hand path, or *vāmāchāra*, is characterized by antinomianism, a disregard for the conventional dharma, and a belief that one is beyond good and evil.

Texts in support of antinomianism are found in several of the Hindu and Buddhist sacred writings. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* says, 'One who has this knowledge (of Brahma), although he commits great evils, becomes pure and immortal'. Kṛishṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* declares, 'He who has no feeling of self, even though he kills all these people, does not really kill'. Patañjali, exponent of yoga, suggested that *siddhis* and liberation may be obtained through drugs; and aspirants in pursuit of occult powers by this means have taken intoxicants, narcotics, and all manner of nostrums recommended in *rasavāda* (alchemy*). A tantrik text says, 'A man must rise with the aid of those things which cause his fall'. Another says, 'As poison can be neutralized by taking poison, and a thorn removed by means of another thorn, so sin can be purged by sin'. And again, 'A wise man should remove the filth of his mind by filth'. One of the major tantrik treatises, the *Kulārṇava Tantra*, states, 'By those acts that cause a man to burn in hell, by those same acts the yogi gains salvation'. According to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, 'Perfection can be gained by satisfying all one's desires'.

The guiding tenet of antinomianism in everyday life is *svechchhāchāra* (*svaichchha-chāra*, 'self-will-going'), Do as Thou Wilt. Man's true instinct guides him towards pleasure, which is one of the pathways to salvation. This belief is enshrined in such maxims as 'mukti through bhukti' (salvation through sensuality), and 'yoga through bhoga' (union with god through enjoyment).

An intense emotional life is greatly commended in some forms of tantra. It is held that one possessed of *rāga*, 'passion', or a feeling of burning ardour towards the deity attains liberation. This mood of intensity leads to a state of heightened consciousness and a concentration of spiritual force that brings about a dissolution of diversity and helps in the attainment of a unique state of oneness with the Absolute. The nature of this burning feeling towards god is immaterial. It may be one of passionate devotion (*bhakti**), but also one of intense hatred (*dvish*) towards him, fear of him, rage against him, because all these intense feelings directed at the deity imply a belief in his power,

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love, strength and wrath (Says Tulsīdās, 'God's anger is as precious as his love'), and thus establish a link with him and become a means of attaining oneness with him.

Sometimes, to be an enemy of one's god and to arouse his jealous anger (*māna*), is a shorter cut to him than devotion by acts of faith, love and formal worship, as the *asuras** Jaya and Vijaya knew full well. Śiśupāla* king of Chedi attained salvation through his all-consuming hatred for Kṛishṇa. So also, the various demons who blasphemed Kṛishṇa in fearsome rage, were killed in battle, and thereafter attained liberation.

One form of intensity is demonstrated in the ritual use of obscene language. It is, as it were, a linguistic counterpart of Indian erotic sculpture. The idiom of ordinary speech is quite inadequate to express the exuberant feelings of joy, hatred, excitement, and freedom; hence the need for ribaldry and scurrility to give vent to them. It is frequently met with in the Hindu classics. Choice passages of Sanskrit masterpieces, including Kālidāsa, are often left untranslated because of their pornographic content. It is also found in religious works, and at times nothing distinguishes the language of devotion from the language of sexual gratification. Griffiths refused to translate some Yajur-vedic verses on the ground that they were unutterably obscene. Observers have from early times noted the exceedingly rich vocabulary of vituperation and obscenity employed during certain Indian festivals. A ribald dialogue was a feature of the ritual drama of many an ancient sacrifice, such as the *mahāvrata* (*see* gavāmayana) and the *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice*). It occurs in the worship of several local gods (e.g. Jagannātha) and godlings (Tipammā), throughout India, when it is often accompanied by licentious gestures. It is part of the Holi festival to this day.

Another aspect of antinomianism lays particular emphasis on *sahaja*, 'natural', the ideal of living a spontaneous and uninhibited life, free from the bondage of artificial conventions and social restraints. The natural, it was said, cannot be transgressed. This doctrine is found both in Śaivite and Vaishṇavite cults and was a protest against the formalities of orthodox life and religion. The followers are termed *sahajīyā*; they believe that truth is not to be attained through reading, philosophy, fasting, ablutions, the construction of images, penance, mantras or sacrifice. They prefer natural occupations like farming, fishing and weaving to artificial modes of livelihood, and rustic life is their especial delight. They hold that the most natural acts are the most meritorious: eating and drinking which sustain life; sexual intercourse which propagates it; and the natural functions which give it ease. All these should be allowed their due fulfilment.

In practice it involves a total surrender to the carnal appetites. The extremist goes about nude (which is the natural state), seeks the natural solitude of jungle and mountain for his habitation. His bodily functions and his generative organs are dedicated to the deity, and his eating and drinking, his erection and emission, his micturition and evacuation, become acts of homage and of worship.

A widely prevalent form of antinomianism is found in Hindu sex-mysticism*, which has been unequivocally condemned by Hindus of advanced thought. The blatantly sexual symbolism of much Hindu temple sculpture,

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the immorality of many sectarian hymns, the amorousness of the legendary Kṛishṇa, the worship of the liṅga of Śiva and the yoni of the Mother Goddess, have all come in for severe censure. Tantrism affirms that spiritual union with god can best be attained through sexual union in the flesh.

Promiscuous intercourse is spoken of as an act of devotion to the deity, and is regarded as obligatory on the part of all members of the tantrik Śakta orders, whose rites include the active worship of women and virgins (*see* strīpūjā and chakrapūjā). The term *vaijātya*, 'differentness', is applied to the relationship of the *vīra*, 'hero', or male partner in the tantrik rite to his female opposite, who must be a woman as different from himself as possible, since in the final analysis she is the goddess incarnate. The Śaiva union mentioned in the Tantras is sometimes listed with the regular forms of marriage*, but never received the approval of orthodoxy, and remained only a recognition of the temporary rights of the vīra over his particular woman for the duration of the rite.

Seven grades of vaijātya are cited in tantrik texts, and precedents for them are sought in the legends of Śiva (among Śaivites), Kṛishṇa (among Vaishṇavites), and Buddha or the *bodhisattvas* (among Buddhists). These seven stages are (1) adultery, (2) virgin-taking, (3) union with a high-caste woman, (4) union with low-caste women and prostitutes, (5) incest, (6) union with demonesses, and (7) with goddesses.

The union of a man with his own wife is termed *svakīya* ('one's own'), and is devoid of merit for the true devotee. Idealized women like Sītā and Sāvitrī are not held in high esteem since they were prisoners of the conventions of marriage, motivated by a sense of duty, and were not free agents. Married love lacks intensity, because legality and habit take away the keen edge of passion and reduce the act to a connubial obligation, partly to satisfy a tamed urge and partly to produce children. Married love is rarely wanton, abandoned and free, and does not lead to the kind of ecstatic bliss that is sought by the tantriks.

The ideal union is held to be *parakīya* ('another's'), meaning the unconventional and perilous intimacy of a man with a woman with whom he can never legally unite; an antinomian adventure in defiance of the laws of society. In legend the god Kṛishṇa loved Rādhā who was the wife of another cowherd; he also consorted freely with the virgin milkmaids of Vṛindāvana. Vaijātya union further includes sexual intercourse with women of higher caste. Kṛishṇa set the example again by consorting with the wives of the brāhmins of Mathurā. Such unions bring into play that element of awe and guilt accompanied by heightened tension so necessary in satisfying Śakti.

More commendable still is union with low-caste women, dancing-girls and prostitutes, by which one finally shatters the trammels of caste. If this type of intercourse is accompanied by feelings of revulsion, all the greater is its spiritual merit. The god Kṛishṇa made love to many low-caste girls, crowning his triumphs by union with the ugly hunchback Kubjā. The Chaṇḍālī, Ḍombī, Śavarī, Kuchnī (women of the outcaste Koch tribe) are mentioned in the text as favourites of Śiva, Kṛishṇa and other gods.

The next stage in the breaking down of the barriers of convention is the total eradication of all distinction between one woman and another, be that

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woman one's own sister, daughter or even mother (II, p. 115). A verse sums this up: '*Yathā mātā, tathā veśyā. Yathā ḍombī, tathā dvijā*' (As mother so harlot; as bitch so brāhmini). Incestuous sexual congress with those with whom such relationship is prohibited because of blood ties is regarded as an advanced step on the pathway to adepthood. Hence the *mātṛi-yoni* (one's own mother's sex organ) is regarded as especially meritorious for this purpose, since it completes the cosmic cycle broken at birth.

The last stages in vaijātya are purely magical in character. In these the vīra invokes elemental spirits, fiendesses and goblins and has intercourse with them; and then in a more terrible rite brings consternation to heaven by uniting with the goddesses in the highest spheres. In the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, Buddha is represented in acts of continuous debauchery with angelic beings, and in other tantric texts such acts are held up for emulation. This form of phallic sorcery is said to be known only to a few great adepts; little is committed to writing, lest its incorrect practice break the continuum of the universe and bring on the final chaos.

A further basic tenet of antinomianism is that opposites and contraries are illusory. There is no good because there is no evil. Extreme evil is identical with extreme good. All things are permissible since nothing is prohibited. The virtue of vairāgya (*see* equanimity) is cultivated to the extreme. It is believed that there is no difference between heaven and hell, between virtue and vice, between praise and scorn, comfort and pain, jewels and husk, brāhmin and untouchable, work and idleness, slave and sovereign.

There is no difference between food and offal. The true *vīra* or adept will turn with as much relish or indifference from the pure vegetarian diet of the orthodox Hindu, to meats of all kinds including beef. Some sects follow scatalogical practices. The śavavādin will eat human flesh and dung as if it were *mahāprasāda*, i.e. the food offered to an idol. For him there is no difference between one liquid and another, between water and wine, syrup and semen, fruit-juice and blood, vegetable sap and human urine.

In short, there is not a deed that cannot be done; no woman who is not for enjoyment; no food or drink prohibited. Followers are encouraged to steal what belongs to others, to tell lies in preference to the truth, to kill where chance offers. Believers have robbed as a cult obligation; antinomian sects like the Sajjikā have advocated violence; the thugs* have slain to please the goddess, and the Kāpālikas have performed human sacrifices and ritual murder as a form of daring (*bala*) to amuse the deities.

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ĀRAṆYAKA, a particular class of Vedic writings, attached to the Brāhmaṇas*. The term is sometimes said to be derived from *araṇī*, the rubbing-

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sticks used for igniting sacrificial fires*; hence, studies relating to sacrificial rites. More acceptable opinion derives the term from *araṇya*, 'jungle', hence, treatises meant to be studied in forest solitudes. The Āraṇyakas constitute that part of the Vedas which relate to the mystical and esoteric significance of nature and mankind, man's duty in this world and his destiny in the next. They are intended for meditation by anchorites who have retired from the world to live in the forest amid whose silences they may ponder on these mysteries.

Although many passages of the Āraṇyakas have a boldness and simplicity unmatched in Vedic literature, they are but fragmentary reflections of a mighty age, of which only the memory survives. As Max Müller remarks, 'The generation which became the chronicler of those Titanic wars of thought was a small race; they were dwarfs, measuring the footsteps of departed giants'.

The Āraṇyakas are closely linked with the Upanishads, and their names are sometimes interchangeably used. At present only four Āraṇyakas are extant. The *Aitareya*, a Ṛig-vedic Āraṇyaka forming part of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The *Kauśītaki*, also Ṛig-vedic, consisting of three chapters, of which the third is the *Kauśītaki Upanishad*. The *Taittirīya*, a Yajur-vedic Āraṇyaka in ten books. The *Bṛihad*, also of the *Yajur-veda*, forms part of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* attached to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It is attributed to the sage Yājñavalkya*. One part of it, called the *Yājñavalkya Kāṇḍa*, was probably written after his death, and is devoted to his glorification.

Books

See under Vedism.

ARCHERY or *dhanurveda* (*dhanus-veda*, 'bow-knowledge') was one of the principal upavedas or auxiliary sciences, traditionally regarded as part of the *Yajur-veda*, a proficiency in which was an essential requirement for kings. Treatises on archery were said to have been composed by Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Viśvāmitra, Vasishṭha and others, each expounding one aspect of the great art. These are now lost, but medieval works by Vikramāditya, Sadāśiva and Śārṅgadatta are extant.

The subject was believed to be replete with teachings of profound import, but little of this teaching survives. The training of the archer included exercises in concentration and meditation, in special *mudrā* and *āsana* techniques, and breathing methods. Both the bow and the arrow were regarded as erotic symbols and the archer was expected to be experienced in the art of love, as befitted a prince. Several poses of the archer have passed into the classical *āsanas**. The bow (*dhanus*) became a standard measurement of length, being equal to four *hastas* or ninety-six *aṅgulas* (*see* weights and measures).

In mythology the bow of Brahmā was called *parivīta*; the bow of Indra was *śakra-dhanus*, the rainbow; the bow of Vishṇu was the *śārṅga*, so named because it caused the arrow (*śara*) to go (*ga*); or because it bore the arrow, the symbol of sexual love (*śṛiṅgāra*). Another bow of Vishṇu, *chāpa*, descended to

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Rāma, Arjuna and other heroes. The magical bow of Soma the moon-god, known as *gāṇḍīva*, was given by Soma to Varuṇa, by Varuṇa to Agni, and by Agni to Arjuna* when the latter helped him clear the Khāṇḍava forest. The primordial bow of Śiva, *ājagava*, fell from heaven for the use of Pṛithu son of Veṇa*. The bowstring of this celestial weapon was called *jyā*, and the term *jyāhroḍa* signified the unstrung bow not ready for use. In sex-mysticism* the jyāhroḍa symbolized the passive or flaccid state of Śiva. The operation of stringing a bow was accompanied by a mantra in praise of Śiva. Bows used by warriors or hunters were strung with fibre, bamboo-strips, silk or gut. As a mark of his caste the kshattriya wore a bowstring for a girdle.

The arrow, called the *bāṇa* (or ishu) consisted of a śaṅku, i.e. a spike or barbed head, attached to a *śara* or shaft, so named because it was first made from the śara reed. A metal arrow was called *nārācha*. The *kāṇḍa* was an arrow or dart shot from a *nālīka* or blowpipe, which was an ancient aboriginal weapon.

Arrian (*c.* 150 BC) describes the Indian bow of his day as being the same length as the bowman. The archer used it by resting the bow on the ground, pressing it down with his left foot and drawing the string back. The shaft of the arrow used with this type of bow was three yards long. He says, 'There is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot, neither shield nor breast-plate'.

Books

See under Weapons.

ARCHITECTURE is classed as one of the crafts (*śilpa*), and is specifically referred to as *sthāpatya*, a science first revealed to mankind by Viśvakarman, builder of the universe. Some find the earliest texts on architecture in the mathematical* *śulva-sūtra* (400 BC–AD 200) which deal with the construction of Vedic altars; but the Vedic Aryans had no building tradition comparable to that of 'natives', and acquired most of the skill from the indigenous architectural lore.

The earliest historical cities, such as Pāṭaliputra of the fifth century BC, seem to have been built under Persian influence, and the subsequent development of Indian architecture owes a good deal to Iran. In many parts of northern India the *asuras* and *Magas* (the magian priest-architects of Iran) were traditionally credited with any unusual or striking edifice and with the founding of several capital cities of the north. The Pāṇḍavas, as well as the semi-mythical architect Mahāgovinda (*c.* 450 BC) were also reputedly the builders of a number of structures in the north.

Ancient Buddhist texts contain references to older treatises on architecture, but nothing survives of this literature. As in the other crafts there were guilds of architects presided over by a *sthapati*, the master-builder or chief architect, and consisting of *sūtra-grāhin*, draftsmen, *lepaka*, masons, and *sūtra-dhāra* or carpenters. The building art received a considerable fillip in the early centuries before and after the beginning of the present era, under the inspiration of foreign invaders such as the Greeks, Bactrians, Parthians, Kushāns and Śakas. The 'striking similarities' between the canons of the

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*Mānasāra** (*c.* AD 600) and Vitruvius (15 BC) have frequently been pointed out.

The esoteric symbolism of Indian architecture is well exemplified in Hindu and Buddhist temple structures. There are relics of litholatria in the raising of the *āmalaśilā* that crowns north Indian shrines; of tree worship in the columns* and colonnades; relics of cave sanctity in the extensive cave temples that abound in India; necrolatria in the reverence paid to stūpas and the tombs of departed saints; phallic worship in the installed liṅga, and in the tapering spires of Orissa; yoni worship in the *garbha-gṛiha* and other interior shrines.

The best structures give a feeling of stability and congruity, in complete harmony with their surroundings. Deeper students, however, have found in these ideals a negative and static concept which renders much of Hindu architecture essentially uninspiring. The resolution of forces operating on stressed structures, the equilibrium of arches, the contraposition of mass to relative opposing stress never entered Indian building concepts till the coming of the Muslims brought the true arch and the dome, and raised the temple steeples in aspiring masses upwards. Before the Muslims, Indian architecture, with few exceptions, had a ponderous stolidity, a motionless balance of unopposed forces, in consonance with the operations of gravity and inoffensive to Mother Earth.

The selection of the site for building a temple, no less than for a city, was a highly complicated matter. It was sometimes decided by a theophany wherein the priest-architect after a period of fasting and prayer was vouchsafed a divine vision of where the building should be raised. Or it came to him in a dream. Or else he might be directed to the site by the observation of natural phenomena, by the augury of birds or the behaviour of wild animals, or reptiles like the snake and lizard. If none of these was possible then a ritually selected cow or horse was let loose in the vicinity and the place at which it stopped to graze or evacuate was taken to be the auspicious spot.

Astrologers and other specialist priests confirmed the selection by examining the soil with regard to its consistency, colour, odour, taste and touch. The elevation of the site, the vegetation in the vicinity, the water near by and beneath, were carefully studied. When the matter had been finally determined the mason fashioned a peg from the wood of a sacred tree, and using a coconut as a hammer, drove the peg into the ground in such a way that the head of the chthonian serpent symbolizing the chaos beneath the surface, was securely pegged down. Directly above this peg the foundation stone was laid with chants and *mantras*.

This ritual was at least partly necessitated by the natural resources of the locality. There can be little doubt that geographical and geological factors influenced building styles and the choice of materials, in India as elsewhere in the world. The alluvial soil of the Indus and lower Ganges favoured the use of terracotta and brick; the trap and granite of the Deccan produced the large number of cave-temples there; the volcanic potstone of Halebid and the famous pink stone of north India helped in the evolution of their respective styles. Employment of closely ranged columns to exclude light; the expedient of perforated stone screens and lattice windows to keep out the glare and

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heat; the elaboration of water conduits and reservoirs, and tanks for ablution, all grew out of the needs and dictates of the climatic environment.

Having selected the site and material, the next step was the construction of the temple. This was fraught with hazards, since dire penalties threatened those who raised structures with faulty proportions or imperfect parts not in accordance with the stringent requirements of *gaṇyamāna* (*see* canons of proportion).

'If the altar is defective the master builder will be deprived of his eyesight by the gods; if the pillars are out of proportion the family of the builder will be exterminated; if the top of the structure is ugly the whole population living within sight of it will be visited with poverty'.

For private dwellings lesser precautions were taken, but the selection of the site, the orientation of the building, its height, the size of its entrance doors, the disposition of the outhouses, the drainage, all depended on the owner's caste. Generally brāhmins had the option of five sizes of building, kshattriyas of four, vaiśyas of three, śūdras of two, and pañchamas of one.

The later *śilpa-śāstras* recognize three main styles of architecture, a trichotomy which has been revived by modern students of the subject. These styles were said to have been invented by one 'Bammoja, a pupil of Padoja or Soge', probably a native of Sogdiana and evidently a foreigner. They were supposedly based on the different characteristics of the peoples of north and south India, with mixed features in between. These three styles are: the *Drāviḍa* or Southern style, exemplified in the temples found between the Kistna river and Cape Comorin. The *gopuram* over the gate is the chief feature of the temple. Its summit is a vaulted roof or octagonal or domical structure; the emphasis is horizontal. The *Veśara* or mixed style, found between the Kistna and the Vindhyas. The best example of this is seen in Chālukya architecture; it is near circular in plan. The *Nagara* style found between the Vindhyas and Himālayas is the style of the north. It has a square or cruciform temple plan. The chief feature is the *śikhara* over the shrine with a convex curve as it ascends. The best examples are found in Orissa. The summit is crowned by a finial or water pot.

The history of Indian architecture presented a formidable problem to early students. Even the outlines could hardly be discerned in the apparent tangle of temple styles. The actual amount of material was unknown till Sir Alexander Cunningham brought it to light in the middle of the last century, and James Fergusson (*c.* 1860) first pieced the material together into a manageable synthesis. Subsequent scholarship and further discoveries have helped in the classification of the schools as now accepted.

The people of the Indus Valley (*c.* 1500 BC) had well-planned cities, flat-roofed houses of burnt or sun-dried brick, some of them two or more stories high, large public baths, and pillared assembly halls. But a long interval of time separates the Indus Valley structures from the earliest examples of the historical period, and there is nothing definite to suggest that the architectural traditions of the Indus Valley had any influence on the building art of the later periods.

Little is known of Vedic architecture (1000–500 BC). There is no reference

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in the early Vedic texts to urban living, and it would appear that the principles of town building were acquired from the pre-Aryans. Vedic scriptures speak of the many-gated and magnificent cities of the natives, whose walled forts and stone castles are described in glowing passages. The Vedic Aryans themselves lived in *grāmas* or villages which were collections of thatched huts made of earth, stucco and reed. The upper classes dwelt in wooden structures built by a class of carpenter-architect who held a place of honour in the community. Every house had a little sacred area known as the *agniśālā* for the domestic fire where the daily rites were performed. The larger communal sacrifices took place in special enclosures around elaborate altars. The manuals for the erection of these altars* formed what may be called the earliest architectural texts in India.

Many social occasions, especially marriages, were celebrated within a pavilion, today called a *paṇḍāl*, consisting of a coloured cloth canopy supported by painted or striped wooden pillars, generally twelve in number. The two outer posts formed the 'entrance', which was decorated with leaves and branches. The central pillar was ceremonially set up with *pūjā* and music and the paṇḍāl was then ready to receive guests. Although the origin of the paṇḍāl is today explained by the shortage of space in the family home, it seems to be a relic, like the Jewish 'Feast of Tabernacles', of a nomadic existence. The paṇḍāl canopy is sometimes said to represent the expanse of heaven, the supporting pillars the outer ring of celestial hills, and the central pole Mount Meru. Ceremonies performed under the paṇḍāl were as though performed in an 'astral place', an area of special sacrosanctity hallowed by its symbolic affinity with the supramundane world.

From early Pāli writings we may deduce the type of structure built by the Indians during the Buddhist period. There are references to the *chaitya* or hall of worship, the *sabhā* or assembly room, the *prāsāda* or palace, the *vihāra* or monastery, and the *stūpa* or relic shrine. Descriptions of dwellings in which the village folk lived also provide material for outlining the evolution of the later buildings.

The ordinary *kuṭīra*, 'huts', were made of twisted twigs interwoven with strips of palm-leaves fixed on bamboo uprights and plastered over with mud and cowdung. The floor was plastered with cowdung and strewn with grass. Roofs were either flat or sloping, supported by upright poles set in earthenware jars to protect them from damp and insects, and this developed into the 'pot and foliage' base of the later Hindu column. These thatch-covered houses are found in India to this day. The term for them in rural Bengal is *bāṅgalā* ('Bengali'), from which comes the English word 'bungalow'.

Early temple structures also had mud walls and thatched sloping roofs. The aboriginal barrel-vaulted Toda hut is cited as the prototype of the Buddhist chaitya; and the *kūṭāgra* (*kūṭa-agra*, 'peak-top') or peaked huts of Bengal and Central India are regarded as the prototype of the *śikhara* or tapering tower of the later Hindu temple*. The *ṭhākur-bāṛi*, or 'god-house', the Bengal-style temple, today usually built of brick and stone, is a replica of the sloping roof and curved eaves of the primitive bamboo-and-leaf temple-house of old. The circular erections of bamboo that enclosed the funeral mounds of ancient chiefs may have been the origin of the stūpa. All

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ancient sacred precincts were fenced off by a wooden or bamboo palisade with an ornamental gate called the *gamadvāra* (departure gate) which in time evolved respectively into the *vṛiti* and the *toraṇa* of the Buddhist stūpa.

The architecture of the early Magadha empire (550–320 BC) is the first of which we have any contemporary records. The cyclopean walls of Rājagṛiha, and the timber and brick palaces of Pāṭaliputra, which later won the admiration of Megasthenes, are mentioned in Buddhist works. Evidence of the use of kiln-burnt bricks is found in structures dated about 400 BC, a gap of about two thousand years intervening between this period and the Indus Valley when kiln-burnt brick was last used in the north.

By the time of the Maurya dynasty (322–183 BC) Achaemenian influence becomes apparent. Speaking of Mauryan architectural forms Dr N. Ranjan Ray remarks, 'Indeed, few have seriously doubted that West-Asiatic art forms and inspirations, indirectly and in general, and Achaemenian impetus and inspiration, directly and in particular, were at work at the root.' With the conversion of Aśoka (261 BC) a fresh impulse was given to Indian architecture. Aśoka's reputation as a builder was legendary; he is credited with having erected hundreds of Buddhist shrines and 84,000 stūpas. The stūpas* built by Aśoka at Bhārhut, Sānchī and Budh Gaya are landmarks in the history of Indian art and architecture. Like his grandfather, Aśoka employed Persian architects and masons, who worked in the quarry workshop near Chunār in Bihār. The main feature of the Aśokan period is the development of the stone-cutter's art in building and sculpture, as well as the extensive use of columns*, largely for the inscription of his religious edicts.

Greek architects formed an integral part of the Greek colonial entourage, and their influence on Indian architectural styles, both during the Bactrian Greek period and for some time later, has been considerable. Buildings were planned on recognizably Greek models, and several distinctively Greek decorative motifs were used. The Parthians, Kushāns, Śakas and other Barbarians (second century BC to fourth century AD) continued the work of the Greeks in this respect, by introducing several fresh elements into Indian architecture, as may be found in many parts of Gandhāra* (especially Taxila), in the Gangetic valley (particularly at Mathurā), and also on the west coast of India in the excavation of cave-temples*. The famed skill of Greek and Roman architects doubtless made Indian potentates seek their services for the designs and decoration of their palaces and temples. Jouveau-Dubreuil discerns Hellenistic trends in certain cave temples of the Vākāṭakas (AD 250–550) as well as in some Pallava architectural works (see below).

No brāhminical temples erected before AD 400 have survived. From about that date rock-cut chambers were started at Udaipur (Bhopāl), which exhibit the beginnings of the Gupta style (AD 400–650). Examples of Gupta architecture are found in the Vaishṇavite Tigāwa Temple at Jubbulpore (AD 415), and the Śaivite temple at Deogaṛh, near Jhānsi (AD 510), the latter a larger and more elaborate edifice with pyramidal tower. Bhīta (or Bhītargāoṅ) in Uttar Pradesh, has ruins of a number of ancient Gupta temples. The typical Gupta temple is flat-roofed, without a śikhara, or more rarely with a low stunted śikhara. It consists of a cubical garbha-gṛiha with a single entrance, and a *maṇḍapa* or porch. It has rows of pillars with 'vase-and-foliage' capitals,

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square pedestals and octagonal shafts (*see* column); the doorways are carved with bands of figures in relief, a special motif being a row of *maithuna* (male-and-female) couples.

The Dravidian style was born under the Pallavas. Its earliest examples are found at Māmallapuram (*c.* AD 700), especially the Seven Pagodas, and at Kāñchipuram, e.g. the Kailāsanātha temple (710) of Śiva. Some scholars, notably Jouveau-Dubreuil hold that the Seven Pagodas of Māmallapuram, and certain cave and rock-cut temples at Kāñchipuram (700), as well as the cave temples of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, are ultimately Hellenistic in origin. The early Chālukyan style (500–800) shows in embryo a combination of northern and Dravidian features. The chief centres are at Aihole, Bādāmi (*see* cave-temples) and Paṭṭadakal. They are long low structures with squat pyramid-like towers over the main shrine. The chief monument of Rāshṭrakūṭa architecture (750–975) is the Kailāsanātha temple at Ellorā*, dating from the eighth century AD, an incredible masterpiece hewn out of the living rock.

The Keśāri (500–950) and Gaṅga kings of Orissa raised some of the most remarkable architectural monuments in India, such as the temple of Jagannātha* (750) at Purī, the Black Pagoda* (1250) at Konārak and the majestic piles of Bhuvaneśvar. In Central India the Chandellas* (900–1150) built the exquisite temples at Khajurāho with their aspiring towers and graceful friezes.

The Solaṅki* kings (960–1240) built ornate temple-towns on the mountain peaks of Śatruñjaya, Girnār and Ābū, some of white marble with carvings of lace-like delicacy. Other centres of building activity in Gujarāt show similar refinement in execution. The Jains were responsible for the best work in this area, hence it is spoken of as Jain architecture. Muslim influence is also apparent in this region. The forts and palaces of the Rājputs (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) are among the finest buildings in Hindu India, but here again they are often modelled on Muhammadan designs and are basically Islamic in conception.

The last phase of Hindu architecture is found in the South. The massive style evolved by the Cholas (900–1150) is well exemplified in the great Śiva temple of Tanjore (*c.* 1000) with its lofty tower over the sanctuary. The Hoysalas of Mysore (1100–1345) created a highly florid style of building. Their temples at Belūr (1130) and Halebīd (1220) represent the Hindu rococo style. The Pāṇḍya style (1215–1300) was brought to perfection by the Nāyyaka dynasty. The fabulous temple of Mīnākshī at Madura (1600) with its eleven tall gopurams; the immense temple of Śriraṅgam (1650), the largest of South Indian temples; and the temple of Rāmeśvaram (1660) containing nearly three thousand columns are typical of their work.

Vijayanagar architecture (1350–1565) called the Indian baroque, represents the decadence of the Dravidian tradition. Their ornate structures mechanically and inartistically produced show northern and Muslim limbs on Dravidian trunks. Examples of the Vijayanagar style are to be seen in the Śaivite temple of Pampāsati with a gopuram 165 feet high, the Vaishṇavite Viṭṭhala temple, and the Hazāra Rāma (Thousand Rāmas), the latter actually the Chapel Royal of the Vijayanagar kings. Both the latter were begun in 1515 and were still unfinished when the city fell.

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ARJUNA, 'white', the third of the Pāṇḍava* princes, and hero of the *Mahābhārata*, if that epic can be said to have a hero. Like his brothers he was born of a divine father; he was the son of Indra through Kuntī wife of Pāṇḍu. He became the favourite pupil of Droṇa who trained him in the use of arms, especially the javelin and the bow, and it was by his superlative skill in archery that he won Draupadī* at her *svayaṁvara* (bride's choice). But because of a few chance words uttered by their mother Kuntī, she became the joint wife of all the five Pāṇḍava brothers.

It was agreed that while any of the brothers was with Draupadī the others could not enter the chamber on pain of exile. It so happened that Arjuna once inadvertently entered the chamber in search of his weapons, while Yudhishṭhira was engaged with Draupadī, and submitted to the penalty of exile for twelve years. Yudhishṭhira tried in vain to dissuade him by arguing that the elder brother in a fatherless household was like a father to the family, but Arjuna was determined to pay his due.

Although according to the terms of his banishment Arjuna was to have led the life of an ascetic, his life in exile was anything but austere. He married the princesses of Kaliṅga, Chedi, Madra, Magadha and of the Yavanas (Greeks), besides maintaining a full harem of miscellaneous mistresses and concubines. At Hardwār he seduced the young widow Ulūpī daughter of Kauravya king of the Nāgas, and by her had a son named Irāvat. He journeyed to Maṇipura where he wedded Chitrāṅgadā a heroic female fighter. She was the daughter of Chitra-vāhana king of Maṇipura and bore Arjuna a son named Babhrū-vāhana; the boy's step-mother Ulūpī acted as his nurse and exercised a great influence over him. After the Mahābhārata war he had a fatal quarrel with his father (see below). At Dvārakā, Arjuna visited his kinsman Kṛishṇa with whose sister Subhadrā he fell in love. Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛishṇa, wished to give her to the Kaurava prince Duryodhana, but Arjuna with Kṛishṇa's encouragement abducted and married her, much to Balarāma's annoyance. The couple became the parents of the handsome Abhimanyu.

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During this period Arjuna also visited the mighty brāhmin warrior Paraśurāma who further instructed him in the use of arms. Arjuna next helped Agni and Kṛishṇa to burn down the Khāṇḍava forest for which he was rewarded by Agni with the magical bow *gāṇḍīva*.

After the completion of his exile Arjuna returned home. But when Yudhishṭhira lost his kingdom in a gambling match Arjuna went into a second exile along with his brothers, this time for a period of thirteen years. He left them for a while and proceeded to the Himālayas to propitiate the gods and ask for divine weapons to fight against the Kauravas. Many adventures befell him on the way. He had a fight with a Kirāta* mountaineer, but discovering that he was actually Śiva in disguise fell down and worshipped him. Pleased with his devotion the god presented him with the *pāśupata*, one of his weapons*. This incident forms the subject of a poem known as the *Kirātārjunīya* by the poet Bhāravi.

He next went to his father Indra who taught him the practice of arms in his celestial capital at Amarāvatī, and then sent him out against the *daityas* (demons), *dānavas* (titans) and *rākshasas* (ogres) during which expedition he chastised the formidable demon king Pāka and destroyed a great part of the fortress city Hiraṇyapura. On his triumphant return Indra bestowed on him a golden chain, a diadem and a 'war conch that sounded like thunder'. After rejoining his brothers Arjuna entered with them into the service of Virāṭa* king of Matsya disguised as a eunuch, and served as a music and dancing master to the ladies of the court. Later he took a prominent part in defeating the king's enemies.

In the battle of Kurukshetra* Kṛishṇa acted as his charioteer and salved his scruples about fighting against his own cousins by expounding the doctrine enshrined in the *Bhagavadgītā**. During the battle he distinguished himself on the field. On the tenth day of fighting he mortally wounded Bhīshma. On the twelfth day he slew Suśarman and his four brothers. On the fourteenth day he slew Jayadratha. On the seventeenth day he slew the mighty Karṇa and almost slew his own brother Yudhishṭhira for an untimely reproach but Kṛishṇa interposed.

In the triumphal *aśvamedha* ceremony celebrating the Pāṇḍava victory Arjuna followed the sacrificial horse through several countries, had many more adventures and fought against a number of kings. He defeated the rāja of Mālwā and the ruler of Trigartta. He restored to her original shape the girl-wife of a ṛishi who had changed her into a rock. He passed through the land of female warriors and through a land where men and animals grew upon trees like fruit. He fought against Vajradatta and against the Saindhavas, the people of Sindhu or Sind between the Indus and Jhelum. At Maṇipura his own son Babhrū-vāhana (see above) now the ruler of this wealthy realm, slew him in the course of a quarrel. Filled with remorse the son wanted to commit suicide but his step-mother, Ulūpī, gave him a magic Nāga gem by means of which he restored his father to life. Penetrating southwards and still following the wandering horse, Arjuna fought with the Nishādas and Drāviḍas, then turned westwards to Gujarāt. He finally returned to Hastināpura where the great horse-sacrifice was performed.

During the internecine struggles of the Yādavas, Arjuna was called to

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Dvārakā by Kṛishṇa and there he performed the funeral rites of Kṛishṇa who fell to the hunter's arrow, and of Kṛishṇa's father Vasudeva who died soon after. He brought the survivors of the Yādava tribe, including the 16,000 women of Kṛishṇa's harem, back to Hastināpura, and on the way was attacked and defeated by the Ābhīras*. Shortly after this he joined his brothers on their last journey to the Himālayas.

Arjuna is also called Aindri (from Indra), Bībhatsu (supercilious), Guḍakeśa (tufted hair), Dhanan-jaya (wealth winning), Jishṇu (victorious), Kapidhvaja (ape standard, because his flag bore the figure of an ape), Kirīṭin (diademed), Pāka-śāsana (punisher of the demon Pāka), Phālguna (because he was born in the month of Phālguna), Savya-sāchin (ambidextrous), Śveta-vāhana (white-vehicled), Pārtha (descendant of Pṛithā).

Arjuna's son by Subhadrā was Abhimanyu, who was said to have learned something of the art of warfare while still in his mother's womb, by overhearing his father discourse on the subject. He grew up to be a handsome youth and a brave warrior. On the second day of the battle of Kurukshetra he killed Lakshmaṇa, son of Duryodhana, and on the thirteenth day was himself slain, fighting gloriously till the end.

By Uttarā, a princess of Virāṭa*, Abhimanyu had a son named Parīkshit who was still-born, having been killed before birth by Aśvatthāman in the night attack on the Pāṇḍava camp at Kurukshetra. Kṛishṇa restored the infant to life and gave him his blessing. When his grand-uncle Yudhishṭhira renounced his kingdom and retired from the world, Parīkshit succeeded him on the throne of Hastināpura. The beginning of the present age, the Kaliyuga (*see* aeon) is said to date from his accession.

Parīkshit once lost his way in the forest and sought directions from a sage. The sage, immersed in meditation, did not reply, so the young prince in annoyance took up a dead snake with the end of his bow and placed it around the sage's neck. For this impious act the sage's son cursed him so that within a week Parīkshit received a fatal bite from a serpent. As he lay dying the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was recited to him, the narration having been started shortly after he was bitten, and ending just as he died.

Parīkshit's son, by the non-Aryan princess Suśobhanā, was Janamejaya. This king once killed a brāhmin and in expiation undertook a great ceremonial sacrifice. During the intervals of the rite the sages recited the text of the *Mahābhārata** for the first time. Because a snake had killed his father, Janamejaya next performed a great serpent sacrifice, causing thousands of serpents to crawl out of their holes and immolate themselves in the sacrificial fire. He then embarked on a campaign to subjugate the snake-worshipping Nāga* people of Takshaśilā, desisting only at the earnest appeal of a Nāga ruler. Janamejaya is also called Sarpa-sattrin, 'snake-sacrificer'.

Books

See under Mythology.

ARMY. The Indian fighting force (*bala*) of ancient times especially by the Epic period, was based on the unit known as the *chatur-aṅga*, 'four limbs', a

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sort of mixed platoon comprising one elephant, one chariot, three mounted soldiers and five foot-soldiers, and this pattern, in theory at least, was repeated in growing units throughout the army.

Thus the *gulna*, or company, led by a *nāyaka* or captain, consisted of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses and 45 foot-soldiers; the *vāhin* or battalion, led by a *vāhinpati*, consisted of 81 elephants, 81 chariots, 243 horse and 405 foot-soldiers; the *senā* (also called sainya) or regiment, one of the fundamental large components of the Hindu army, under a *senāpati* (or *senānī*) or colonel, was made up of 225 elephants, 225 chariots, 675 horses and 1125 infantry. The *chamū* or division, commanded by a *chamū-nātha* or general, had 729 elephants, 729 chariots, 2187 cavalry and 3645 infantry. The whole army corps or *akshauhiṇī*, consisting of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots, 65,610 cavalry and 109,350 foot-soldiers, was under the supreme command of the *mahā-senāpati*, who was usually the king. In practice the composition of the army differed considerably from the above theoretical pattern.

The use of the elephant* (*gaja*) in warfare was taken over from the aborigines, but Indian armies as a rule were unable to make good use of them, except in small skirmishes against half-disciplined troops. Their utility was doubtful, since they were easily demoralized, and when overcome by panic were likely to do as much damage to their own ranks as to the enemy. On the whole the Bactrian Greeks, who also used elephants, employed them much more effectively, but again only for small-scale encounters, and never brought them out into the open field in bigger engagements.

The *ratha* or chariot is mentioned in Vedic literature and in the Epics. A Ṛig-vedic hymn addressed to the war-chariot hails it as 'Lord of the Wood'. The *ratha-kāra* or chariot-maker received an honoured place in the hierarchy of artisans; and the *sūta* or charioteer was skilled in battle tactics, while the charioteer of the king was often a bard*. The vehicles were drawn by asses and bulls, and in the case of princely chariots by horses. The king's chariot bore the royal standard. Few warriors had the temerity or skill to fight from a moving chariot in a field of battle. Its popularity declined in the historical period and it served mainly as a means of transport. The traditional use of the chariot for ceremonial purposes, however, continued for many centuries after it had become obsolete in warfare. A chariot with a god installed in it constituted a portable sanctuary in Vedic times, and this chariot pattern passed into the architecture of some early Hindu temples* and shrines.

The *turaṁga* or horse-soldier was always an integral adjunct of the armed forces that invaded India from the northwest. Even today the best horsemen in India are descendants of the barbarian tribes, like the Jāts and Rājputs. Horses were the decisive element in hundreds of battles between the tribes of the plains and those of the hills and the mountain invaders repeatedly proved that small mobile groups could work havoc on large formations. The Hindus did not place much faith in cavalry at first and the weakness of Indian mounted units represented an important factor in the defeat of Indian armies from the beginning of the present era. In more recent times the Marāṭhas learned the strategic uses of cavalry from the Moghuls and became masters of the small and sudden skirmish. They went on to put as many as 100,000 horse on the field but never learned to manoeuvre such unwieldy multitudes

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of troops and fell victim, notably at the Third Battle of Pānipat (1761) to their faith in numbers.

The *padāti* (or *patti*) or infantry formed the backbone of the army. They bore the brunt of battle and were always in direct contact with the enemy and it was therefore essential to have valient men as soldiers, drawn from the fighting castes. Several of the dharma-śāstras expressed the view that a member of the brāhmin caste was a very dubious acquisition to the army. Kauṭilya cautions against an army composed of brāhmins and vaiśyas. The brāhmin will sell his honour to save himself; and the vaiśya will barter his country for money. From the beginning of the historical period most of India's warrior strength was recruited from the ranks of the barbarian invaders from the northwest frontiers, who after each wave settled down in India to form the kshattriya or warrior class, till admission to this caste was stopped during the middle ages and the barbarians were henceforth classed as śūdras. But even as śūdras they were indispensable and were given important military appointments. In the medieval textbook on politics*, the *Nītiśāstra*, it is laid down that the highest military posts may be filled by śūdras and outcastes, i.e. barbarians and foreigners.

The later Indian armies consisted of a nucleus of hereditary troops (*maula*), recruited from the śūdra class, with the addition of mercenaries (*bhṛita*) in time of need, paid for by the trading guilds (*śreṇi*); the troops of allies; and troops drawn from the wild tribal people of the kingdom. The fierce mercenaries of Kerala (Malabār and Karṇāṭa) were in great demand among South Indian kings.

From earliest to modern times observers, Greek, Muslim and European, have remarked that in spite of the bravery displayed in internecine warfare among themselves, Indians have shown remarkably poor skill when faced with disciplined foreigners. Good leadership and good example brought out the best in Indian troops, and when these were present, the gallantry of the Indian soldier was second to none in the world.

Books

See under Warfare.

ART. The nearest Sanskrit equivalent for the term Art is *śilpa*, which means 'diverse' or 'variegated', and was first used for the decorative arts, but subsequently covered all skills, including horsemanship, archery, architecture, painting, cookery, and a host of other arts and sciences.

Some of the arts were discussed in scriptures like the Vedāṅgas and Upavedas, but the chief manuals were the *śilpa-śāstras*, which came into existence some time during the 'Barbarian' period, beginning in about the second century BC, when the basic elements of pre-Muhammadan art were being received and assimilated, and which are believed to owe a great deal to invading and immigrant peoples. This tradition has a wide geographical and ethnic range, and no understanding of Indian art is possible without taking into account the impact of these aliens who, for over a thousand years in the course of almost ceaseless waves of ingression, were the carriers of diverse

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artistic traditions, and brought a constant stream of fertilizing ideas from sources as far apart as China and Greece into the heart of India.

The complex ancient and medieval inheritance of India has not yet been satisfactorily sorted out. The post-Muslim period is in this respect much clearer, and the Moghuls in particular left indisputable evidence of the part they played in influencing Indian art. But the features of the pre-Muhammadan period are far from distinct. The ethnic elements that have made their individual contributions have been so diverse and stretch over such a wide geographical area that a coherent picture has yet to emerge from their study. Every shape, contour, symbol, design, is an indication, every fold of dress, every type of flower and floral decoration, posture, hair style; facial type, is each to be separately studied, reduced to its embryonic significance and every similitude traced to its source. The dynamic whole that is seen as a work of art is thus a composition of countless factors in which history, geography, tradition, race and religion have played a vital part. In India, as was inevitable in the course of centuries, the alien designs became fused with the indigenous styles, and the problem has always been to unravel the skein and trace the individual clues to their origin. The term 'Hindu Art' is therefore one of convenience and must for the present be regarded as undefined.

This task of sorting out the various ingredients in the artistic mélange is rendered doubly difficult by what has been called the Indian's 'native genius for imitation and assimilation'. As early as the fourth century BC, Nearchus noted that Indians were wonderfully clever at imitating Western imports of all kinds. Indian sculptors worked marvels with Achaemenian, Hellenistic and Central Asian art forms as seen in Aśoka's columns, in Sānchī and Bhārhut, and in Gandhāra and Mathurā. Says Vincent Smith, 'Indian artists once they had seized on the main idea would have no difficulty in transmitting it into purely Indian forms'.

From a play by Śūdraka (*c.* AD 580) we learn that the extraordinary imitative faculty of the Indian craftsman was a factor to be reckoned with in deciding the authenticity of a specimen of jewellery. The judge in the play warns the provost who examines the jewels to bear in mind that 'the dexterity of artists is very great. They readily fabricate imitations of ornaments they have seen only once in such a manner that the difference can scarcely be discerned'.

In 1616 Sir Thomas Roe, advising the East India Company in London what goods to send to India, counselled against sending certain commodities like embroidered articles since the Indian craftsmen had learnt to make them equally well by imitating the Western patterns. Roe relates that the emperor Jahāngīr was once amused when, in response to a challenge that a European painting could not be faithfully reproduced, six copies were placed before him that same evening so faithfully reproduced that he confessed he could not pick out the original. Edward Terry in his *Voyage to the East Indies* (1655) writing of the Indian artisan says, 'The truth is that the natives are the best apes for imitation in the world, so full of ingenuity that they will make any new thing by pattern, how hard soever it seem to be'.

Not only were the visual arts reproduced, but literary works as well. Weber mentions a Hindu playwright who transformed the *Midsummer*

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Night's Dream into a piece so thoroughly Indian in character that no trace of its original source remained. He also tells how Euclid's *Elements* were rendered into a Sanskrit adaptation. 'All that remained of the original was the order of the contents and the substance of the examples. All the rest was Indian'.

In most parts of India craftsmen were organized into guilds (*śreṇi*), usually based on caste, and the ancient guilds of ivory workers, silk weavers, metal workers, were often very wealthy and influential in the affairs of the community. The craftsmen's handbooks give details about the mythology, theory and practice of each craft, and some cite the indispensable qualifications of a good artist or craftsman. These are (1) self control and strength of character, (2) powers of concentration and meditation, (3) a native inherited ability that comes from being born in a particular artisan class, (4) clarity of observation and discrimination, (5) theoretical and practical knowledge of the basic rules of balance, harmony, proportion, colour and shape, (6) a knowledge of forms, vegetable, animal, human, divine, and abstract, (7) technical skill acquired through long practice.

(Further particulars on the subject of Hindu and Buddhist Art will be found in articles on Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Music, Handicrafts, Textiles, Skills, Designs, Dyeing and Canons of Proportion.)

The chief periods of Indian art are given below:

PREHISTORIC: Includes the palaeolithic and neolithic periods, and the artistic remains of Early Man in India. Stone implements, remains in prehistoric cemeteries, cave drawings, decorated pottery. Also relics of Negrito and Austric elements.

INDUS VALLEY: (*c.* 2500–1500 BC). Mixed ethnic elements with a probably large Dravidian population. Excavation sites at Mohenjodaro, Harappā, Chanudaro.

VEDIC: (1000–500 BC.) Aryan settlements in northern India and the Gangetic plains. No relics, but evidence of civilization from Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads.

MAGADHA: (sixth to first century BC). The rise of Buddhism and Jainism; occupation of north-west India by the Achaemenian king Darius of Persia (518 BC); the invasion of Alexander the Great (326 BC); the rule of the Mauryan king, Aśoka (272–232 BC). Chief monuments are the Aśoka pillars, the early stūpas, the Barābar caves.

ŚUṄGA: (185–72 BC). Art works connected with the Sānchī stūpa, Bhārhut, Bhājā and Bodh Gaya.

BACTRIAN GREEK: (third to first century BC). Extensive influence in art, architecture, numismatics, literature, and so on, which was reflected in the work of the 'Barbarians' who followed them.

BARBARIAN: (second century BC to fourth century AD). The period of foreign occupation by Central Asian peoples such as the Parthians, Kushāns, and Śakas. Evidence discernible in Gandhāra, Mathurā, Sānchī, and in many of the cave temples of India notably Kārle (AD 120), Junnar (AD 150), and Khaṇḍagiri (AD 200).

ĀNDHRA: (first century BC to fourth century AD). Evidence in the Amarāvatī stūpa and the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

VĀKĀṬAKA: (AD 250–520). Some of the Ajantā caves, e.g. Cave XVI (*c.* AD 490).

GUPTA: (AD 320–490). Assimilated many features of the foregoing heritage, especially Barbarian.

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HUN: (480–550). Contributed substantially to the culture of Rājputāna and Gujarāt. Strong evidence in textiles, designs and personal adornment.
PALLAVA: (480–850). Māmallapuram (700), Kāñchipuram temples.
CHĀLUKYA (500–800). Temples at Bādāmi (580), Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Ajantā, Aurangābād (650).
RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA (750–975). Elephanta (750), Ellorā (Kailāsanātha) (800) temple excavations.
PĀLA (Sena) (730–1125). Universities at Odantapura (770), Vikramaśilā (800), Somapura (850), Jagaddala (1100).
KEŚĀRI OF ORISSA (500–950). Mukteśvara, Liṅgarāja and other temples in Bhuvaneśvar.
CHANDELLA (800–1204). Khajurāho temples.
CHOLA (900–1150). Pudukottai, Tanjore (1100), Chidambaram, Kumbhakonam, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram (1025), Trichinopoly. Also famous bronzes.
SOLAṄKI (960–1240). In the region of Mount Ābū. Jain temples of Vimala (1050), Dilwāra (1250).
GAṄGA OF ORISSA (1070–1568). The Black Pagoda (1278).
HOYSALA (1100–1343). Belūr (1130). Halebīd (1220). Indian rococo style.
PĀṆḌYA (1215–1311). Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Śriraṅgam, Chidambaram.
VIJAYANAGAR (1350–1565). Vijayanagar, Hampi, Vellore (Velur). Indian Baroque style.
NĀYYAKA (1420–1736). Madura (1600), Śriraṅgam (1650), Rāmeśvaram (1160).
RĀJPUT (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries). Chitor, Ranthambhor, Māṇḍu, Gwālior, Jodphur, Jaipur, Amber. A synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles in architecture and painting.

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ARYANS, a family of peoples, also known as the Indo-Europeans. Max Müller who objected to the use of the term in this context declared, 'To me an ethnologist who speaks of an Aryan race is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar'. But the term has a venerable ancestry; it was used by both eastern branches

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of the Indo-European family, the Persians and Indians, and has come to stay. The term is still used in India, and a cognate term survives in Persia as the name of the country, Iran.

We do not know precisely who the Aryans were, and where they came from. The word *Ārya* means noble, and was applied by the Aryans to themselves. It is conjectured that they came from the steppes of Russia and Central Asia about 2000 BC. One group branched into Europe to become the ancestors of the Greeks, another group spread through Asia Minor to Iran.

Tall, fair-skinned and light-eyed, the pastoral Aryans were also agriculturists and hunters, who worshipped nature deities. They domesticated the horse, sheep and cow and used implements of iron, copper and bronze. They were ruled by elected chieftains presiding over a council of nobles and elders. They spoke an Aryan language of which the literary descendants were Avestic in Persia and Vedic in India. The immigrant Indian branch has left a vivid glimpse of its faith and customs in the Vedas, which have given their name to the period and their way of life.

In the country of their ancestors the Iranian Aryans and the Indian Aryans lauded the same gods with the same hymns, and worshipped them with identical rites. Their relationship is today well established, and their 'original home' is now believed to have been at least as far west as the wide plain between the Oxus and Jaxartes, the cradle of some of the characteristic features of Indo-Iranian culture and religion.

Able advocates are not wanting for the theory that the scene of the *Ṛig-veda* is laid, not in the Panjāb, but in Afghanistan and Iran. The first republics of India mentioned by Pāṇini include those of Ferghana and the areas occupied by the modern Afrids and Mohmands. Śakadvīpa has 'with pretty accuracy', says Bhandarkar, been identified with Sogdiana, and its main river Ikshu with the Oxus, separating Sogdiana from Bactria. The Kubha has been identified with the Kabul river, and Krumu with the Kurram, the Gomatī with the Gomal. Divodāsa's conflict with the Paṇis is located by Hillebrandt in Arachosia, and the river Sarasvatī where the battle took place, equated not with the Sarasvatī of the Panjāb but with the Haraqaiti, i.e. the Arghandab of Arachosia. Professor Ghosh holds that the Vedic geographical names Rasa, Bahika and Sarasvatī, 'must have been brought to India from Iran by the Aryans and applied to two Indian rivers and one Indian province' (X, p. 219).

In fact, it is not certain whether any of the seven principal rivers referred to in the *Ṛig-veda* were in India at all. The *Ṛig-Veda* is as much a product of Persia as of India, and some of its hymns, such as those of the sixth maṇḍala even seem to have been composed in Iran, while others date back to the Indo-Iranian era, before the Aryan migration to India (X, p. 226).

Coming to their respective pantheons, we find that most of the major Hindu deities, where they have not been taken over from the aborigines, are ultimately Iranian or Middle Eastern. Professor Apte has pointed out that 'among the Aryans, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman are Indo-Iranian in origin' (X, p. 368). Professor Raychaudhuri says, 'Epigraphic evidence points to a close connection between Western Asia and India about the middle of the second millennium BC'. Sūrya (Shurias), the Maruts (Maruttash) and Daksha

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(Dakash) figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni. Pūshan and Agni come from Central Asia; some features of Brahmaṇaspati from a Hittite thunder god; Tvashṭṛi from Khorasan; Ushas, radiant goddess of the dawn, 'was already a dawn goddess before the Aryan dichotomy in Western Asia' (VI, p. 84).

From their homeland in the plains between the Oxus and Jaxartes the main branches of the Indo-Aryan race separated. One branch, known as the Mitanni moved westwards, leaving a remarkable memento of their sojourn in Asia Minor in a rock inscription at Boghaz Koi dated about 1400 BC. This petroglyph records the conclusion of a treaty between the Mitanni and the Hittites, invoking as witness the Aryan gods Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra and the twins Nāsatya (the Aśvins). The migration of another, larger, branch may have already begun earlier in the direction of the Iranian plateau, and here they settled down for centuries before their final dichotomy. They still shared a common religion and spoke a common language which in time developed into Avestic and Vedic.

One school of thought holds that some unknown spiritual conflict caused a cleavage in their relations. The two peoples whom we may anticipatively call the Persians and Indians split up irrevocably and 'turned their backs upon each other' (X, p. 218), and moved each its own way from their common territory. It would appear that the Indian scion at any rate was deeply offended at some injury received in the Oxus valley. Iranian tradition retains a memory of the common house, Eranvej, but Indian tradition is significantly silent. 'It is indeed difficult to get away from the idea that the silence maintained by the earliest Vedic Indians on Iran and the Iranians was at least partly intentional' (X, p. 219). Some historians believe that Zoroaster's monotheism and his sublimer ethical ideals caused the first rift with the orthodox followers of the sacrificial creeds of what became the Vedas. E. S. Bharucha finds in the *Ṛig-Veda* an echo of the bitter controversy arising from the Zoroastrian reformation (IV, p. 451).

Some such incompatibility of cultural ideals may indeed have been responsible for their historic divorce, which broadened and deepened, culminating in active hostility, as a result of which one branch thrust southwards towards the Indian plains. Certain scholars, notably Lassen, see in the story of the distribution of his property by Manu, son of Vivasvat, an allusion to the splitting up of the Indo-Aryans. According to this legend Nabhānedishṭha, a son of Manu, was left out by his father in the partitioning of the property. The name itself is etymologically related to Nabhanazdishta of the Avesta.

At the time of the Indo-Aryan migration to India, these sentiments had not quite crystallized. In the early Vedic hymns all the great gods received the laudatory title of *Asura* (Avestic *Ahura*), but by the time they had settled down to meditate on their grievances the term Asura had assumed an obnoxious and abusive connotation. The Vedic *deva* (gods) were once the Avestic *daēva* (demons). Indra who became paramount amongst the early Indian deities was a demon in the Avestic scriptures (XIV, p. 12); Nāsatya was the Avestic evil spirit Nānghaithya; the Vedic Sarva was the Avestic Saurva; Yama son of Vivasvat, ruler of the dead, was Yima son of Vivahant ruler of paradise.

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Another school of thought does not credit any theory of 'spiritual divorce' between the two peoples, but ascribes the reversion of attributes entirely to the native priests of India who gradually displaced from the canon, or disguised where it could not be displaced, all reference to the Iranian homeland, and otherwise effaced any external relationship with Iran.

Imperceptibly, in the course of centuries, the Aryan gods gave place to the ancient Indian deities. Sometimes this metamorphosis was effected by a similarity of name, sometimes by a similarity of function, often by a more impalpable process by which indigenous attributes were attached to Aryan gods, whose character, functions and identity were thus often completely altered. By the time the Vedic hymns had reached their final form, old had become confused with new; Iranian gods with Indian deities; the ancient hymns of the Caspian lands with the later poetical paeans of the Indian ṛishis. We therefore find prehistoric hymnological formulas and incantations that have evolved in the course of long liturgical practice, existing side by side with relatively late material. We can trace the supersession of Aryan gods by Indian in the transformation first of Varuṇa, and then of Indra after their arrival on the Indian scene.

The Aryans came with a full pantheon of their own gods, whose aid they invoked in their crusade against the native Indian deities. There was Dyaus (Greek, Zeus), one of the oldest Indo-European gods, so soon to be forgotten in India. There was Soma (Avestic Haoma) whose worship, originally in Central Asia, brought inspiration and immortality, desire and delight, but whose significance became lost in the milieu of the Aryan mésalliance with Indian aboriginals. There were Purusha and Prakṛiti who survive as the names of categories in a philosophical system that was perhaps older than Indra himself.

The close similarity of Avestic and Vedic worship and ritual has frequently been pointed out. In both the Avesta and the Vedas the conventional number of deities is the same, namely thirty-three. Many deities have identical names, e.g. Airyaman (Avestic) and Aryaman (Vedic); Aspina and Aśvin; Gandarewa and Gandharva; Keresani and Kṛiśānu (the celestial bowman); Mithra and Mitra; Ushangha and Ushas; Vagha and Bhaga; Vāta and Vāta; Vayu and Vāyu; Verethragna and Vṛitraghna. The sacred ceremony of *upanayana* is practically identical from the Vedic and Avestic points of view (X, p. 221). Other cult words of great significance used by both peoples are: Avestic *haoma*, Vedic *soma*; *zaotar* and *hotṛi*; *āthravan* and *atharvan*; *manthra* and *mantra*; *yazata* and *yajata*; *azuita* and *ahuti*; *hvar* and *svar*.

The doctrine of transmigration as elaborated in Hinduism has no place in the Vedic hymns, but it is found in the Avestan *Bahram Yasht*, where Verethragna appears in ten incarnations, as a bull, boar, camel, youth, man, and so on, performing mighty deeds which are reminiscent of the avatāras of Vishṇu, and the Buddha birth-stories of the *Jātakas*. It has in fact been suggested that 'the idea of a discontinuous descent of a Divine Being in human form originated somewhere outside India, perhaps in the northwest of Iran, and became diffused eastward and westward from this area' (II, p. 81). Significantly, the term *avatāra* for these 'descents' is not found in the earlier Vedic texts, and is absent from the older Sanskrit glossaries.

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ĀSANA, 'position', a variation of the *aṅgika** or bodily posture, mainly used in meditative and occult practices. The term āsana connotes 'seat' or 'stance', and in yoga implies a 'comfortable seat'. Its object is to place the body in an easy attitude, not necessarily seated, or in a special position best calculated to promote the type of meditation in view without distraction. Patañjali desired little more than that an āsana should be *sthira-sukham*, i.e. firm and agreeable, and it is still held that that posture is best in which a man can remain longest without discomfort.

Every living species is said to be characterized by a particular 'stance', which is the equilibrium of certain forces operating on the gross and subtle bodies. In theory there are 8,400,000 āsanas, one for each of the living species that Śiva brought into being simply by assuming their characteristic *sthāna*, 'stands'. Out of this vast number of āsanas, only eighty-four are ordinarily known to men, of which only thirty-three give good results, and only three can be profitably employed by anyone. These three are differently given, but are generally drawn from the *siddha, padma, śiras, siṁha, bhadra* and *mukta* āsanas.

The practice of āsanas has developed into a formidable series of contortions that demand great elasticity of body. Frequently the āsana is regarded as an end in itself, and yoga*, in which mastery of the āsanas is only the third of eight progressive stages, is now primarily associated with āsanas, and their concomitants.

Hindu manuals describe many astonishing *siddhis** or supernatural powers that come to those who perform the āsanas. It is believed that certain thoughts develop best and certain potencies are best attracted when the body is placed in a given esoteric position, with the practitioner facing in a given direction. To have its fullest effect the āsanas should be part of a *paramudrā**, and must therefore be accompanied by *mudrās* (hand positions), *bandhas* (internal contractions), *prāṇayāma* (breath control), *trāṭaka* (visual concentration), and the utterance of *mantras* (runic syllables). It is to be noted that

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in its advanced stages the practice of āsanas can be an extremely dangerous form of occultism*, and is not to be recommended without proper guidance.

Many of the āsana positions are known to western athletes, the difference being that western practitioners repeat them as an exercise, whereas the yogi assumes and holds a fixed position for a prolonged period without repeating it. In sculpture the major gods and goddesses are frequently shown in one or other of the āsanas, with their hands arranged in a classic mudrā. A few āsanas have passed into the dance, just as dance positions have been reciprocally copied in āsanas. A number have been taken over from the positions of warriors or archers in battle, such as the *vaiśākhāsana*, *ālīḍhāsana*, and *niśchalāsana*.

Certain āsanas get their names from their resemblance to some object, plant, animal or bird. Such āsanas include: *siṁha* (lion), *vṛisha* (bull), *ushṭra* (camel), *markaṭa* (monkey), *kūrma* (tortoise), *maṇḍūka* (frog), *sarpa* (serpent), *makara* (sea-monster), *matsya* (fish), *mayūra* (peacock), *kukkuṭa* (cock), *haṁsa* (swan), *baka* (crane), *śalabha* (locust), *vṛiśchika* (scorpion), *vṛiksha* (tree), *padma* (lotus), *sūrya* (sun), *chakra* (wheel), *vajra* (thunderbolt), *dhanur* (bow) and *hala* (plough). Others are named descriptively, e.g. *hasta-pādāṅgushṭha āsana* (hand-toe posture), *jānu-sparśa āsana* (knee-touching posture), *dvipāda-śiras āsana* (two-feet to the head posture).

It would be impracticable to give a detailed catalogue of all the āsanas, and this will not be attempted here. Only the principal ones are named below, and none of them is fully described.

Ālīḍhāsana (*līḍha*, 'cling'), named after the stance assumed when drawing a bow, since the arrow clings to what it strikes. A standing āsana in which the right leg is straight and the left leg off the ground and slightly bent. When the left leg is straight and the right leg bent it is called *pratyālīḍha*. A variation of the first is the *nāṭyāsana*, a dance pose very much like that of the Dancing Śiva.

Bhadrāsana (*bhadra*, 'prosperous'), in which both knees are drawn together and forward, ankles near the yoni-place, feet turned under and backward, while the two big toes protruding at the rear are held with the hands. This āsana brings material wealth.

Bhujaṅgāsana (*bhujaṁga*, 'curved'), here one lies on the stomach with palms placed on the ground near the shoulders; the head and shoulders are raised as far as possible, arching the back inwards.

Bhūmi-sparśāsana (*bhū-*, or *bhūmi-sparśa*, 'earth-touching'), done while in the *padmāsana* pose (see below), right hand hanging down over right knee, palm inward, tips of fingers touching the ground. It was first used by Buddha at Budh Gaya when, while being assailed by the tempter Māra and his daughters, he called on Mother Earth as a witness. Seated images of Buddha generally show him with his right hand in this position, the other resting on his lap.

Daṇḍa-mukhāsana (*daṇḍa-mukha*, 'rod-mouth') one of several postures assumed in tantrik cults to facilitate the direct absorption of the *bindu** into the mouth. It includes varieties of the head-stand, or a forward bending position whereby this absorption may be achieved. The *halāsana* (below) is also used for the same purpose.

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Dhanurāsana (*dhanus*, 'bow'), here one lies on the belly, raises the head and feet to form a 'bow'. More experienced practitioners are able to hold the ankles with their hands while the back is thus arched.

Dharma-chakrāsana (*dharma-chakra*, 'law-wheel') the āsana relating to the Wheel of the Law, also called the *dharma-chakra-pravartana-mudrā*, i.e. the law-wheel-turning-gesture, in which the right hand is held in the chin-mudrā (*see* mudrā), i.e. it is held up close to the breast, palm out towards spectator, thumb and forefinger touching, other fingers slightly bent. Frequently the right hand rests on the left, which is placed just beneath it in the same mudrā but with the palm up, and with tips of the two middle fingers touching. In this position the left hand signifies *jñāna* (attainment of wisdom) and the right hand *vyākhyāna* ('exposition' of teaching). This mudrā was used by Buddha when he preached his first sermon at Sārnāth. The figure is either standing or seated cross-legged.

Dhyāna-mudrā (contemplation pose), also called *samādhi-mudrā* (trance-pose) or *yoga hasta* (yoga-hand). While in the cross-legged meditative pose as in padmāsana, both hands with palms up lie on one another in the lap.

Ekapadāsana (*eka-pada*, 'one-foot') the name of various *sthāna* (stands) or stances of the upright human figure where one foot is placed on the ground and the other raised. The term is used in contradistinction to the ordinary *sama-pada*, 'equal-footed' sthānas, i.e. with both feet on the ground. The ekapadāsana generally signifies penance, and helps to concentrate occult power. A curse pronounced while one is in this stance is said to be doubly effective. The final pose of the Dancing Śiva is an example of ekapadāsana.

Halāsana (*hala*, 'plough'), here ones lies on the back, hands flat alongside body, palms on floor; then the legs are raised and carried over till the toes touch the floor. A variant of this enables a practitioner to 'eat his own fruit' (*see* bindu), as in daṇḍa-mukhāsana (above).

Kāyotsarga (*kāya-utsarga*, 'body-liberation') a Jain meditative pose. Here the person stands upright with feet firmly planted on the ground, arms hanging down but not touching the body, 'mind free from sexual thoughts and liṅga pendulant'. The colossal rock-cut image of the Jain saint Gomaṭeśvara in Mysore is a fine example.

Lalitāsana (*lalita*, 'agreeable'). This can be performed only on a pedestal or bench. One leg is bent flat as in siddhāsana and the other hangs down. It is as if one sat on a chair with one leg tucked upon the lap or under one. It is usually adopted by goddesses when sitting with their consorts. When both legs are lowered as in the ordinary sitting position on a chair, it is called *pīṭhāsana* (*pīṭha*, 'stool'), or *pralamba-pāda*, 'hanging-legs'.

Mahārāja-līlāsana, (*mahārāja-līlā*, 'royal-ease'), also called *rāja-līlāsana*. Here both legs are on the pedestal (cf. lalitāsana), one leg bent flat as in siddhāsana, the other bent and raised with knee near chin. Usually one arm rests on the raised knee.

Mayūrāsana (*mayūra*, 'peacock'), the legs are crossed as in padmāsana, the body is made to lean forward so that the weight rests on the flat of the palms placed on the floor; the body is then raised and balanced on the hands.

Muktāsana (*mukta*, 'liberated'), both ankles are placed against the yoni-place, soles of the feet flat up against each other, with knees outspread.

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Niśchalāsana, (*niśchala*, 'immoveable'), an āsana taken from the bowman. Left knee straight, right foot back, with knee bent.

Padmāsana (padma, 'lotus'), also called *dhyānāsana* (*dhyāna*, 'meditation'), where one sits with legs crossed, right foot resting on left thigh, left foot crossed over on right leg, soles of feet turned upwards. The arms are usually laid in certain set positions on the knees, but one variation has the arms crossed behind one's back with the hands holding the big toes.

Paryaṅkāsana (*paryaṅka*, 'squatting'), from the standing position the knees are bent and the body lowered to a squatting position, either plain or cross-legged. The 'seat' should not touch the ground.

Śālabhañjakāsana (*śāla-bhañjaka*, 'tree-breaking'). This is the classic pose of the dryads or tree goddesses of ancient Hindu sculpture. Body upright, weight resting firmly on one foot; the ball of the other foot on the ground with heel raised and knee bent. The raised foot may be adjacent to, in front of, or behind the other foot. It is so called from the belief that a beautiful woman can make a tree blossom by giving it a kick (*see* plants).

Sarvāṅgāsana (*sarva-aṅga*, 'all-limbs'); one lies on the back, raises the legs to a vertical position so that the body rests on the shoulders; the back is supported by the hands with the elbows on the ground taking the weight.

Śavāsana (*śava*, 'corpse') where any natural 'corpse-like' position may be assumed, such as lying on the back in a completely relaxed way.

Śayanāsana (*śayana*, 'recumbent'), a sculpture pose showing the figure lying, generally on its side, with many variants. In Hindu sculpture it is used for Vishṇu, and in Buddhist sculpture to depict the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa* or Great Decease of Buddha, always lying on his side.

Shaṇ-mukhāsana (*shaṇ-mukha*, 'six-faced') also called the *shaṇ-mukha mudrā*. With the body in the siddhāsana, the nine orifices* of the body are closed.

Siddhāsana (*siddha*, 'attainment'), in which one is required to sit upright on the left heel, cross the right foot over the left ankle, or, more exactly, 'the left heel should be hard pressed against the yoni-place (beneath the testes) and the right heel placed upon the penis'. Unlike the padmāsana, the soles of the feet are not visible. This āsana 'purifies the seventy-two thousand arteries and veins of the body and directs the mind to liberation'.

Siṁhāsana (*siṁha*, 'lion'). One kneels, with heels against the yoni-place, hands on knees. One must then protrude the tongue far out, stare at the tip, tense the arms and neck, keeping the whole body taut, giving the general appearance of a fierce lion.

Śīrshāsana (*śīrsha*, 'head') here one stands on the head. There are many variations of this āsana which is believed to 'increase health, beauty, swiftness and energy'.

Sukhāsana (*sukha*, 'easy'), any comfortable posture, whether standing, lying down, sitting, standing on the head, if one feels like it and it is easy.

Svastikāsana (*svastika*, the bent cross), sitting with legs crossed as in padmāsana, and with arms crossed over the breast.

Ugrāsana (*ugra*, 'mighty'), one sits with straightened legs flat out and a little apart, bends down till the forehead touches the knees. The hands may be interlocked behind the head, or they may hold the toes.

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Vaiśākhāsana (*vaiśākha*, 'branched') one of the stances of the bowman. One stands on tip-toe, feet apart, thighs flexed. The arms are raised, assuming a variety of positions, or they may be folded in front.

Vajrāsana (*vajra*, 'thunderbolt') any posture when made very rigid, e.g. the *vajra-siṁhāsana*. Among tantrics it is used for any 'erect organ' posture.

Vīrāsana (*vīra*, 'hero'), legs crossed, with left foot under right thigh and right foot over left thigh, or vice versa. As such it is a variant of the padmāsana. Sometimes each foot is placed below the opposite thigh. In both vīrāsana and padmāsana the knees may be slightly raised, but in such cases they are supported by a narrow band called the *yoga-paṭṭa* (binding-cloth).

Vṛikshāsana (*vṛiksha*, 'tree') one stands on one leg, with the sole of the other foot placed high up on the thigh of the straight leg.

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ASAṄGA (?AD 360–650?) or Āryāsaṅga, of Peshāwar, north-west India, a Mahāyāna philosopher, was the originator of Buddhist Yogāchāra idealism. According to later Buddhist tradition the basic notions of this philosophy were revealed to him by the bodhisattva Maitreya in the Tushita heaven. Modern authorities tend to the view that Maitreya (nātha) was a historical personage, the real founder of the Yogāchāra school of thought, and the teacher of Asaṅga, although Tibetan and Chinese scholars continue to attribute the Yogāchāra doctrines to Asaṅga. Closely associated with Asaṅga was his younger brother Vasubandhu, sometimes identified as the councillor of the Gupta king Samudragupta. Both brothers were converts from Hīnayāna, but their interpretation of Mahāyāna tended to be coloured by Hindu thought.

The chief work of this school is the *Saddharma-Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, 'the Manifestation of the Good Religion in Laṅkā (Ceylon)', called briefly Laṅkāvatāra, attributed by some to Maitreya and by others to Asaṅga, and by still others even to Vasubandhu. As the *Prajñāpāramitās* proclaim the doctrine of *śūnyavāda* or unreality, so the Laṅkāvatāra teaches a modification of śūnyavāda, namely, the *Vijñānavāda*, the 'consciousness doctrine'. Like śūnyavāda it denies the reality of the external world or phenomena, but it accepts in a certain sense the subjective reality of the phenomena of thought and consciousness. In short, it teaches that nothing exists outside consciousness. The mind contains the seeds of all phenomena, and these seeds germinate through lack of knowledge. Phenomena are the consequence of delusion, and the cure is *vijñāna* or wisdom, which comes with the realization that nothing exists save mind and thought. In the One Mind all is One. An awareness of this transforms the consciousness into enlightenment.

Among the other texts attributed by scholars to both Maitreya and Asaṅga were: the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā* (also known as the *Prajñā-pāramitopadeśa-śāstra*), the *Yogāchāra-bhūmi-śāstra* (or *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra*), and the

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Sūtrālaṅkāra (or *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*). The text of the last mentioned, which is composed of memorial verses (*kārikā*) was discovered by Sylvain Lévi who suggested that it contained elements of Manichaeanism and Neoplatonism.

Asaṅga is traditionally held responsible for the introduction into Buddhism of certain tantrik notions. Under the influence of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* he is said to have developed a cult of yoga, with stress on breathing and the control of the vital functions for the attainment of occult powers, with a large admixture of tantrik mysticism. He advocated the employment of sexual symbolism such as the 'Pairing of Opposites' and the 'Male-Female Principle'. Sex, the psychic tension between the two opposites was the creative principle. Contemplation of pictures and statues locked in sexual embrace (the *yab-yum* of Tibetan Mahāyāna) and the actual ritual of the sex act were encouraged as a means of attaining adepthood. Asaṅga was the reputed author of the famous Mahāyāna treatises, *Guhya-samāja* the earliest vajrayānic tantrik* text, the *Saṁgraha-śāstra*, the *Uttara-tantra*, and others.

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ASCETICISM. In Hindu ethics *tyāga*, 'ignoring', is counted among the basic virtues. It implies the quality of renunciation, dutifully and passively accepted, and is thus to be distinguished from the active asceticism of *tapas* (below). This relaxed asceticism is a sure means of salvation and a method of achieving one's desires, albeit in a roundabout way. The saying goes, 'What is renounced is gained tenfold'. Its fruits are found in the states of *śama* and *vairāgya* (*see* equanimity). The one who practices tyāga is known as a *tyāgī*.

Renunciation was not advocated by all schools of Indian thought. Kauṭilya prescribes a punishment for the person who renounces the world before he is old and before providing for his dependants. The early dharmasūtra writers condemn renunciation as anti-Vedic. In the *Mahābhārata* Bhīma observes that renunciation only appeals to those who have been unsuccessful in life.

Among the virtues subsumed under the general notion of tyāga are: *ahiṁsā** or non-injury; *aparigraha* or non-possession, when one surrenders all one's goods, generally by distributing them to the members of one's household, and thus virtually owns nothing. Mahāvīra made it the fifth vow of Jainism. The texts declare, 'Nature no longer hides her secrets from those who practice non-possession', and 'The wise are content with little in this world'; *asparsha*, 'non-touching', i.e. keeping aloof from the contaminating influences of a worldly or carnal life. 'All precious things come to him who practices non-touching'; *mauna*, 'silence', this includes both abstinence from

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speech, and the absence of gesture or facial indication through which one's needs or inner thoughts may be conveyed. One who practices this virtue is known as a *muni*.

The sterner aspects of renunciation and austerity are denoted by the term *tapas* 'heat' or 'ardour'. This term although translated 'asceticism' implies not a passive condition, but an active employment of disagreeable, difficult, unnatural, painful means for the accumulation of merit and the acquisition of spiritual power. Says Manu, 'Whatever is hard to be traversed or reached may be accomplished by tapas'. It is essentially a kind of psychic heat brought to explosive tension, and is thus to be distinguished from the passive asceticism of the above tyāga. It is sometimes listed with the major virtues of the Hindu ethical* system and its concomitant virtues are: *dhairya* or endurance, *dhṛiti* or fortitude, and *vīrya* or heroic acceptance of and fervid acquiescence in suffering pain.

The earliest scriptures stress the value of tapas. The world was created and is sustained by the tapas of Brahmā. In the *Ṛig-veda* Indra is said to have gained heaven by tapas. It is by tapas that the ṛishis acquire their almost divine qualities, and it is by tapas that even ordinary mortals may obtain siddhis* (One text says, 'Tapas opens the way to all power'), spiritual enlightenment, and final liberation from the bondage of *saṁsāra* (the cycle of birth-death-rebirth). Many legendary ṛishis practiced tapas until the very gods trembled in awe of their growing powers and begged them to desist. Several ancient sects such as the Ājīvikas* were notorious for the severity of their asceticism.

By tapas even the asuras gained powers that could not be resisted. A story is told of a demon who by means of tapas wrested the boon from Śiva that any person on whose head he placed his hands would be reduced to ashes. Having received the boon he wished to test it by placing his hands on the head of Śiva. The terrified god was put to flight, pursued hotly by the demon, until Vishṇu stopped the chase with the suggestion that the demon try putting his hands on his own head. This of course put an end to the existence of the simpleton asura.

Tapas is one of the disciplinary features of Indian occultism that never fail to fascinate and intrigue the outsider. The person who practices tapas is called a *tapasvin*, and such tapasvins are found among sādhus*, jogis, yogis, 'fakirs' (Arabic, faqīr, mendicant), and left-hand cultists like the Kāpālikas. The genuine ascetics practice their austerities in special places called *tapovana* (*tapas-vana*, 'penance-groves') or forest retreats far from the haunts of men, though a few choose to stay near towns and cities.

The chief classes of tapasvins are: the *jalāśayi* who remain immersed up to their waist in water for days or weeks on end; the *bahūdaka* (bahu-udaka, 'abundant-watered'), itinerent red-garbed mendicants who are constantly on the move from one sacred bathing-place to another, trying during their lifetime to bathe in as many of India's countless sacred waters as possible; the *nish-chalin*, 'non-movers', who stand or sit in one spot for years, without moving, while birds reputedly make nests in their hair, creepers climb up their legs, and anthills grow up around their feet (e.g. Gomaṭeśvara); *khaḍāśrī*, 'standing', those who live without ever lying down, and remain

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permanently upright, sometimes leaning on a staff; *bhūmikā*, 'earthlings', who sleep on the ground, never using bed or mattress; *kuṭilakā*, 'crooked', who never stand, sit or lie in a straightened position, but always remain bent; *śaṅkuśī*, 'spike-lying', who spend hours every day lying on a bed of nails; *chhinnakā*, who lacerate, mutilate or maim themselves, e.g. the Ājīvikas; *ūrdhva-mukhi*, 'up-faced', who hold their faces upwards to the sky until their neck muscles harden; *nīcha-śirasi*, 'down-headed', who keep their heads hanging down, with feet attached to the bough of a tree, like the Ājīvikas; *ūrdhva-bāhu*, those sādhus who keep their arms upraised till they stiffen and are fixed in that attitude permanently; *nakhi-musht*, 'nail-fist', who keep their fists permanently closed so that the nails grow into the flesh; another type of this category hold a small pot containing a sacred plant like the tulsī till their long curved nails grow around it like an iron frame.

Several types of tapasvins are named after their dietary habits. For example, there are those who live only on fruits, or only on milk, or herbs, or roots or wild plants. Others never swallow more than eight mouthfuls per day. There are those who practice *chāndrāyaṇa*, i.e. those whose meals are regulated by the waxing and waning of the moon (*see* vows). The *uñchhavṛitti* live by gleaning the grains left by the reapers. In the *Buddhacharita*, Aśvaghosha mentions ascetics who lived like birds, subsisting only on the grain left in the fields. There are some who haunt graveyards and cremation grounds and eat human flesh, and others who supplement their diet with cowdung and urine or human excreta.

There are also various kinds of 'fire' ascetics, of whom the *pañcha-tapasvin* are the best known. They are so called because they observe the *pañcha-tapas*, 'five-penances', by sitting beneath the scorching sun, with four great fires on all four sides blazing around them.

Because of its many perversions, tapas was condemned by most progressive reformers, including Buddha, Kabīr, Guru Nānak, and many modern leaders.

Books

See under Occultism.

ASHES. According to alchemical theory some elements of the original cosmic matter are present in all things, but they are concealed by the 'accidents' of their outward form. These superfluous accretions can be dispersed and the inherent basic element of a thing may be brought out in part by reducing it to ashes. Hence ashes are regarded as a manifestation of primal matter. The reduction of anything to ash is therefore a form of purification, and the ṛishis of old who flashed forth fire from the eyes and reduced lesser mortals to ashes, both punished and purified them by this means.

Ashes are referred to as *bhasman* because they are produced by the 'devouring' fire. Since they represent 'pure' substances they are extensively used in Hindu ritual and occult practice, particularly by yogis and ascetics. Their application received further support in āyurveda. Ashes symbolize renunciation of worldly things, and mark the true exponent of the mystic path. They are a reminder of the ultimate destiny of the universe when all things will be reduced to dross and only the pure gold remain.

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Some ascetics smear their whole body with ashes; others powder their hair with it; many make caste marks on the forehead and other parts of the body with ashes. The ash-bath (*bhasman-snāna*) is fraught with magical virtues and believed to be a panacea of all ills. In mythology the first ash-bath was taken by Śiva in the ashes of Kāma* mixed with mercury which constituted his own vega at the sight of Pārvatī, hence Śiva is spoken of as *bhasma-priya* 'ash-loving'. The ash-bath of many yogis belonging to the alchemical brotherhood is of the same order.

Ashes play a significant role in alchemy* since the reduction of substances to their primary elements precedes their use in alchemical experiments. In medieval alchemy ashes from the sacrificial fire, from the *dhūni* or jogi's fire, from the burning of certain kinds of wood, from cowdung, or from the cremated remains of a corpse, often constituted the basic cohesive ingredient in the preparation of elixirs.

Books

See under Alchemy and Medicine.

AŚOKA (273–232 BC) Mauryan* king, son of Bindusāra and grandson of Chandragupta, was one of the most remarkable characters in all history. His parentage is obscure, as it has not yet been clearly established who his mother was. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work of the second century AD, Aśoka was the son of Bindusāra by a barber-woman. One modern scholar suggests that Aśoka was the grandson of the Seleucid Greek princess whom Seleucus gave in marriage to Chandragupta (III, p. 33). Tarn further comments that according to the dates, this Greek princess might more probably have married Chandragupta's son Bindusāra, that is, Aśoka's father.

This interesting hypothesis would appear to be a reasonable way to account for the excellent relations that existed between the Greeks and Indians at this time. The Greek influence that germinated during Chandragupta's reign, flowered forth during the rule of Aśoka. He continued to keep in close touch with the Greek world, and entrusted to a Greek governor the task of maintaining order in the difficult western provinces. But such a theory, far reaching though it might be, is hardly calculated to find favour with the orthodox paṇḍits, for then Aśoka, today the pride of India, would be half Greek.

While yet a young prince Aśoka was made viceroy of the frontier provinces of Taxila, and later of the important province of Avanti, with capital at Ujjain. In Ujjain he married his first wife, the daughter of a Śākya merchant of Vidisā, who became the mother of a son, Mahendra, and a daughter Saṅghamitrā. While in Ujjain he heard of his father's death and proclaimed himself king, overriding the claims of his elder brother Suman. He arranged the murder of Suman and of nearly a hundred other potential rivals and claimants to the throne, including brothers and half-brothers.

According to the standards of his day he lived the normal life of the average oriental potentate. He ruled by terror and his prisons, spoken of as 'hell-jails', were equipped with instruments of the most refined torture. The

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size of his harem and of his pleasure park was in keeping with his exalted position. Hundreds of birds and animals were slaughtered daily for the royal kitchen. The empire he inherited was immense, extending from the borders of Arachosia far beyond the Indus in the west, to the Bay of Bengal in the east, and to the edge of the Chola country in the south.

The Dravidian kingdom of Kaliṅga* in the southeast, situated between the Godāvarī and Mahānadi rivers, lay outside the pale of the imperial borders, and he now set about to conquer it. In 261 BC he invaded the country and after a successful campaign annexed it to his dominions. But his venture into empire-building brought him no happiness. On the contrary he was shocked at the appalling results of the war, for untold suffering had been caused to half a million people. At the moment of his greatest triumph he suffered a change of heart, and resolved never again to have recourse to war. The remainder of his years was devoted to the practical application in everyday life of the precepts of Gautama Buddha.

The only true conquest, he declared, was the conquest of men's hearts, in the light of the *Dharma* or Law of Piety. In the year 247 BC the Third Buddhist Council was held under his patronage at Pāṭaliputra, when the Buddhist canon was laid down. Following an old Persian custom Aśoka left Rock Edicts and epigraphic inscriptions on pillars and metal in various parts of India, over thirty in all, containing messages of high moral worth for the benefit of his people. These were inscribed in the various languages used in and about his domain, including one, discovered in 1958 in Kandahār, in bilingual Greek-Aramaic. Some concerned the principles of government, others religious instruction, others enjoined kindness to animals and so on. The great kindness of Piyadasi (Sanskrit: *Priya-darśī*, 'pleasant to behold') as Aśoka was called, to all living creatures extended even to the building of hospitals for animals.

He sent his son Mahendra (Mahinda) and his daughter Saṅghamitrā (Saṅghamittā) to Ceylon and they are said to have carried with them to the Southern Island a branch of the sacred Bo tree under which Buddha had sat. In keeping with his proselytizing fervour Aśoka despatched missions to countries outside the borders of India: to Turayama (Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, of Egypt); to Antikona (Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia); to Maga (Magas of Cyrene); and to Alikasundara (Alexander of Epirus). A Greek Buddhist missionary named Dhammarakkhita was sent to Aparāntaka in Saurāshṭra.

There can be no doubt that history has seldom produced his like. H. G. Wells, who was ever reluctant in his praise of popular heroes says that out of the thousands of names of kings that crowd the pages of history, 'the name of Aśoka shines almost alone, a star', and that from the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. 'China, Tibet and even India though it left his doctrines, preserve the tradition of his greatness'.

This oft-quoted eulogy contains one error. India did not preserve his tradition. In spite of his magnanimity towards all sects, in spite of the fact that he advocated 'reverence and liberality to ascetics and brāhmins', he was regarded by them as a hated Buddhist and a despised śūdra. According to Rhys Davids, 'The brāhmin records completely ignore him until the time

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when, ten or twelve centuries afterwards, all danger of his influence had passed definitely away'. Information about Aśoka is derived mainly from his famous rock edicts and from the Ceylon chronicles, and present knowledge of him is due solely to Western research. K. M. Panikkar reminds us that Aśoka, 'whose name seems to have been expunged from Indian history', was restored to honour and 'today holds a position in the minds of Indians higher than that of any monarch—the result not of Indian researches, but the work of European scholars'.

In Purāṇic tradition Kunāla, another of Aśoka's sons, succeeded him after his death.

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ASPERSION, in Sanskrit *abhisheka*, 'besprinkling', is that part of an inauguration or initiation* ceremony in which a person is helped across an occult threshold, from one stage or condition of life to another. It always involves the use of a 'wet' element, such as water, oil, blood, semen, or a mixture of cowdung, cow-urine and milk. The term originally implied ceremonial purification by bathing, especially in a sacred river, and is still popularly used in this sense.

More strictly abhisheka is the rite in which a person is invested with power by being sprinkled with sanctified water or oil. Thus in the *rājasūya* (royal-consecration*) ceremony a king was anointed with oil and water, as was the heir-apparent when he attained majority. The liquids used for the besprinkling of royalty were said to be of eighteen different kinds, namely, (1) water from a running stream, (2) from a well, (3) from a stagnant pool, (4) from a whirlpool, (5) upstream water, i.e. water blown upstream by the wind, (6) downstream water, (7) water from hail, (8) water collected during sunshine, (9) seawater, (10) billowing water, (11) water voided during the birth of a calf, (12) milk, (13) curds, (14) ghee (clarified butter), (15) cow-urine, (16) bull-sperm, (17) honey, (18) red-coloured water, probably a relic of blood.

A similar ceremony, although without such an elaborate mixture of ingredients, was performed during the equivalent of the modern 'swearing-in' of high officials of state. When they assumed charge of their office their heads were sprinkled with water, to the accompaniment of chanted mantras; they were then presented with the seals of their office and were thereafter entitled to a large or small ceremonial umbrella, depending on their status.

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Buddhist and Hindu cults have an abhisheka ceremony at various times, e.g. when taking the vow of renunciation, and at the *dīkshā* (initiation), when the novitiate is admitted to an order by the guru whispering a secret mantra into his ear. The abhisheka ceremony is used for many other purposes. A Hindu idol is 'enlivened' by the same ritual of sprinkling, and a virgin wife is believed to be ceremonially 'besprinkled' in the rite of the first night by her husband's ejaculation.

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ĀŚRAMA, a 'stage' in the progress through life of the twice-born Hindu. The term is generally applied to the forest retreat of the *vānaprastha* at the third 'stage' of life, and more popularly to the hermitage of a ṛishi or sage.

The life of the higher caste Hindu was divided into four periods or stages, and he was expected to spend some time in each, in order to repay the debts he owed to the gods (by sacrifice), to the ṛishis (by study) and to the ancestors (by raising male progeny). There has been much controversy among the authorities about the castes for whom the observance of these stages was obligatory. According to some only the brāhmins were required to go through the āśramas; according to others the brāhmins and kshattriyas; still others insist that the vaiśya or merchant class was included among the twice born upon whom this progression through the four stages was incumbent; and Ambedkar quotes evidence to show that even the śūdra or servile caste was eligible in early times for the upanayana and therefore was expected to pass through this graduation.

The āśramas are not mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda* and are only casually referred to in some late Upanishadic texts. In fact, some of the dharmaśāstras assail the system because of the tradition that an *asura* (demon) named Kapila invented it, and declare that the wise man will disregard them for they are not 'seen' in the Vedas; and in one of the stages (see saṁnyāsa, below) there is a ritual rejection of the Vedas. Some authorities discern here the influence of Buddhism* on the evolution of the āśramas.

Although the āśramas later came to be regarded as one of the main pillars of the orthodox Hindu way of life and vital to the Hindu social system, it is doubtful if the progression was ever generally observed among the twice-born. It is more likely that the number of those who passed through the stages was negligible. As Rhys Davids remarks,

'It is quite true that the priestly manuals take it as a matter of course that the rule of the āśramas was observed. But they do not give us the actual facts of life in India. They give and are only meant to give what the priests thought the facts ought to be.'

Today the āśramas are no longer an integral part of the Hindu social structure.

In theory the four āśramas or stages in the Hindu's life are as follows:

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(1) **Brahmacharya** ('religious living') the period of adolescence, when he is a celibate religious student. Sexual abstinence is compulsory and basic at this stage, so that the years of studenthood are known as the period of celibacy, and the term for the student at this stage, *brahmachāri* (or *-chārin*), is synonymous with 'celibate'. The punishment for a brahmachāri who went to a woman was a midnight sacrifice of a one-eyed ass to Nirṛiti; his portion of the sacrificial victim was cut from the penis (IV, p. 266). The penitent had to wear the pelt of the ass and beg for his food for seven days, confessing his sins. The pupil at this stage generally stayed at the house of his guru (*see* Education) whom he obeyed implicitly. He wore his hair long, studied, practiced penances, tended the sacrificial fire and did some of the household work. The period of his apprenticeship lasted for twelve years, but a student could if he wished stay on for further study for a period of thirty-two years. The education received by him varied a great deal, but it was obligatory that he learn the essentials of the Vedas and know how to perform the domestic sacrifices.
(2) **Gṛihasthya** (*gṛihya*, 'household'), the stage of the *gṛihastha* or married householder. This stage commences with marriage and its duties include the begetting of children, the performance of the five daily sacrifices, and the discharge of his responsibilities as a member of the community and a man of the world.
(3) **Vānaprasthya** (*vāna-prasthāna*, 'forest-departure') when, having discharged his duties as a householder he retires and lives in the forest, either alone or with a group of others like himself. Here the *vānaprastha*, as he is called, devotes himself to meditation, strictly performs all ceremonies and duties, and practices austerities and penances, preparatory to final renunciation of all worldly goods. The age at which he is to go to the forest is differently given. Some lawgivers state it should be after the age of fifty summers; or when the skin is wrinkling and the hair turning grey; or when he has passed the age of copulation; or when he has seen the son of his son. Others say it is permissible to take his wife with him, but he must remain chaste. This is known as *audumbara* retirement, since he has metaphorically replaced the udumbara stick that separated him from his wife on his wedding night (*see* consummation). Modern opinion holds that audumbara asceticism can be followed without retiring to the forest.
(4) **Saṁnyāsa** (or *sannyāsa*, 'renunciation'), the stage of the *sannyāsi* (or *-nyāsin*), when the man renounces all his possessions except his loincloth, begging-bowl and water-pot, and subsisting on food obtained by begging is regarded as free from all duties, obligations and observances. The Vedas are consigned by a ritual act to fire or water, and the implements of Vedic sacrifice disposed of. Contact with cities, towns and even villages is, as far as possible, avoided. Human contact and speech are reduced to the absolute minimum. As Manu says, 'He thinks of the body as a temporary shack. The bones are the beams, flesh and blood the mortar, and the skin the thatching. It is foul-smelling, filled with urine and ordure, infested with decay, harrowed by pain, wracked with passion and altogether perishable'. So meditating he acquires an unruffled, philsophical equanimity, and as his body dissolves into its material elements so his soul slowly dissolves into the Universal Spirit.

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ASSAMESE, the language spoken by about three million people in Assam. The ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa*, now called Assam, has to a certain extent been isolated from the rest of India, and Aryan influences took many centuries to penetrate its inaccessible regions. When Hiuen-Tsang visited Kāmarūpa in the seventh century he spoke of the language as somewhat different from the languages of Mid-India.

Among the factors which have contributed to the development of Assamese, were the Austric aborigines of Assam who furnished the vocabulary pertaining to family relationships, the terminology of sex, the names of animals, and some place names; while the Āhom, a Shān tribe who invaded Kāmarūpa from the Brahmaputra valley in 1230 brought with them Tibeto-Chinese influences which survive in the names of rivers, lakes and hills. From the Āhom comes the present name of the country, Asama, which means 'peerless'.

With the introduction of Sanskrit in the middle ages, a large vocabulary and many grammatical forms were taken over, and Assamese emerged in its present form, evolving from a synthesis of Middle Sanskrit and the Prāchyā Māgadhī Prākṛit current in the border areas between Bengal and Assam. But the harsh clustered consonants of Sanskrit were gradually modified by the insertion of vowel sounds; the cerebrals were adapted to the more gentle Assamese palate, and the heavy syllabary broken up into its easily recognizable components. Structurally the language is now Indo-Aryan. During the Moghul period Persian words were added to the official vocabulary, and with the coming of British rule English words introduced in many branches of study.

Assamese literature has a long but uneventful history. Kāmarūpa was known from early days as the home of black magic and witchcraft, and several tantrik charms and spells in ancient Assamese still survive. Besides these and a few Buddhist songs and aphorisms nothing worthwhile remains of the early period except the memory of a philosopher named Ḍāk, whose sayings are revered in eastern India as if they were Vedic utterances. His aphorisms, now adapted from the original versions, are strongly Buddhist in thought and feeling.

The next significant phase was the development of the native *bargīt*, the simple devotional hymns sung in the villages and generally of Vaishṇavite inspiration, recording the devotion of the worshippers of Rāma and the child Kṛishṇa. There were also lively legends, local folk-lore, and native aphorisms and proverbs.

The most notable of the medieval writers was Śaṁkara-deva (1449–1568)

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who is said to have lived till the age of 120. A Sanskrit scholar and a great traveller who journeyed all over India, he translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, wrote plays and songs, established Vaishṇavite monasteries and was regarded by many as a saint, and an incarnation of Vishṇu. He and his many disciples greatly enriched Assamese literature with dramas, hymns and legends.

During the next centuries the bulk of Assamese writing is derivative and uninspired. Translations and adaptations from Sanskrit were the order of the day—the literal order, since the kingly patrons under their brāhmin counsellors demanded such productions. Talented writers devoted their lives to the task of translating into stilted Assamese the cumbersome tomes of Sanskrit learning and devotion. The Epics and Purāṇas, treatises on astrology, medicine and mathematics, and that inexhaustible theme of medieval Indian writers, the art of love, especially in its grosser forms, were all laboriously rendered into a Sanskritized vernacular.

The patronage of the Āhom kings between the years 1600 and 1800 provided a respite from these lucubrations, and helped in the development of a restrained, objective and secular form of prose, adapted for the *Burañji*, or Chronicles of the Āhom court. These were officially compiled, first in the Āhom language, but later in Assamese, for the state archives, and comprised the reports, orders, transactions and chronicles of the kingdom.

The advent of the Christian, especially Baptist, missionaries at the beginning of the nineteenth century ushered in the modern period of Assamese literature. In 1813 the Bible was translated into simple, vigorous Assamese, setting the standard for modern prose in that language. It was the first book to be printed in Assamese. In 1840 missionaries brought out the first Assamese grammar, and six years later the first Assamese magazine. From the missionary presses came forth a stream of literature, Christian in outlook, written in the vernacular, which remained the most important single factor in the development of modern Assamese prose, poetry and drama.

When the Assamese themselves took the initiative once more they turned to patriotic themes and social reform, but much of their work leaned to imitation of the English contemporary poets, especially those of the Romantic Revival. The best known of the moderns was Bezbarua (1858–1938) who wrote plays, historical novels, short stories and poetry, and brought several new literary forms into vogue. But he, like his many successors, brilliant as they are, have so far done little more than reflect the light coming from the West, and Assamese literature still awaits its truly indigenous masters.

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ASTRONOMY. Early Indian astronomy was to a large extent centred on astrology, and the term *jyotisha* covered both. Among the Vedāṅgas there is

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one brief treatise on astronomy, the *Jyotisha-vedāṅga*, which consists of about forty *ślokas* (verses) concerned only with chronological calculation. It is badly corrupted and only partly intelligible.

The Hindus have ever been fascinated by astrology. According to legend the sage Bhṛigu* first perfected the science and compiled astrological charts giving the horoscope of every person ever born or to be born in the world. But in fact the elements of astrology were probably first acquired from Mesopotamia and from the Magas* of Persia. There are several early references to the need for performing ritual acts at the proper time and Megasthenes speaks of Indian astrologers and specialists in divination* who declared auspicious days and made prognostications for the king.

The early post-Vedic treatises consist of a short work on astrology, a larger work on the same subject by a Jain author, and some supplementary treatises related to the magical operations of the *Atharva-veda*. There is some information in these regarding dates and times for the performance of periodical sacrifices, but otherwise the scientific data is of a poor order. 'In astronomy', says Seal, 'observation was, generally speaking, defective'.

The later post-Vedic period is to be dated entirely from after the third century AD when Indian astronomy began to borrow more and more from Greek sources. Says S. K. Chatterji, 'India accepted Greek astronomy practically *in toto* as being more accurate than the Vedic astronomy which she abandoned by AD 420'.

An astronomical work of great historical value is the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* (*c.* AD 230). It contains a chapter of a much earlier date called the *Yuga-purāṇa* (*c.* 50 BC), often quoted for its famous account of the Greek attack on Sāketa and their advance into Pāṭaliputra on the Ganges, besides other references to the Bactrians* and barbarians*. The *Yuga-purāṇa* section is also regarded as being among the earliest works of the Purāṇa type. The present Sanskrit version has traces of prākṛitisms and is referred back to a Prākṛit source. But both the astronomical and the historical portions of this work seem to have been written under Greek influence, and the *Yuga-purāṇa* remains one of the source books of Indo-Greek history (VI, p. 174).

Many treatises belonging to this period show Greek influence, and one of them declares, 'The Yavanas (Greeks) are barbarians, but the science of astronomy originated with them and for this they must be revered like gods', a sentiment later endorsed by Varāhamihira (see below). Even the popular art of casting horoscopes was characterized by Greek methods and employed Greek terms. Says Keith, 'It is admitted that Greek astrology affected powerfully Indian astrology and astronomy'.

Astronomy received some desultory treatment in the work of the mathematician Āryabhaṭa (AD 476–520) who attempted to explain the causes of eclipses, but the first methodical presentation of the subject is to be found in the *Siddhāntas*, the earliest Hindu treatises on astronomy (and mathematics) with any claim to a scientific approach. Among the authorities mentioned in these texts we find the names of Yavaneśvara ('Greek deity'), Yavanāchārya ('Greek teacher'), Manittha (Manetho, *c.* 250 BC, the Alexandrian astronomer) and Sphujidhvaja (a Śaka or Kushān). Another major work is the *Pañcha-siddhāntika* by the astronomer and mathematician Varāhamihira*

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(AD 505–587) which gives a brief conspectus of the five most important astronomical works of his time. He also wrote on augury and horoscopes.

The impact of Greek astronomy, particularly of the Alexandrian school is clearly apparent in all the siddhāntas and in Varāhamihira. The writers use Greek and Latin names for the planets and signs of the zodiac, and freely employ both Greek and Latin technical terms. The Greek word *hora*, 'time', is taken bodily into Sanskrit as *Horā*, 'horoscopy', which constituted one of the three branches into which the science of Jyotisha was divided. The Sanskrit *jāmitra*, the seventh astrological mansion, is taken from the Greek *diametron*; *kendra*, 'centre of a circle' comes from the Greek *kentron*. Among the zodiacal names, signs and constellations, the following are admitted to be borrowings: *kaurpa*, 'Scorpio' (from Gk. *karkinos*); *leya*, 'Leo' (from *leon*); *tāburi*, 'bull' (from *tauros*); *Āra* (from Gk. *Ares*); *Heli* (from Helios); *Jyau* (from Zeus); *Kroda*, ('Saturn' from Gk. *Kronos*). Varāhamihira* refers to Romaka (Alexandria), Paulīśa (Paulus Alexandrinus), and Paitāmaha (possibly Pythagoras). Professor G. Thibaut says, 'Varāhamihira mentioned certain facts and points of doctrine which suggest dependence of Indian astronomy on the science of Alexandria'.

The astrological treatise called *Yavana-jātaka*, of dubious authorship probably preserves the work of a writer of Greek origin. An acquaintance with Greek astronomy was part of the intellectual equipment of Sanskrit writers for several centuries, and even Kālidāsa was familiar with Greek astronomical terms (IV, p. 29). Banerjee says, 'Indian astronomy in its scientific form is essentially the astronomy of the Alexandrian school, and its technical nomenclature is to a large extent Greek in slight disguise'.

Contact with the Arabs in the eighth century revived the interest in astronomical studies and both nations benefitted by the interchange of ideas. By this time Hindu astronomers had accepted the fact that the heavenly bodies were spherical and showed reflected light; they calculated the diameter of the earth and were aware of the movement of the earth on its axis. But on the whole there was a slow decline in independent thinking, and astrology and horoscopy took precedence over scientific astronomy. The Moghuls brought to India the astronomical wisdom of the famous Muslim universities of Central Asia, and late medieval astronomy in India was largely Muslim in inspiration. The astrological works of this period include the *Horā-śāstra* of Bhaṭṭopala (fifteenth century) and the *Tājikā* of Nīlakaṇṭha (sixteenth century).

Noteworthy in the story of Hindu astronomy are the five *Jantra* (Yantra) or observatories built by the astronomer-king Jai Singh II (1699–1744) founder of Jaipur, at Delhi, Banāras, Mathurā (this has now disappeared), Ujjain and Udaipur. The instruments of these observatories are huge masonry structures, some of them ninety feet high, built on the pattern of the Central Asian models of Ulugh Beg at Samarqand. They include the mural quadrant, a meridional wall set in the plane of the meridian, sloping up to point to the North Pole; charts of the celestial sphere; and a huge gnomon. They were meant to ascertain the sun's altitude and zenith distance and its declination; to find the declination of a planet or star; to find the degrees of azimuth of a planet or star; and to determine celestial latitudes and longitudes.

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ASURA, an *Anārya** (non-Aryan) people of ancient India. In the oldest part of the *Ṛig-veda* the term asura is used for the Supreme Spirit, like the term Ahura (e.g. Ahura Mazda) of the Zoroastrians. It also meant a god, and was applied to Varuṇa, Agni, Mitra, Indra and other major deities. In the later portions of the *Ṛig-veda* and in the frequently anti-Aryan *Atharva-veda* it acquired a directly opposite meaning, and came to connote, as it has done ever since, a titan, a demon, an enemy of the gods, with whose sacrifices he was constantly interfering. Asuras reputedly possessed magical powers and were skilled in the craft of metals.

Several theories have been put forward to account for the name. Some say it comes from Ashur, the Assyrian god, and the derogatory connotation derives from the fact that the Assyrians were enemies of the Aryans before the latter migrated to India. Others suggest that the Aryans, who were hard drinkers of a liquor called *surā*, referred to the abstemious Anārya people as a-sura. Some again believe it is derived from the breath (*asu*) of Prajāpati, which became animated in the form of the asura people. The word also represents the negative form of 'sura', a term applied to the inferior deities who inhabit Svarga or paradise. Hence a-sura would mean a no-God, or godless person. Some authorities identify the Asuras with the aboriginal Kolarian* inhabitants of India, based on the evidence that one of the Kolarian tribes of Chota Nāgpur is still known as the Asur.

The term Asura is often used synonymously with two other classes of Anārya peoples, namely, the Dānavas and Daityas. Mythologically the Dānava were the titan children of the sage Kaśyapa and the chaos-hag Danu. The Daitya were the children of Kaśyapa by the goddess Diti. Both Dānavas and Daityas are sometimes spoken of as oceanic giants. The steeds of the Daityas were the Arvān, bird-horses which came from the moon.

Hindu mythology is filled with legends of the asuras and their ceaseless struggle with the gods. They were opposed in Vedic times by Indra, and in the epic period by Rāma and Kṛishṇa. The asuras mentioned below are among the more important, whose lives illustrate the general trend of asura history as depicted in Hindu mythology.

Andhaka, 'blind', the son of Kaśyapa and Diti, was so called because he groped about as though sightless. He had two thousand arms, legs, heads and eyes, and saw very well indeed. He coveted the Pārijāta tree of Indra but was slain by Śiva while attempting to carry it off.

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Jaya and **Vijaya,** two gatekeepers of Vishṇu's palace, who had to suffer three incarnations as ogres and giants because they had once offended a ṛishi. They were given the choice of being born six times as Vishṇu's devotees or three as his enemies. They chose the latter as ensuring a speedier return to Vishṇu's service. They were first re-born as Hiraṇyāksha and Hiraṇyakaśipu, then as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, and finally as Kaṁsa and Śiśupāla, in all three incarnations unaware of their celestial origin.

Kālanemi, uncle of Rāvaṇa who promised him half his kingdom if he slew Hanumān. Disguised as a mendicant Kālanemi went to the Himālayas where Hanumān* had gone in search of medicinal herbs. But Hanumān, forewarned by a friendly apsarā, recognized him in spite of his garb, and gripping the asura by the heels, whirled him over his head and flung him through the air so that his corpse fell at the feet of Rāvaṇa as he sat in his council chamber in Laṅkā. Kālanemi was reborn as the son of Virochana, the grandson of Hiraṇyakaśipu, to be slain by Vishṇu, and again, according to some legends, as Kaṁsa*, to be slain by Kṛishṇa.

Keśin (or Keśi), a king of the Haya, the fierce horse-asuras or daitya aborigines, who were defeated by Indra. During Kṛishṇa's boyhood the tyrant Kaṁsa sent Keśin to attack him, but Kṛishṇa thrust his arm into the horse-demon's jaw and tore him asunder.

Madhu, an asura who, with the demon *Kaiṭabha*, concealed himself in the ear of Vishṇu, intending to destroy Brahmā as he reclined on the lotus in Vishṇu's navel. Vishṇu slew them and from their fat (*meda*) fashioned the earth, which was thereafter called *medinī*. In other legends Madhu is slain by Kṛishṇa or Śatrughna, and Kaiṭabha by Umā. According to the Purāṇas, Madhu was a powerful king who married Kumbhīnaśī daughter of Viśravas*, and established the kingdom of Śūrasena (i.e. *asura-sena*, 'Asura-warrior') with a capital, named after him, Madhurā or Mathurā* on the banks of the Yamunā. *Lavaṇa* the son of Madhu and Kumbhīnaśī succeeded to the throne of Mathurā after his father's death, and fought against Rāma*.

Mahisha (or Mahishāsura), a fierce asura who waged a hundred years war against the devas, wrought devastation in the heavenly realms, and for many years held their capital in thrall. In the Purāṇas he is a buffalo-demon, slain by Kālī* or Kārttikeya. His kingdom was in the South, and he is honoured to this day as the founder of Mysore State (Mahishāsura—Mahisur—Maisur—Mysore).

Maya the architect and artificer of the asuras, was the son of Viprachitti, and father of Mandodarī (wife of Rāvaṇa). He lived in the hills not far from Delhi and built palaces and pleasure grounds for gods, daityas, dānavas and men. The *Mahābhārata* states that he built a palace for Yudhishṭhira* the Pāṇḍava prince. Some authorities suggest that he may have been a Maga priest-architect.

Namuchi (*na-much*, 'not-releasing') an asura mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata*, who was so mighty that he even overpowered Indra and held him captive. Indra offered to become his ally, promising not to slay him either by day or by night, by wet or by dry. When released, Indra sought an opportunity and cut off his head at twilight (neither day nor night) with foam from the sea (neither dry nor wet). For long

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the severed head haunted Indra crying, 'O you faithless killer of an ally!' The *Mahābhārata* declares that in killing Namuchi, Indra incurred the sin of brāhminicide, since this famous asura was, like Vṛitra (see below) a brāhmin. Namuchi appears in Buddhist texts as a demon of lust who does not 'let go' of his victims.

Nikumbha, an asura slain by Rāma or Kṛishṇa in different legends. According to the *Harivaṁśa* he was a demon king of Shaṭpura who acquired great magical powers which enabled him to multiply himself into many forms. He received a boon from Brahmā that he would die only at the hands of Vishṇu. When he abducted the daughter of Brahmadatta, Kṛishṇa's friend, Kṛishṇa pursued him and a great fight ensued. As Kṛishṇa slew him in one form the asura assumed another form, and so on until Kṛishṇa had destroyed him in all his forms and thus slew him outright. Kṛishṇa restored the damsel to Brahmadatta, and gave him the asura king's city of Shaṭpura.

Śambara in the Vedas is a demon, and appears like Vṛitra to be a personification of drought. He opposed Divodāsa* and was defeated by Indra. In the Purāṇas he carried off Pradyumna and was killed by him.

Vaiśvānara, a *dānava* or asura (in the *Ṛig-veda* it is one of the names of Agni) whose two daughters Kālakā and Pulomā (in some legends they are called the daughters of Daksha) married the sage Kaśyapa*. As a reward for their penance they were vouchsafed the gift of bringing forth children without pain, and bore Kaśyapa sixty thousand ferocious dānavas known as the Pauloma, Kālakañja and Kālakeya.

Vṛitra, son of the demoness Danu, was the demon of drought and inclement weather, and was also known as Vṛitrāsura. He is described as having neither feet nor hands, and Vedic hymns speak of his frightening hissing and snorting. He caused thunder, lightning, mist and hail, and was constantly at war with Indra, lord of the firmament, who frequently overpowered him with his thunderbolts and thus compelled him to release the rain. He was finally slain by Indra, and thereafter Indra was known by the title of Vṛitra-ghna (slayer of Vṛitra). Since the demon was regarded as a brāhmin, Indra had to perform special sacrifices to purify himself and purge away his sin. Vṛitra was also called Ahi, although Ahi was sometimes distinguished from him as a dragon or great serpent. *Vala* (or Bala) the brother of Vṛitra, dwelt in a cave and withheld the rain from mankind until vanquished by Indra; he is sometimes associated with the Paṇi.

Books

See under Anārya*.

AŚVAGHOSHA (?80 BC–AD 150?), Buddhist scholar, philosopher, poet, and musician, born of brāhmin parents in Ayodhyā. At first a relentless opponent of Buddhism he was later converted to that religion and became one of its greatest exponents. He was the spiritual adviser of the Kushān emperor Kanishka*, and took a leading part in the Fourth Buddhist Council which met during his reign.

Among his writings are the *Vajra-sūchika*, an 'Upanishadic'* treatise in which he attacks the caste system, contending that a man is a brāhmin by

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wisdom and not by birth; the *Buddha-charita*, a poetic biography of Buddha; the *Saundar-ānanda*, a *kāvya* (short epic) in eighteen cantos, and several dramas and lyrics of great beauty. Aśvaghosha is the first great Sanskrit poet in the kāvya style, and the progenitor of the Sanskrit drama, and he has been called the greatest poet of India before Kālidāsa. Fragments of his nine-act drama, the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*, were only recently discovered in Turfān in Central Asia (*see* drama history).

His commentaries and interpretations of Buddhism make him one of the principal architects of Mahāyāna* and a Father of the Buddhist church. He was the first to explain the fundamental concepts of Mahāyāna such as Tathatā, the Ālaya-consciousness, the Trikāya, Bodhisattva, nirvāṇa, and Salvation by Faith. The famous *Śraddhotpāda*, 'The Awakening of Faith', one of the canonical scriptures of Mahāyāna and one of the earliest attempts to systematize the teachings, is sometimes attributed to him, although recent scholarship tends to place it in about the fifth century AD. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost but it survives in Chinese and other versions.

More than fifty works are attributed to Aśvaghosha but they are certainly not all by him. A Chinese text seems to indicate the existence of more than one Buddhist sage of this name, or at any rate the use of his name by other writers, for it speaks of six Aśvaghoshas who flourished at different times.

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AŚVIN (dual, Aśvinau), 'horsemen', the Vedic counterpart of the Greek Dioscuri, were the twin sons of Vivasvat the sun-god and the nymph Saraṇyū. They personified the first luminousness that heralds the dawn and the transition from darkness to light, and were a symbol of duality acting in unison. Several hymns are addressed to them. They were the celestial physicians in *svarga* or paradise, and were popularly worshipped for their healing powers. The elder of the twins was *Dasra*, 'wondrous', and the younger *Nāsatya*, 'negator of untruth', although these names were often interchanged and even used dually for both brothers. The name Nāsatya has been deciphered in an ancient Hittite inscription in Boghaz Koi in Asia Minor (*see* Varuṇa).

Some authorities hold that the Aśvins were not entirely mythical, but were a tribe of horsemen or warriors who were also skilled in healing and who later became identified with the dual kings who ruled over them. In other words they were mortals of great renown who were metamorphosed into deities of the dawn and destroyers of darkness and disease.

The Aśvins are described as handsome and young, brilliant of aspect, agile and swift, riding in a golden three-wheeled chariot drawn by horses or birds. Hot springs, especially the subterranean geyser Baḍavā (*see* Aurva), are among their favourite haunts. In many legends they are associated with honey; they carry a bag of honey; their car is honey-coloured; they gently strike the worshipper with a honey whip; they give honey to the bee.

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In Hindu epic myths they are the parents of the Pāṇḍava princes Nakula and Sahadeva. According to the *Ṛig-veda*, and as further elaborated in the Purāṇas, the Aśvins restored to youth the aged ṛishi Chyavana*, as a reward for which, through Chyavana's intervention, they gained admittance, hitherto denied them, to the divine *soma* ritual of the gods.

Books

See under Mythology.

ATHARVAN, a mahāṛishi whose name seems to have been derived from a class of early Indo-Persian priests. He is mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda* as a priest who has 'drawn forth fire and offered sacrifice in ancient times'. On the other hand he is sometimes represented as an emaciated black-skinned man, irascible and amorous, whose characteristics might point to an ancient indigenous priesthood.

Atharvan is regarded as the eldest son of Brahmā to whom the god revealed divine knowledge as embodied in the fourth Veda, the *Atharva-veda**. Closely associated with the Atharvana, as his progeny were called, were the Aṅgirasa, descendants of the ṛishi Aṅgiras*, and the composite term *Atharvāṅgirasa* is used for the descendants of these two combined families, and also for the hymns of the *Atharva-veda*.

Chief among the descendants of Atharvan was Dadhīcha (or Dadhyanch) who is mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, as a sage whose profound austerities perturbed the gods. To distract him they sent the *apsarā* Alaṁbushā who sported naked in the waves of the Sarasvatī just as he was performing his ablutions. At the sight of her his seed fell from him and the river goddess Sarasvatī took it into her bosom and nurtured it and reared a son.

Dadhīcha was taught certain sciences by Indra but was threatened with decapitation if he revealed the sacred runes to anyone. He was, however, persuaded by the Aśvins to impart the secrets to them, and to save him from the wrath of Indra they replaced his head with that of a horse. Indra decapitated the horse and the Aśvins restored the original head. The bones of Dadhīcha were powerful instruments in the conquest of demons and asuras. It is said that he gave his life so that the deities might use his bones to overcome their demon enemies. With these bones, as well as with the horse's head which was retrieved from a lake in Kurukshetra where it had been thrown, the gods fashioned magical weapons like the *vajra* or thunderbolt, and so foiled the nine times ninety stratagems of the demon host'.

Books

See under Mythology.

ATHARVA-VEDA, the fourth Veda, of whose origin there has been much contentious speculation. It is also referred to as the *Brahma-veda* because it served as the manual of the chief sacrificial priests, the brāhmins. A great deal is said in the *Atharva-veda* hymns about the brāhmins and the honours due to them. One-sixth of the work is not metrical, and about one-sixth of the

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hymns are also found among the hymns of the *Ṛig-veda*, mostly in the first, eighth and tenth books. The rest of the subject matter is peculiar to the *Atharva-veda*. This Veda was once current in nine different redactions, of which only two, the Pippalāda and Śunaka recensions are extant, the former in a single unpublished 'Tübingen manuscript' discovered by Roth.

The *Atharva-veda* embodies the magical formulary of ancient India, and much of it is devoted to spells, incantations, chants and charms. In general the charms and spells are divided into two classes: they are either *bheshajāni*, which are of a medicinal, healing and peaceful nature, dealing with cures and herbs for treating fever, leprosy, jaundice, dropsy and other diseases; this class includes prayers for successful childbirth, love spells, charms for fecundity, for the recovery of virility, hymns for the birth of sons, and a quaint chant to put the household to sleep while the lover steals into the girl's home at night. Or else they belong to the *abhichāra* class, which are of a bewitching and malevolent nature; these include spells for producing diseases and bringing ill-luck to enemies. Among them is a spell that a woman may use against her rival to make her remain a spinster; another spell is meant to destroy a man's virility, and so forth. There are hymns to serpents and demons, and incantations replete with witchcraft, sorcery and black magic.

One of the reputed authors of the *Atharva-veda* was the ṛishi Atharvan, of Maga or Persian ancestry. But certain parts, especially the verses dealing with the rites of sorcerers and wizards were attributed to the ṛishi Aṅgiras, of pre-Aryan, probably Dravidian stock. The hymns were said to have been collected by Sumantu, a ṛishi of great antiquity who bequeathed the material to Vyāsa for arranging.

The *Atharva-veda* is the most interesting of the śruti, for it has preserved to a great extent a solid core of pre-Aryan and non-Aryan tradition. It is unique among the texts of the Vedic period and 'an important source of information regarding popular religious belief, not so far modified by priestly religion'. It reveals in fact a vast substratum of indigenous doctrine that is not only non-Vedic but at times contra-Vedic.

Scholars trace Mesopotamian influences in the *Atharva-veda*, among them Dr Bhandarkar, who discerns in it the magical lore of the Asuras. Others see evidence of Vrātya and Maga doctrines. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* speak of the Aṅgiras as one of the four Vedas of the Magas. The foreign words occurring in the *Atharva-veda*, which Tilak traced to Chaldea, may have been only strange to Sanskrit, and may well have formed part of the regular vocabulary of the Maga priests.

For centuries the Vedic Aryans held all practitioners of astrology in disrepute and regarded them as 'unclean', and excluded them from the śrāddha rites. They also ostracized from their social environment those who followed the profession of physician. Both these sciences, be it noted, were associated with the Magas, and are prominent in the *Atharva-veda*. Some authorities claim that this Veda represents the oldest stratum of Indian liturgy and belief, and embodies the creeds of the pre-Aryans. It thus constitutes a record of non-Aryan aboriginal or popular religion before the arrival of the Aryans on the scene.

For long the *Atharva-veda* was not included among the other three Vedas.

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Although the Vedas are now said to be four in number this was not the originally recognized number of the compilations. Max Müller held the view that the original division of the Vedas was a threefold one. The oldest records refer to only three Vedas, namely the *Ṛig*, *Sāma* and *Yajur*. Manu speaks of these as the *trayī* (triad) milked out from the fire, air, and sun, and the *Atharva-veda* was not even acknowledged in his time. There is no reference to it in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*; the Brāhmaṇa texts mention only three Vedas; the Jātakas know of only three.

This would seem to indicate not that the *Atharva-veda* was non-existent at the time the other Vedas were composed, but that it did not for several centuries form part of the sacred scriptures of the Aryans. Of its canonical status today it has been said that 'influential scholars of South India still deny the genuineness of the *Atharva-veda*' (V, p. 219).

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ATOM, in Sanskrit *aṇu*, 'tiny' or 'minute', is the term used in Vaiśeshika philosophy for a point in space, without length, breadth, or thickness. It is also the smallest theoretical unit used in the Hindu system of weights* and measures.

From the universal energy of the cosmos an undifferentiated web of potential matter called *tanmātra* is formed. A further stage in the manifestation of this energy results in the emergence of atoms. The world is believed to be formed of an aggregation of atoms, which are conceived of as being in a state of constant integration, disintegration and reintegration. These *aṇu* or atoms are eternal, invisible and intangible, and move and behave through a force that is inherent in them.

Atoms first combine into an aggregate of two, and this binary form is known as *dvyaṇuka* (two-aṇus); it has extended position, with length and breadth, but no thickness. With the accretion of a third aṇu, on a different axis from the other two, thickness is added, and we have a ternary form known as *tryaṇuka* (three-atomic), or a particle. An aṇu is first said to become material when it reaches the stage known as *paramāṇu* (*parama-aṇu*, 'extreme atom'), which is the smallest possible dimension of any material substance, generally given as being between 1/1,000,000th to 1/349525ths of an inch.

A form of atomism was first propounded by nāstika sects like the Ājīvikas*, Chārvākas* and others. In Vaiśeshika philosophy four rudimentary paramāṇus are named, which form the essential components of all material things. These are the paramāṇus of earth, water, fire and air, which are the

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pure elements or *mahābhūtas* of certain other philosophical systems. A further aggregation produces the molecule (*sthūla-bhūtaṇi*, lit. 'dense material particles'), and these produce all the visible forms known to us in the objective world (*see* substance).

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ATRI, 'voracious', a mahāṛishi, author of many Vedic hymns in praise of Agni, Indra and the Aśvins. In later legend he is associated with the Manus and identified with one of the stars of the Great Bear. Atri was born a leper but was cured through his austerities and devotion to the gods.

He married *Anasūyā*, 'uncomplaining', daughter of Daksha, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* husband and wife are described living in a forest hermitage near Chitrakūṭa where they were visited by Rāma and Sītā. The sage's wife treated Sītā with great kindness and gave her an ointment to keep her beautiful for ever.

Anasūyā was extremely pious and celebrated for her loyalty to her husband, as a result of which she obtained miraculous powers. Once when Atri felt inclined for union with a celebrated courtesan, Anasūyā not only agreed but even carried her lame spouse to the rendezvous on her shoulders. On the way Atri insulted another holy man who cursed him to die before sunrise the next day. Anasūyā thereupon commanded the sun not to rise on the following day and darkness prevailed throughout the world, until the gods urged the holy man to revoke his curse.

In another legend the mischief-making sage Nārada went in turn to Pārvatī, Sarasvatī and Lakshmī, praising the virtue of Anasūyā, declaring that her like did not exist in the three worlds. Envious of her reputation the goddesses went to their respective husbands, Śiva, Brahmā and Vishṇu and implored them to tempt Anasūyā. Disguising themselves as mendicants the deities visited Anasūyā, and as she prepared to place food before them they expressed a desire to be served by her in the nude. The dictates of hospitality demanded that she accede to the wishes of her guests, so sprinkling holy water over them she promptly changed them into babies and gave them her breasts to suck, and retained them in the hermitage as her children. The chagrined spouses of the gods came to Anasūyā and pleaded for the release of their husbands. To this she agreed on condition that the three wives should first be ravished. Left with no alternative the goddesses underwent the penalty, by whom it is not clear, and thereafter their husbands were restored to them.

Another story has it that Anasūyā's condition for the release of the gods from their bondage as infants was that each of them should leave a part of himself with her. Accordingly a three-headed, six-armed deity was created by the three gods, and named Dattātreya (*datta-ātreya*, 'given for Atri') whose central head represented Vishṇu, the right-hand one Śiva, and the third Brahmā. An alternative version says that Dattātreya was a child of Atri and Anasūyā, granted by the gods as a token of their defeat by the virtuous wife. He grew up to be a powerful deity in his own right, although with a weakness

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for sensual pleasure and spirituous liquor. Dattātreya was the patron of the hero Kārtavīrya to whom he gave a thousand arms. He is esteemed in some sects as a great yogi and came into special prominence in the tenth century AD as an incarnation of Kṛishṇa. He is attended by four dogs*.

The descendants of Atri were the *Ātreya*, who included Dattātreya, Soma, the ṛishi Durvāsas, the physician Ātreya, and kings of the Lunar dynasty like the Bhāratas, Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. Also one of Atri's descendants was Prabhākara, who married the twelve daughters of Bhadrāśva (or Raudrāśva) an early Paurava king. From Prabhākara's sons descended the best of the Ātreya gotras (families).

Books

See under Mythology.

AUROBINDO, or Śrī Aurobindo Ghosh (1872–1950), modern poet and mystic, was born in Calcutta of well-to-do parents; received his primary education in a European convent school in Darjeeling, was sent to England at the age of seven and stayed there for fourteen years. He obtained a First in his Classics Tripos at Cambridge, acquiring proficiency in Latin, Greek, French, German and Italian. He passed the Indian Civil Service examination but at the end of his two years of probation failed to present himself for the riding test and was disqualified.

On his return to India he was appointed Vice-Principal and Professor of English at Baroḍā College, and while there studied Sanskrit and several other Indian languages. In 1902 he joined the Indian national movement in Bengal, starting the journals *Bande Mātaram* and *Karma Yogin*. He was one of the first to agitate for *svadeśi* (the use of Indian goods) and the boycott of British goods. He was imprisoned and prosecuted for sedition in 1908, and spent his twelve months in prison in the study and practice of yoga. While in prison he had a vision and received, so he claimed, a number of divine messages.

A year later he was acquitted and released, but in 1910 another prosecution was launched against him. By that time he had withdrawn from politics and escaped to the French possession of Pondicherry, and his printer was prosecuted and convicted in his stead. In Pondicherry Aurobindo founded an *āśrama* (retreat) for the study of yoga and Hindu philosophy. Though once a staunch nationalist he renounced all association with political activities and demanded the same of all those who joined him there.

A steady output of philosophical writings and poems now flowed from his pen and he soon acquired a reputation as a sage. His Books include *The Isha Upanishad, Essays on the Gita, The Life Divine, Bases of Yoga,* and several volumes of verse. Towards the end of his life Aurobindo never showed himself to anyone but a few select disciples, and on rare occasions he gave a *darśan* (audience) to his other followers. To the public he appeared only three days in the year.

Critics are widely divided about Aurobindo's work and achievements. Those who claim to understand his writings find in them the highest perfection, but others consider his ruminations abstruse, often meaningless, and of

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little, if any, value. The metaphysics is vague, a 'mere vaporising', and the poetry 'betrays a poor understanding of English prosody', and at its best is a 'pathetic imitation of Swinburne'.

No consistent evaluation of Aurobindo's metaphysics has yet been attempted. The reading of his philosophical books, many of massive proportions, is extremely difficult. Much of the content seems to have been 'intuitively written', without apparent form, 'meandering through meaningless ranges of thought', and not amenable to systematic presentation. The drama and verse in which much of his philosophy is embodied is, if anything, even more recondite.

Aurobindo evolved a 'synthetic' philosophy which he regarded as essential for the thought of the new age that is coming upon us. He believed in a supreme, dynamic, conscious principle, symbolized in *Śakti**, which manifests itself as Energy and Matter, the former shaping the latter. This Śakti principle is often equated with Brahma. All things in the universe, man and the worm and the clod, all acts and events, are Brahma, who is the sole reality underlying all.

Beneath Brahma there are several planes of existence, supramental, mental, vital and material, acting and reacting one upon the other. The higher planes exert dynamic pressure on and vitalize the lower planes, and something new emerges. From Brahma flows *Sat-Chit-Ānanda* (Truth-Wisdom-Bliss), which is the manifestation of Brahma. From Sat-Chit-Ānanda springs the Supermind, and in obedience to pressure from the supramental plane of the Supermind comes individual consciousness. The purpose of the Supermind is to serve as the intermediary between Sat-Chit-Ānanda above, and Mind, Life and Matter below.

In Aurobindo's philosophy descent from above and ascent from below are mutually active. Life comes out of matter and mind out of life. The dormant spirit in matter feels an urge to rise to life. Vitality feels an urge for the spirit. The spirit yearns for the divine. In man the emergence from matter upwards and the descent from Brahma downwards are reconciled.

Aurobindo held that while reason is useful it is more often a hindrance for it smothers by mental activity all the messages brought to man by his intuition. Intuition itself, while valuable, is intermittent and depends on the vehicle of reason for its interpretation. Hence Aurobindo rejects reason and intuition as both belonging to a lower plane, and he develops the theory of 'yogic illumination' through *pūrṇa-yoga*, 'complete' or Integral Yoga. Its goal is not to cancel the universe of plurality, but to make it consistently divine. It is so far above reason as to appear miraculous, but as Aurobindo says, 'What is magic to our reason is the logic of the Infinite'.

In order to transform oneself one has to reach up towards the Supermind through the method of Integral Yoga. The object of this yoga is not merely the attainment of personal *mukti* (liberation) but the salvation of the entire human race. The steps towards this end are (*a*) free and complete surrender to God, asking nothing, (*b*) acceptance of fortune, good or bad, as the operation of the divine within, and (*c*) perception of all things as God. This brings about freedom from *ahaṁkāra* (egoism) and leads to ultimate bliss.

The Supermind is the medium for divine descent. On the supramental

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plane the divine meets the individual soul and mind, and here the liberation and transformation of the individual takes place. He becomes a fully integrated 'gnostic being', a Superman, and no longer a mere man. This 'gnostic being' is the ideal of Aurobindo's philosophy, a universal being free in the universe; individual but not limited by a separate identity. Filled with a cosmic consciousness he will feel the Divine in everything and have no further desires. The world is preparing for such a gnostic race. All social, economic and political problems will be solved when a sufficiently large number of evolved souls of this type are present on earth.

Integral Yoga is thus the means by which the Supermind or Higher Consciousness may be experienced and brought down to irradiate the mind and body of the individual. The man who succeeds in doing this would correspond exactly to the *jīvan-mukti* or immediately emancipated soul spoken of in Vedānta. The power of the Supermind overcomes all the limitations of humanity: disease, old age and death itself. An earthly immortality is the bold promise of Śrī Aurobindo's message.

Aurobindo himself died of uraemia and for a long time his devoted followers refused to believe that he who they believed had conquered physical infirmity and was beyond death, had indeed passed away. Even after his death there was a hope among his disconsolate disciples that his body would resist decomposition, but when after three days it became obvious that the bodily changes could not be ignored, the mortal remains of the sage were reverently interred.

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AURVA, a Bhārgava ṛishi (sage descended from the mahāṛishi Bhṛigu), was the son of Ūrva (although in some legends he was said to be the son of Chyavana), and a mortal enemy of the kshattriyas, in particular the Haihayas*. The Haihayas under Kṛitavīrya had been very lavish with their wealth towards the brāhmins, and when his impoverished successors in time of need appealed to their Bhārgava priests for money the brāhmins refused to help. Infuriated by their ingratitude the Haihayas exterminated the Bhārgavas. One woman, however, carried her unborn child for a hundred years, during which time he became proficient in the Vedas. When the peril was over the child issued forth from its mother's thigh (*ūru*) and was named Aurva.

Aurva caused great concern in heaven with his terrible austerities, which were undertaken to acquire strength for his vengeance against the kshattriyas. At the persuasion of the *pitṛis* (manes), he was at last prevailed upon to expel the fire of his wrath, which had taken the form of a flaming horse-headed being called Haya-śiras (or *Haya-śīrsha*), 'horse-head', and cast it into

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the subterranean Baḍavā, near the mouth of the ocean, where the sea still boils with the wrath of Aurva. Haya-śiras is regarded as an aspect of Vishṇu and a personification of a certain kind of sacrifice. Aurva was the preceptor of the Solar king Sagara, and father of Ṛichīka.

Ṛichīka, the son of Aurva, spent his whole life in meditation and when quite old sought in marriage the beautiful Satyavatī daughter of Gādhi king of Kanyākubja. Unwilling to give his daughter to such an old man, and not daring to refuse so powerful a brāhmin ṛishi, Gādhi tried the ruse of giving him a difficult task to perform—he asked for one thousand white horses, each with one black ear. The sage was able to get these rare animals from the god Varuṇa, and so won the fair Satyavatī. These wonderful horses later passed to the sage Gālava*.

Now Ṛichīka's wife belonged to the kshattriya caste, and the sage desired a son who would have the qualities of a brāhmin since he himself was a brāhmin. He accordingly prepared a magical pottage for Satyavatī when she was pregnant, which was to give her a brāhmin-like son. For his wife's mother he prepared another dish intended to make her conceive a son with the character of a warrior. At the instigation of the mother the two dishes were exchanged: so the mother-in-law gave birth to Viśvāmitra*, the son of a kshattriya (Gādhi), who possessed the power and qualities of a brāhmin; while Satyavatī bore a son named Jamadagni* who in turn became the father of Paraśurāma, a brāhmin warrior and terror of the kshattriyas. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ṛichīka had another son, Śunaḥśephas*, whom he sold as a sacrificial victim.

Books

See under Mythology.

AUSTRIC. Between 6000 BC and 5000 BC a medium-sized, dolichocephalic race of east Mediterranean origin, known as the Austrics or Proto-Australoids entered India. They came after the Negritos*, belonged to a palaeolithic culture, and travelled by the western migratory routes. Both culturally and ethnically they influenced not only the basic Kolarian populations of India such as the Kols, Bhīls, Santāls and Muṇḍas, but also the races of Burma, Indochina, Malaya, Indonesia, and the islands of the Polynesian group.

Many peoples inhabiting the region from 'Kashmīr to Easter Island' have thus a basically Proto-Australoid background. Where common cultural elements are found in these areas it is not because they have borrowed them from India, but rather because they have shared with India in a common inheritance. The use of the boomerang and the blowing-gun; the introduction of the outrigger canoe and the canoe cult; the notion of taboo (the tabuva of the *Atharva-veda*) from which many Hindu caste regulations and prohibitions derive; the practice of head-hunting, still found among certain tribes of Assam; and many totemic beliefs which play such a prominent part in Hindu tribal mythology, are all common to countless communities in continental and oceanic India.

Though the Austrics were mainly forest-dwellers, hunters and root-gatherers, they were also acquainted with elementary agriculture, and the

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most significant contributions of the Proto-Australoids appertain to this sphere. It has been pointed out that a considerable number of Sanskrit terms relating to an agricultural economy, such as the words for plough, sickle, cotton (the use of cotton cloth in India is Austric in origin), cattle, yoke, rice, straw, tree, sheep, milk, the domestic fowl, a breed of horse, and several others have a Proto-Australoid derivation. To the Austrics is due the use of the hoe and digging-stick, and the cultivation of many important plants, such as the brinjal, pumpkin, banana, betel-vine, the rose-apple, groundnut, turmeric (including its use in religious ritual), the coconut, and the manufacture of sugar from cane. This would seem to establish the fact that the main features of Indian agricultural organization were already developed in very ancient times, and were taken over by the later Dravidian and Aryan arrivals.

The Proto-Australoids made extensive use of animals for agricultural purposes, and were probably the first to domesticate the elephant and train it for work. They laid the foundations of the earliest urban communities, and set up a system of communal housing, which became the basis of the joint family system. In architecture their style of hut has been cited as the prototype of the barrel-vaulted *chaitya* (Buddhist cave-temple*) with its horseshoe arch. Iron and copper smelting over surface coal fires was another one of their achievements, which enabled them to extend their settlements through the use of metals for their weapons and fortifications.

The impress of Austric speech is discernible in several Indian languages. Remnants of their method of word-formation are found in the Kolarian tongues which are mainly Proto-Australoid. One of the peculiarities of Austric is pronominalization, or the incorporation of the pronoun with the verb, e.g. *peg-ang*, meaning 'went-I' (i.e. I went). Certain features of the languages of Lahuli, Kanuri, Limbu and other Cishimālayan tracts indicate the passage of Austric peoples through those areas. Austric also left its mark on Dravidian as well as Aryan speech, for the Austrics did not abandon their own tongue to adopt that of the Aryans without first moulding the vocabulary, phonetics, and syntax of the language of their conquerors. The Maithili and Māgahī languages of Bihār are among the later Aryan tongues that still bear the mark of Austric influences. Indian place-names are in many instances Austric in origin, the most noteworthy being the Ganges, the name of the Mother of Indian rivers. The Austric name Gaṅgā means just 'river'.

In religion the Proto-Australoid legacy is no less apparent. The belief in the survival of the soul after death, and the idea of karma, and rebirth according to one's deserts, which play such a predominant role in Hindu religion and philosophy, were unknown in the Vedic hymns and are traceable in part to the Austrics. It is of course impossible to reckon the influence of the wider metaphysical notions of Austric provenance, which might have been extensive. D. C. Sircar writes, 'A comparative study of the Upanishadic philosophy has led some writers to think that the common conceptions were of Austric origin' (II, p. 56).

From the aboriginals the Aryans took over the cult of the phallus, together with the name of the phallic idol. The use of a rude, black stone (derived from the digging-stick or primitive hoe) to represent the most important deity of

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the early pantheon, the god of agriculture, contains the germ of phallic worship. This fact is confirmed by the Hindu adoption of the Proto-Australoid word, *liṅga*, meaning arrow, stick, and phallus.

The matriarchal system under which a prominent place is assigned to women in certain Indian communities in Malabār and Assam, as well as the worship of the yoni, or female organ of generation, and the cult of the Mother Goddess, are likewise traceable to Austric sources; and J. Przyluski finds an Austric origin for the once widely prevalent custom of *svayaṁvara* (bride's choice).

A further indication of the scope of the Austric impact on Hinduism may be given in a brief list. In cosmology several creation myths, such as the legend of the emergence of the world from an egg; in astrology the enumeration of days by phases of the moon, and the use of certain terms, including the name of at least one important constellation, the Pleiades; in mathematics the employment of the vigesimal system; in mythology the reverence for zoomorphic deities like *nāgas* (snakes), monkeys, elephants, and the numerous legends connected with them, such as that of the tortoise avatāra of Vishṇu, and the tale of the princess who smelled of fish (*see* Satyavatī); in literature the specifically Indian genre, the beast fable, and the 'birth' stories (Says S. K. Chatterji, 'The basis of the *Jātaka** stories and that of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* may reasonably be regarded as going back to the Austric world', III, p. 79)—all these, and many more facets of Hindu life that survive to this day are relics of the influence of the Proto-Australoids on Indian civilization.

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AYODHYĀ, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, situated on the banks of the Gogrā (ancient Śarayū) river, about four miles from modern Fyzābād, was founded by Manu, first of the traditional kings of India. It became the capital of his son Ikshvāku and it continued as the capital of the elder branch of the Solar Line founded by him. Among the famous kings of this line, also called the North Kosala dynasty, were Māndhātṛi, Hariśchandra, Sagara, Raghu, Daśaratha, and Rāma, the 'jewel of the Solar Kings', who was born in Ayodhyā. In the time of the *Mahābhārata*, Bṛihadbala the then king of Ayodhyā led the Kosala troops in the battle of Kurukshetra and was slain by Abhimanyu son of Arjuna.

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Ayodhyā was also sacred to the Jains as the birthplace of Ṛishabha, Ajita and other tīrthaṅkaras. Similarly it was an important Buddhist centre; the spot where the celebrated Toothbrush Tree of Buddha grew. Once it also had a stūpa of Aśoka, now vanished. When Hiuen-Tsang visited Ayodhyā in about AD 640 the city had twenty Buddhist monasteries and three thousand monks.

The imposing Hanumān temple, built almost like a fortress, contains an image of the monkey deity set with a magnificent sapphire. The whole neighbourhood swarms with monkeys. Near by is the place where Rāma was born, once marked by a temple which was destroyed and converted into a mosque by Bābur. Temples stand on a number of sites associated with Rāma and his family, including the place where a golden palace belonging to his stepmother Kaikeyī once stood; the place where Rāma's body was cremated; and the ghāṭ where Lakshmaṇa used to bathe.

Books

See under Towns.

ĀYURVEDA (*ayur-veda*, 'life-knowledge') the science of health, was regarded as one of the Upavedas, closely associated with the *Atharva-veda*. It owed much to aboriginal traditions and later to the Persians, Greeks and Arabs. In its broadest sense it embraces all aspects of well-being, physical, mental and to some extent spiritual, its main object being *āyus*, long life, and *ārogya*, diseaselessness. In practice it covers the study of the cause, symptoms, diagnosis and cure of disease.

In its origins āyurveda was mainly magical and empiric, but in the course of time developed a philosophical theory, highly elaborated, abstruse and remote from reality, based on recondite abstractions that had little apparent relevance to practical therapy.

The chief metaphysical concepts underlying āyurveda may be summarized as follows: (1) the *paramāṇu* or atomic theory of substance (*see* atom), (2) the *tri-guṇa* or three-quality* theory of matter, (3) the *pañcha-bhautic* or five-element (*bhūta*) theory of physics, (4) the *sapta-dhātu* or seven-element theory of physiology (*see* bodily substances), (5) the *tri-kośa* or three-sheath theory of anatomy (*see* body), and (6) the *tri-dosha*, 'three-humour*' theory of temperament.

In spite of this metaphysical background āyurveda was largely confined to what was known as *chikitsā*, 'lore', or know-how, specifically the medical lore of the *chikitsaka*, 'one who knows', or the *vaidya*, 'knowing' person, i.e. the physician* or general practitioner. Chikitsā was defined as the treatment of roga (diseases).

The study of medicine and healing was referred to as *ashṭāṅga*, 'eight limbed', after the number of subjects into which it was traditionally divided. The lists of subjects vary, and today run into dozens of headings, since newly-coined Sanskrit names are added to the catalogue as soon as fresh discoveries are made in the West. The recognized limbs or subjects are generally: (1) *chikitsā*, the 'lore' of the physician, the sphere of the general practitioner, (2) *śalya* or surgery*, (3) *deha-vṛitti*, 'body-activity', anatomy*

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and physiology, (4) *nidāna* or diagnosis, (5) *dravya-vidyā*, 'substance-science', a knowledge of materia medica, medicines* and pharmacology, (6) *agada-tantra*, 'antidote-study', i.e. toxicology, the study of *visha*, or poisons*, and their antidotes, (7) *strī-tantra**, 'female study', a knowledge of female diseases and psychology, (8) *paśu-vidyā*, 'animal*-knowledge', veterinary science, (9) *kaumāra-bhṛitya*, 'youth-fostering', pediatrics, the treatment of children's diseases, (10) *ūrdhvāṅga*, 'upper-part', the treatment of diseases of the eye, ear, nose, throat, teeth and mouth, (11) *bhūta-vidyā*, 'demonology', the study of the demonological and occult* causes of disease and their cure, (12) *rasavāda*, 'elixir-doctrine' or alchemy*, and (13) *vājī-karaṇa*, 'stallion-making', the study of aphrodisiacs and sexual rejuvenation (*see* virility).

The principal diseases (*roga*) cited in the classical texts are given below, along with a few quaint traditional cures, many of which are found in the *Atharva-veda:*

akshata, tumour, treated by first tickling with the hair from a bull's tail, and then rubbing with earth taken from the roots of a *nīm* tree;
āsrāva, 'flow' or diarrhoea; the patient is made to drink the liquid produced by crushing a certain species of ant;
hariman, 'yellowness', jaundice; the patient takes sips of water mixed with the hair of a red bull;
jalodara, 'water-belly', or dropsy; the patient is taken to a point of land between two rivers that flow into one another, and is there sprinkled with a bunch of grass dipped in the water;
kāsa, 'cough', is cured by drinking a little ghee (clarified butter) in which a dog's hair has been boiled;
kilāsa covers many varieties of skin diseases. One cure consists in the application of the saliva of a dog mixed with the urine of a bull;
kushṭhā or leprosy is cured by worshipping the Sun (or Saturn, according to some authorities), bathing in pools dedicated to the Sun, and giving benefactions for the building of Sun temples;
masūra, 'grain', small-pox or measles, cured by washing with water in which *masūr* grains (lentils) have been soaked;
pakshabhata a kind of paralysis. The body is rubbed with earth taken from the footprint of a dog and the affected part rubbed with the ashes of an insect taken from a dog;
phiraṅga, syphilis, first mentioned in the medieval period, so called because it was believed to be epidemic with *feringhees* or foreigners;
rājayakshma, gonorrhoea, cured by giving the patient a gruel containing rotten fish;
takman, fever or ague. The patient is washed in water in which a heated axe has been quenched. In another Atharva-vedic remedy a frog is tied with red thread to the leg of the patient's cot;
visha, poisoning. Ants are used to dig to the source of the hidden springs whose waters are an antidote for the poison;
vraṇa, a kind of tumour, now translated 'cancer', cured by the application of cow's urine, the drinking of *pañchagavya*, and the worship of the waning moon;

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yakshmā, tuberculosis, treated by inhaling the fumes of burning cakes of cowdung, or sleeping in a cowshed.

In general, treatment of disease depended on whether the illness in question was diagnosed as being of diabolical, divine, sorcerous, astrological, hereditary or climatic origin. In most instances the Aśvins, divine physicians, were invoked and prayers offered to the gods and goddesses controlling the element involved. At the same time the demons causing the disease were propitiated and if need be exorcised. Thus, in dropsy Varuṇa god of waters, as well as Barahindevī the demoness of dropsy were invoked. Shashṭhī, one of dozens of such godlings* was invoked to reduce the pangs of childbirth; Śītalā was propitiated for smallpox, Polerammā for plague, Hayagrīva for fever, Marakī for cholera, and so on.

The esoteric doctrines of sympathy and signature were exploited to the full. Jaundice (hariman) could be cured by lying on the skin of a gazelle (*hariṇa*); smallpox (masūra, lit. 'grain') as mentioned above, by washing the body in water in which peas, lentils or other grain had been boiled. Planetary influences were also taken into account, and talismans and magical stones and metals played an important part in therapy. A talisman or amulet made with the right ingredients properly compounded by a duly authorized person at the correct astrological time was, according to the *Atharva-veda*, equal to a thousand drugs given by a thousand physicians.

Diseases could also be cured by transferrence to an animal, bird or plant. This was usually done by making a substitute dummy of wood or clay and by spells and incantations transferring the disease to it, and then burning or drowning it. Similar spells helped in transferring the disease from the patient to another living person or animal. Fevers were generally transferred to frogs which being frigid creatures could well survive a little extra heat. The animal to which the illness was passed on was then driven away. If transferred to a plant the plant was burned or otherwise destroyed; if transferred to a stone it was buried.

Much of the commonly employed therapy was based on the principle of *ushman*, that is the notion of hot-and-cold* diseases and their treatment by opposites. Disorders (*vyādhi*) of the doshas or humours* were treated by medicines of a contrary nature that is those containing a large proportion of their opposite qualities. 'When a particular ingredient of the body is increased or diminished to abnormal proportion, it should be reduced or restored to its normal measure'. The *materia medica* used by the Hindus covered a vast number of specifics to deal with all such contingencies.

The following were among the standard modes of treatment discussed by the classical writers on āyurveda:

(1) drugs, including herbs and simples, were the chief means of curative treatment (*see* medicines);
(2) diet, including fasting and the medicinal employment of foods like honey, curds and ghee;
(3) coition, regarded as a sovereign remedy for many ills due to an imbalance of the doshas. It was usually prescribed in moderation. On the other hand, continence was not recommended except for specific purposes;

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(4) exercise, including *āsanas*, *prāṇayāma* and other yogic routines;
(5) massage, including the anointing (*snehana*) of the head, soles of the feet, armpits, genital area, with medicated oils;
(6) fumigation (*dhūma*) through the nose, mouth or vagina. Medicated substances were thrown into a fire or hot water and the fumes or steam inhaled. The fumes could be directed into the vagina by means of tubes;
(7) sweating (*svedana*), induced by hot-baths, hot hip-baths, the application of cloths soaked in hot water and wrung out, of heated plaster, hot-bricks, hot sandbags; by steam-baths, or by lying on a cot placed over a smouldering fire;
(8) baths* (*snāna*) of all kinds were recommended for a wide variety of ailments, and formed the subject of a separate study;
(9) gargling (*kavala*) was advised for throat infections, for clearing the gullet, and for mild cases of tuberculosis;
(10) eye-salves or eye-drops. The application of *añjana* or collyrium with the finger or metallic probe to the rim of the lids or to the conjunctiva was widely recommended for many eye troubles;
(11) nose-drops formed part of *nasya* or nasal therapy. The use of *śiro-virechana*, 'head-purge', by means of errhines or sternutatories to promote nasal secretions or sneezing was common in certain cult rites in preparation for prolonged periods of concentration;
(12) suppositories of various ingredients usually made to the size of the patient's thumb and coated with ghee;
(13) purging (*virechana*) induced either by diet or by drugs;
(14) enemas (*basti or vasti*) consisting of warm water or oily solutions introduced by means of a metal tube or hollow stalk with a membranous bag made of a bull's or goat's bladder tied to one end;
(15) vomiting (*vamana*) for the elimination of surplus humours, especially bile and phlegm;
(16) blood-letting (*rakta-mokshaṇa* or *sirāvyadha*) played an important part in treatment since an accumulation of blood in the body was thought to cause vapours to rise to the brain, resulting in loss of self-control, excess of 'temper' and even insanity. Blood was reduced by means of leeches (*jalaukā*), by cupping, scarification, phlebotomy or venesection, i.e. opening the vein;
(17) cautery (*agni-karaṇa*), scorching, burning or branding the skin with hot metals, hot liquids, plasters or poultices;
(18) scarification of the skin with a razor, and the application of medicinal preparations on the scarified area was first used in the sixteenth century. This included other parenteral (or non-oral) modes of introducing medicines into the body, such as pricking the skin or cutting the flesh and then pouring or rubbing the salve into the open wound.

As a rule the remedies were easily procured but sometimes they had to be sought in more unusual and bizarre circumstances. An example of one such singular remedy prescribed by the semi-legendary physician Jīvaka is: On the fourth day of the waxing moon, while a fair-haired man who has died after a five-day fever is being cremated, watch out for an ichneumon and a lizard. If they are seen fighting wait till both fall into the fire. Quickly eat the two

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and drink some rain water, and then drink a gruel of curdled milk mixed with butter. Cure is certain.

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ĀYURVEDA HISTORY. The earliest Indian medicine of which we have any knowledge was that practiced by the aborigines whose curative feats with dried tubers and stems never ceased to amaze the Indo-Aryans. From them the Indo-Aryans learnt to distinguish the healing herbs from the poisonous plants. The asura (aboriginal) physician Śukra*, we are told, repeatedly discomfited the gods by his healing arts, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* relates how the vānara physician Sushena healed the wounds of Rāma and restored Lakshmaṇa to life. The skill of the non-Aryan Piśāchas* in surgery was proverbial. Much of this ancient lore is embodied in the *Atharva-veda* which like all Vedic medicine abounds in sorcery, black-magic, charms, spells and herbal cures. In the Vedas generally, sickness is ascribed to hostile spirits, demon-possession, the evil eye, and curses, and recovery to the result of propitiation, incantations and so forth, which as a rule play a more important part than genuine therapy.

The first important step towards scientific medical treatment probably came with the Persians. As Jolly points out, from Persia came the old Hindu word for physician and medicine (*bheshaj*) and for magic spells (*mantra*, from *manthra*), besides the names of certain diseases, and parts of the body. Persian inspiration continued to Seleucid times for Charaka quotes a Persian physician named Kāṅkāyana of Bāhlīka; and other early works speak of Persian remedies and drugs, including *hiṅg* or assafoetida. In still later times the therapeutic uses of mercury and other metals, and of opium, as well as diagnosis by the pulse reached India via the Muhammadan world, and the influence of Avicenna's 'Qanoon' on medieval Hindu medicine was incalculable.

The next significant contribution to Hindu medicine was made by the Greeks, whose writers and practitioners seem to have set a pattern for Indian physicians to follow. Until the Greek period, Hindu therapeutics was mainly thaumaturgy. From Greece came many elements of the *materia medica*; the theory of 'humours' and the whole humoral pathology; the unripe, ripening and ripe stages of fevers; the classification of diseases into hot and cold, dry and moist and their treatment by remedies of the 'opposite' character; the therapeutic use of spirituous liquors, contrary to Hindu religious custom; the

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purely Hippocratic emphasis on prognosis; the notion of 'temperaments'; the influence of the seasons on dietetics; the ethical code of the physician, so reminiscent of the Hippocratic Oath; the diagnosis and treatment of quotidian, tertian and quartan fevers. In embryology the idea of the simultaneous development of all parts of the foetus; the birth of twins from the equal division of semen; the relation of the right part of the body to the male sex in the foetus; the method of dismembering a dead foetus and its extraction by means of a hook fixed in the eye socket. In surgery the introduction of many surgical instruments; the method of lithotomy; and several miscellaneous techniques; the operation of the right eye with the left hand, and of the left eye with the right hand, with details for the removal of cataract in ophthalmology.

Two Greek physicians residing in northern India have left interesting records of the period. Ctesias of Cnidos (413–397 BC) was physician to Darius II and Artaxerxes Mnemon for twelve years and left a description of the races and natural products of India, interspersed with much fanciful material. Megasthenes (306–298 BC), Seleucid* ambassador to the court of Chandragupta wrote an account of the Mauryan empire. But there must have been many others whose lives went unrecorded. In the *Mahābhārata* the awe-inspiring Yavanas (Greeks) strike the Indians as 'all-knowing', and an Indian story speaks of Greek physicians as being so skilled that they could restore sight to the blind and raise the dead.

Not infrequently the medium for the introduction of new methods from abroad was the Buddhist monk. Many Buddhists were foreigners and the majority were great travellers and students who picked up a great deal of medical and other knowledge in the course of their travels. In fact organized medicine in India seems first to have been practiced by Buddhists. Perhaps the earliest hospitals in the world, and free at that, were those established by Buddhists in about the third century BC, and there still exists the famous decree of Aśoka in his second Rock Edict, celebrating the foundation of medical centres all over his dominions, dispensing treatment to men and animals.

Hindu tradition itself derives the science of medicine from Brahmā who instituted it in order to allay the pains and tribulations of the gods and lesser beings. His work conceived in 100,000 verses describing the cause (*hetu*), symptoms (*liṅga*), and remedy (*aushadha*) of all diseases was handed down to a line of gods and ṛishi custodians, although the order of succession is not consistently given. From Brahmā it passed to Prajāpati, then to Daksha, the Aśvins (the divine physicians), Indra, Bhāskara (the sun-god), Dhanvantari*, physician of the gods, Divodāsa king of Kāśī, Bharadvāja, Ātreya (also called Punarvasu) a contemporary of Buddha who taught medicine at Taxila; Jīvaka the cast-off child of a courtesan of Rājagṛiha, picked up from a refuse-bin by a scion of a royal family, educated at Taxila under Ātreya (he figures prominently in Buddhist records as the physician of Bimbisāra king of Magadha, and of Buddha); Kāśyapa also a contemporary of Buddha, a physician and children's doctor; Agniveśa ('vassal of Agni'); Bhela of Gandhāra, whose *Bhela-saṁhitā* a medical treatise is extant in an extremely corrupt form); Pālakāpya, Hārīta, and Kshīrapāṇi. Several of these are

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mythical figures and of course little exists of their theories, but with the next three names, Charaka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa, known as the *vṛiddha-trayī*, 'The Triad of the Ancients', the history of Indian medicine may be said to begin.

Charaka (?AD 80–180?) was court physician to the Kushān king Kanishka, whose wife he attended in a difficult delivery. According to tradition he was the incarnation of Śesha the world serpent, and received his knowledge of the healing arts from the Nāga people, but indications are that he was a Buddhist. His original writings are lost, and the treatise now bearing his name is a redaction of his work, with embellishments by another author. The code of conduct as set forth in Charaka's work is of a highly ethical order and remarkably Hippocratic in content, and most of the rules governing the conduct of the Hindu physician are taken from him. The manual contains chapters on a variety of subjects such as longevity, drugs, prescriptions, ointments, and six hundred kinds of purgatives. There is no chapter on surgery; many of its *sthāna* or 'topics' overlap; it is ill-organized and deals with many irrelevant matters; but it remains a rich storehouse of medical lore and invaluable in the study of Hindu medicine.

Suśruta (*c.* AD 350) associated with the city of Banāras, wrote a work on medicine in eight sthānas or parts, and also a thesis on the therapeutic properties of garlic. His *Śārīrāsthāna* is succinct and systematic, and very ably reduces to manageable size the vast amount of data that Indian medical science had inherited. The original text is lost and the extant Suśruta is believed to be a revision by the Buddhist monk Vasubandhu. The Suśruta is rather a treatise on surgery (hernia, cataract, plastic surgery), but there is also a small section on the interpretation of dreams for diagnosis.

The next landmark in the history of Hindu medicine is what is known as the *Bower Manuscript*, named after its British discoverer, Lieut. A. Bower, who found it in 1890 in a Buddhist stūpa in Kashgar in Central Asia. The manuscript, which was edited with profound learning and scholarship by Rudolf Hoernle, is written in the Indian Gupta script on birch-bark and has been dated about AD 450. It deals with eye diseases, elixirs, aphrodisiacs, hairdyes, and the pharmaceutical value of various drugs, besides a panegyric on garlic and a number of formulae for powders, medicated oils, enemas, tonics, collyriums, hair-washes, and so forth. It makes no reference to Charaka, but quotes Suśruta.

An important, though anonymous, manuscript giving much similar material is the *Navanītaka* (*c.* AD 500), which confirms the existence of the earlier medical classics and gives a general idea of the growth of Āyurvedic literature. A critical study of the text is invaluable in helping to fix the dates of the earlier treatises.

Vāgbhaṭa (?AD 610–850?) grandson of a distinguished physician was born in the Indus region, studied under a Buddhist teacher and shows a marked Buddhist influence. He is regarded as unrivalled in his knowledge of the basic principles of Āyurveda. His work, the *Ashṭāṅga-saṁgraha* (Eight-branched Compendium) written in verse form, mentions several drugs imported from Persia, or rather Yavana (Greek) medicinal plants grown in Persia. Another medieval writer of the same name, Vāgbhaṭa II (?700–870?) is the author

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of the *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya-saṁhitā*, a book identified with the *Atanga* of the Arabian sources.

Dṛiḍhabala (fl. 880) Kashmīri physician, made some noteworthy additions to the Charaka saṁhitā, and the present version of the latter work has been largely edited by him. For almost four centuries thereafter no original contribution was made to the theory of Āyurveda, most of the books written being little more than paraphrases of earlier texts. **Vopadeva** (*c.* 1250), friend of Hemādri* was the first to add new material. He was himself the son of a medical practitioner of Berār and wrote commentaries and textbooks on medicine.

Mādhava (fl. 1370), not to be confused with the philosopher Madhva, was also known as Vidyāraṇya. He served as Prime Minister to Bukka, founder of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and like his famous brother Sāyaṇa (*see* etymology) was a Vedic scholar. Mādhava is considered the foremost authority on *nidāna* or diagnosis and ranks in importance just below the great triad, Charaka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa. His treatise has frequently, and erroneously, been identified with the *Badan* (or *Yedan*) i.e. nidāna, an anonymous eighth-century work on pathology, and one of the last Āyurvedic texts translated by order of the Baghdad Caliphs.

Mādhava's teachings were set down by his pupil **Vṛinda,** who added much tantrik lore to his master's theories. **Chakradatta** (fl. 1450) or Chakrapāṇi of Bengal was the son of the head cook of a Bengali ruler. His work on therapeutics shows tantrik tendencies and probably owed much to Vṛinda.

From the middle ages until the modern period Hindu medicine fell under the influence of tantrism and alchemy*, with special stress laid on the therapeutic and so-called 'magical' value of mercury (*rasa*), and hundreds of superstitious works on the subject were produced. But with the European advent Hindu physicians showed remarkable resiliance in accepting and adopting Western methods. Sometimes Europeans employed questionable devices to make their own techniques acceptable to the orthodox. Thus in the nineteenth century the western physicians Drs Ellis and Anderson composed verses in Sanskrit, had them inscribed on old paper and passed them off as ancient texts in order to salve the conscience of those who still resisted vaccination. Today the best Āyurvedic doctors use the stethoscope and sphygmomanometer, employ standard techniques of clinical diagnosis, and prescribe ancient medicines reinforced with Western drugs.

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BACTRIANS. The region of Bactria originally comprising the district around Balkh or Bālhi, is spoken of in Indian records as Bāhlīka, Bālhīka ,Vāhlīka or Vālhīka. Its capital city of Balkh, 'the mother of cities', was an ancient seat of Zoroastrian worship and reputedly the place where Zoroaster died. The Bactrians were later frequently confused with the Parthians* who were in fact often at war with them.

About 250 BC, while Aśoka reigned at Pāṭaliputra, the Seleucid governor of the Greek colony of Bactria named Diodotus threw off the Seleucid* yoke and became independent, founding a dynasty of Bactrian Greeks, whose territorial sway extended over parts of Persia and northwest India. Although separated from the Greek homeland and isolated in the heart of Asia, the Bactrian Greeks nonetheless preserved a basically Hellenic culture which was to spread its influence not only throughout India, but as far afield as Indonesia, Indochina and Japan.

In 197 BC, Euthydemus I, son-in-law of Diodotus invaded the territory of the neighbouring rāja and made his authority felt over much of the Panjāb. The Seleucid king Antiochus II, having failed to recover his lost province, agreed to the use of a royal title by Euthydemus and gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrius his son. Many coins dating from the reign of Euthydemus are extant. They are of excellent quality, and represent the first of a number of currencies issued by the Bactrian Greeks, which are among the best specimens of the coiner's art in the ancient world.

The son of Euthydemus, Demetrius (190–165 BC), is Chaucer's 'Grete Emetrius, King of Ynde', and is identified with Dattamitra of the *Mahābhārata*, Dāmodara of the *Rājatarańgiṇī*, Kṛimiśa of the *Divyāvadāna*, and Devamantiya of the *Milandapañho*. It was he who was responsible for actually establishing Greek supremacy on Indian soil. His domain covered large areas of northwestern and western India, including the lower Indus valley and Kāṭhiāwār, and within this periphery sometimes losing and sometimes gaining ground the Greeks ruled for over a hundred years more.

Apollodotus, brother or kinsman of Demetrius figures in the *Mahābhārata* as Bhāgadatta, king of the Yavanas. His importance is corroborated by the widespread diffusion of his coinage, the range of find-spots exceeding that of any other Greek ruler except Menander. Bactrian Greek incursions into the very heart of India after they had wrested from the Mauryan king Bṛihadratha (*c.* 185 BC) a considerable portion of his territory in the north, speeded up the disruption of the Mauryan empire, and were in fact the immediate cause of the termination of that dynasty. A tradition, repeated as late as the fifth century AD, records that during the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra (*c.* 175 BC) the Śuṅga king, his grandson Vasumitra, while guarding the wandering horse, had a brush with some Greek cavalry on the north bank of the Sindhu (not the Indus, but a tributary of the Jamnā), and both horse and guards were all but carried off. These Yavanas were probably the troops of Apollodotus.

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A vigorous revolt against Demetrius was led by Eucratides (171–150 BC) who according to the Greek writer Justin, 'reduced India to subjection', probably a reference to his conquest of the Indus region. Antialcidas (130–100 BC) ruled everything between the Hindu Kush and the Jhelum, and sent an envoy to the Śuṅgan court of Bhāgabhadra. This envoy, Heliodorus son of Dion, is celebrated in Indian annals for having raised at Besnagar the famous Garuḍa column* in honour of Vāsudeva whose devotee he had become.

Perhaps the greatest of the Bactrian Greeks was Menander (115–90 BC) who has found a prominent place in Buddhism as a scholar and patron of the religion. As Milinda he figures in a well-known Buddhist work, the *Milindapañho**. From his capital at Śākala (modern Siālkoṭ) he ruled territories stretching from Kabul to Barygaza (Broach), near Kāṭhiāwār, and from Seistan to Mathurā, and the western districts of Uttar Pradesh. His wide conquests were somewhat exaggeratedly exalted by a Greek chronicler even above those of Alexander the Great.

At this time the Greeks were in occupation of the whole of northwestern India and its coastal districts, and from here they gradually encroached inland towards Ujjain and beyond Mathurā. A legend relates that in a Yavana attack on Mathurā, Kṛishṇa while attempting to repel the invader was defeated and compelled to flee. One of the few references to the Greek advances in Sanskrit literature is found in a line in Patañjali's grammar, which illustrates the correct use of a verb for an event that has just taken place, with the example, 'The Yavana was besieging Sāketa' (near Ayodhyā), and 'The Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā' (near Chitor). Indirectly, as it were, this confirms that the Greek advances were of sufficient importance and well-enough known for a reference concerning them to be used as a commonplace in grammar.

It is not clear in whose reign these and other invasions of the Middle Country took place, but it would appear that they occurred during the time of Demetrius, Apollodotus or Menander. The *Yuga-purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* mentions the 'viciously valiant' Yavanas at Mathurā on the Jamnā, at Sāketa in Oudh, and in the Pañchāla country (the Jamnā-Ganges Doāb). The *saṁhitā* goes on to record that the Greeks took first the suburbs and then the town of Pāṭaliputra itself by the use of their siege train, and subsequently treats of the Greeks as masters of the country, dwelling on the consequences of the rule of the 'unconquerable Yavanas', and 'the terrible and numerous Śakas' who were sometimes identified with them.

This was the zenith of Bactrian Greek successes in territorial expansion in India, and the following few decades witness their decline; the result of internecine strife and the pressure of external forces represented by the Parthians, Śakas and Kushāns who were increasingly harassing the northern borders of the Greek kingdoms. We cannot tell precisely how long the Greek empire in India survived Menander. In places Greek dominion lasted for a century after his death.

Stray references survive in contemporary inscriptions telling of the continued existence of Greek rule in obscure areas. Taking Bactria and India together we know, mainly from coins, of thirty-nine Bactrian Greek kings and

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one queen who ruled these regions. The last Greek king was Hermaeus, who ruled an attenuated kingdom for a few months before being finally overwhelmed by the Kushāns. Thousands of Indianized Greeks* remained in India, in time merging with the local peoples, to add their quota to the mélange of races that constitutes the population of the Indian subcontinent.

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BĀGH, a village on the Bāghiṇi river in Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, the site of nine Mahāyāna caves of uncertain origin and date. The caves, which include a few monks' cells, contain some excellent frescoes and sculptures but except for a single letter, *ka*, the first consonant of the Devanāgarī alphabet, have yielded no inscriptions indicating their history; nor any clue as to who started the cave structures, who the patrons were or for how long they were in use.

The Bāgh caves have suffered serious damage from the hand of time and the depredations of nature. The roofs of the caves, which are of sandstone, have succumbed to the cumulative pressure of the water-logged claystone above it, and the constant dripping of water through the centuries has ruined most of the caves. Some roofs have fallen in, damp has corroded the pigments, obliterating the murals which once covered thousands of square feet, and bats have further despoiled the remaining ceilings. Many paintings have been effaced by smoke from the fires of vagrant tribes who made the caves their home.

The single alphabetic engraving has been subjected to palaeographic test, the pigments of the frescoes submitted to chemical analysis, the style of painting and stonework compared with other Indian examples of a similar character, and on the basis of these findings the date of the cave masterpieces has been tentatively referred to the sixth century AD. The murals are generally in the Ajantā style, showing the same spontaneity and the same secular predisposition. The fact that so far only a few insignificant Buddha and Bodhisattva images have been unearthed on the site seems to indicate that the original object of worship was the pre-iconic stūpa, and suggests that Bāgh may have pre-dated Ajantā. But until more evidence is forthcoming nothing can be stated with certainty.

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BALARĀMA, elder brother of Kṛishṇa, was born of a white hair plucked from the head of Vishṇu which entered the womb of his mother Devakī. He was therefore white complexioned, in contrast to his brother Kṛishṇa who was

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very dark. According to the Purāṇas, Balarāma was a partial incarnation of Vishṇu, or of Śesha the cosmic serpent, or again a reincarnation of Lakshmaṇa, brother of Rāma. In order that he might escape the wrath of the tyrant Kaṁsa, the Herod of Hindu mythology, he was miraculously extracted from his mother's womb and transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī, another of Vasudeva's wives.

Many of Balarāma's adventures both in his boyhood and manhood were shared by Kṛishṇa*. On one occasion Kṛishṇa and Balarāma passed the orchard of the demon Dhenuka and picked and ate some apples. Dhenuka, inspired by Kaṁsa's hatred of the two boys took the form of an ass and began to kick them. Balarāma caught the ass by the heels, whirled him around his head until he died, and then flung the carcass on a palm tree. Dhenuka's retinue who came to his aid met the same fate, and the tree was soon festooned with the carcasses of asses.

On another occasion Kaṁsa sent the asura Pralamba to join in the athletic contest against Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. Pralamba deliberately lost one of the boyish games so that he might be given the penalty of carrying Balarāma on his back. Then suddenly expanding his form he made off with Balarāma. Kṛishṇa called to his brother to suspend his mortal nature and deal with the demon. Upon this Balarāma laughed, and filled with divine strength squeezed the monster to death.

Balarāma was as fond of wine as Kṛishṇa was of the fair sex, and once while in a state of intoxication he called upon the Yamunā river to come to him so that he might bathe. Angered that the command was not heeded Balarāma plunged his weapon, the ploughshare, into the river and dragged the waters out until Yamunā begged forgiveness. Impetuous and hot-tempered he killed his brother-in-law Rukmin in a drunken brawl. When the Kauravas imprisoned Śāmba, Kṛishṇa's son, and refused to release him, Balarāma thrust his ploughshare under the ramparts of Hastināpura, threatening to pull them down if Duryodhana did not surrender the youth. Another episode concerned Dvivida, a great ape who had once helped Rāma but had now become arrogant and tyrannous. He stole the ploughshare of Balarāma who challenged him to mortal combat and slew him.

Balarāma was nobler in character than his brother, and disapproved of Kṛishṇa's covetousness (*see* Satrājita) and his many adventures with the gopīs. Unlike most of the heroes of ancient Indian legend Balarāma married only once, in the following circumstances. Raivata (or Kakudmin) son of Revata (or Reva) was king of Ānarta in Gujarāt with his capital at Kuśasthalī near Dvārakā. His daughter Revatī was so beautiful that Raivata did not consider any mortal fit to wed her, and consulted Brahmā on the subject. Brahmā advised him to let her wed Balarāma, since the latter was a portion of Vishṇu himself. Without his knowing it, Raivata's consultation with Brahmā had taken many aeons, and when he returned he found that mankind had grown smaller in stature. When Balarāma was presented with the gigantic Revatī he found her too tall so he shortened her with his ploughshare before marrying her. They had two sons, Niśaṭha and Ulmuka. Like her husband Raivati was very partial to wine and the couple often indulged in drinking bouts together.

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Balarāma's favourite weapons were the ploughshare (*phāla*, or *hala*), the mace (*musala*) and the club (*saunanda*). A great fighter, he taught Duryodhana and Bhīma the use of the mace, though he remained neutral in the hostilities between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. But the foul blow delivered to Duryodhana by Bhīma so offended his sense of fair play that he seized his club to fight Bhīma and was only restrained by Kṛishṇa.

After the battle of Kurukshetra, and the turmoil of Dvārakā which ended with the death of Kṛishṇa, Balarāma sat down under a tree and slept, and shortly afterwards his soul, in the form of the cosmic serpent Śesha, whose incarnation he was, issued from his mouth, leaving his lifeless corpse on a rock. The funeral obsequies of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma were performed by Arjuna.

Balarāma was also called Bala-bhadra (might-excelling), Bala-deva (power-god), Nīla-vastra (blue-vestured, after his favourite apparel), Yamunā-bhīd (Yamunā-breaker), Kālindī-karshaṇa (Yamunā-dragger), Madhu-priya or Priya-madhu (wine-loving), Halāyudha (plough-armed), Hala-bhṛit (plough-bearer), Musalī (pestle holder), Saṁkarshaṇa (having a ploughshare), Lāngali (having a ploughshare), Gupta-chara (secret-goer), Tāla-dhvaja (palm-bannered).

Books

See under Mythology.

BĀLEYA, the descendants of the Ānava king Bali (*see* Utathya) whose five putative sons, namely, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, founded kingdoms and dynasties in eastern India, famous in the Epic and early historical periods, although they are not precisely identifiable today. These five kingdoms were condemned in the Purāṇas as impure, their land as unclean, their inhabitants as non-Vedic. A brāhmin was required to perform purificatory rites if he visited any of the Bāleya principalities. Three of these kingdoms have names ending in *ṅga*, which is a common suffix in the Sino-Tibetan languages, and this has led some scholars to the view that the founders were of Himālayan origin.

Kaliṅga* the first of the Bāleya kingdoms lay along the coast of Orissa. **Vaṅga** from which the name of Bengal derives, roughly corresponded to east Bengal and included Samataṭa and Harikela, the areas of modern Dacca and Chittagong (Sudkavān). By the eleventh century the rule of the lesser local dynasties was brought to an end by the Sena kings. **Puṇḍra,** often confused with Aṅga, lay in northeast Bengal and Bihār. The Puṇḍras were an ancient people mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, where they are described as outcaste descendants of Viśvāmitra and condemned as dog-eaters. **Suhma,** once conquered by Pāṇḍu and later by Karṇa, is identified with southwest Bengal, extending over the areas of Burdwān and Hooghly. It embraced the kingdom known in Epic times as Rāḍha (or Lāḍha), and a principality in west Bengal called Tāmralipti, a place-name of very early origin and an important centre of ancient trade*.

Aṅga, the last of the Bāleya kingdoms situated in northwest Bengal, included Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Its capital, Champā, was named after Champa a

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descendant of Yayāti through his fourth son Anu. The city was also called Mālinī because it was surrounded by champak trees like a garland (*mālā*). Its history is closely linked with Kaliṅga, Magadha and other contiguous states. Later Aṅga was annexed by the Gauḍa (Gauṛa) kingdom. The Gauḍas are mentioned by Pāṇini and Kauṭilya and in the Purāṇas. Gauḍa formed a part of the Maurya and Gupta empires and after the fall of the Guptas became autonomous under Gopachandra (*c.* AD 550). Under his successors, notably Śaśāṅka (619–637) it came into conflict with the Maukhari kings of Kanauj*. After Śaśāṅka's death the king of Kanauj defeated the king of Gauḍa, a victory celebrated in Vākpati's poem, and from the resulting anarchy arose the Pāla* dynasty of Bengal.

Books

See under Mythology, and Pāla.

BĀLIN (also known as Bālī or Vālin), vānara (monkey) king, was a son of Indra, born from the hair (*bāla*) of his mother. He married Tārā and had two sons, Aṅgada and Tāra. Bālin was a notorious tyrant and had the power of extracting half the strength of any person who faced him. Once when Rāvaṇa king of Laṅkā attempted to pull his tail he caught him up and held him trapped in the coils of his tail for twelve years, and only released him when he felt he had been sufficiently punished.

Bālin usurped the kingdom of Kishkindhyā (modern Mysore) from his half-brother *Sugrīva* and abducted Sugrīva's bride Rūmā. Sugrīva, a son of Sūrya the sun-god (hence also called Ravi-mandana, 'the sun's son') had been king of the vānara people, and had the ability to change his shape at will. During their search for Sītā, the brothers Rāma and Lakshmaṇa helped the vānara king to recover his kingdom and his bride Rūmā from Bālin. In the struggle with Bālin, Rāma found that because of Bālin's supernatural power he could not win by fair means, so he made Sugrīva fight him, and concealing himself behind a tree shot his opponent with an arrow from the back. The dying speech of Bālin reproaching Rāma for being a coward showed that the northern knight had much to learn from the native about fair play, ethical ideals and chivalric warfare.

After Bālin's death his son Aṅgada joined Rāma in his search for Sītā and in his campaign against Rāvaṇa. Sugrīva who had also promised assistance forgot his mission and spent his time carousing and sporting with his wives and concubines, and only when Lakshmaṇa threatened to slay him did he assemble his armies and join in their quest. Together with his chief minister and adviser, the monkey general Hanumān*, he was Rāma's main ally, and was wounded in the war against Rāvaṇa.

Books

See under Mythology and *Rāmāyaṇa.*

BĀṆA (fl. AD 650), also known as Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, was the greatest master of Sanskrit prose. Little is known for certain about his life or antecedents. His mother died when he was a child and he was brought up by his father who

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died when the boy was fourteen years old. Bāṇa had two half-brothers, children of a śūdra woman, but he is careful to mention that his own mother was a brāhmin. His opposition to the cruel rite of suttee is often quoted.

Bāṇa is known principally for two works: the incomplete *Harsha-charita*, or life of the Buddhist emperor Harsha, the first of the historical *kāvyas* (minor epics); and the *Kādambarī*, a *gadya* (prose) romance, also unfinished, but later completed by his son. Like other great *kathās* (tales), the *Kādambarī* consists of stories within stories and is borrowed in part from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihat-kathā*. It tells how a young *chaṇḍāla* (low-caste) girl brings a parrot to king Śūdraka and the bird beguiles the monarch with stories. The parrot, like the poet, has lost its mother, and has been reared by its father. It tells its own story followed by a tale it has heard from a sage. The story is long drawn-out and extremely involved, the plot revolving around the love of a prince for the maiden Kādambarī. Bāṇa's descriptions of nature are prodigious and exhausting, but he has a true mastery of the portrayal of love, surprisingly free from banality and grossness. Among the great Sanskrit writers Bāṇa for all the rich texture of his prose, is without doubt the most circumlocutory and involved in structure and style. Some of his complex sentences extend over six pages of modern print. To this is added the fact that he is full of obscure mythological allusions, and *double entendre* (*vakroti*), which make him tiring to read. He is greatly admired by Indian critics in some measure for his power of suggestion (*dhvani*), but especially for his verbal dexterity.

Bāṇa married the sister (or daughter) of the poet *Mayūra* (fl. AD 650) who was also patronized by Harsha. Mayūra is said to have described the beauty of his own sister in intimate detail in his erotic *Mayūrāshṭaka*, of which only eight stanzas survive. The girl cursed him and the poet was afflicted with leprosy. Mayūra then composed his *Sūrya-śataka* in praise of the sun-god, and the flattered deity cured him of his affliction.

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BANĀRAS, one of the seven holy cities of the Hindus, is situated on the Ganges. It receives its name from two neighbouring rivulets, the Varaṇā (according to the *Atharva-veda* this stream has the property of counteracting the effects of poison) and the Asi. Originally called Vārāṇasī, the name was later corrupted to Banāras.

According to legend it was in Banāras, at a spot now called the Daśāśvamedha (Ten Horse-sacrifice*) Ghāṭ, that Brahmā in ages past once offered a sacrifices of ten horses. Śiva performed several austerities in and around the area; and here also the left hand of Satī's charred body fell as Śiva carried her on his head. The sanctity of the place was communicated by Śiva to his son Skanda and the whole city and its environs are now revered as the most sacred spot on earth, and the centre of Śiva worship. It was the site of one of

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the most famous liṅga* images around which was built a temple dedicated to Viśveśvara (Śiva).

During the Epic period the city became the capital of the tribe of Kāśī, and ever since has been popularly known as Kāśī. The Kāśī dynasty was founded by Kshatra-vṛiddha, grandson of Purūravas*, and the Kāśī kings and princesses figured prominently in the *Mahābhārata*. In a campaign against the king of Kāśī the city was once destroyed by Kṛishṇa* who later restored it.

The celebrated river-front of Banāras contains temples and *ghāṭs* (bathing-places) named after or dedicated to Hanumān, Hariśchandra, Kedār (Śiva), Chaturbhuja (Vishṇu), Dattātreya, Gaṇeśa and a host of others, even one to the *Maṇi-karṇikā* (jewel of the ear) or earring which Pārvatī lost while in Banāras.

The city and environs contain about one thousand five hundred temples and at least half a million idols, the majority lacking in any aesthetic merit. Says a Hindu writer, 'Banāras has fifteen hundred temples, yet hardly one deserves mention as a work of art' (V, p. 243). The sacred area is encircled by the Pāñchkosi Road, thirty-six miles in length, and pilgrims make a circuit of this road on foot, taking six days in the process. It is believed that anyone of whatever caste or creed, who dies within the compass of Pāñchkosi is purged of all his sins and goes straight to paradise. Thousands of Hindus are brought to Banāras to end their days.

From the eleventh century on, Banāras was periodically sacked by the Muslims: in 1033 by a lieutenant of Mahmūd of Ghazni, in 1194 by the Ghoris, and later by the Khiljis and Moguls, each razing temples and building mosques in their place. The city was governed by the Muslims from the twelfth century onwards, and by the time of Aurangzeb not a single historic shrine of any importance dating before 1600 was left standing. Today Banāras teems with Muhammadan monuments and mosques and all the Hindu structures are comparatively recent. A mosque stands directly on the site of the ancient foundations of the Viśveśvara liṅga temple.

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BANDHA, 'knot', the contraction of a muscle or internal organ for the purpose of sealing the occult orifices of the body and bringing certain vital centres under control, to permit the performance of secret 'interior' acts while the position is thus maintained. The bandha is part of the *paramudrā**, and is sometimes listed among the *mudrās* or the *āsanas*. The following are the more important bandhas:

Mūla-bandha, 'root contraction', the drawing in of the abdomen and the contraction of the anal sphincter followed by its dilation. The rapid alternate dilation and contraction of the anus alone is known as the *aśvinī*, 'horsy'.

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According to the texts, 'the mūla-bandha conquers old age and death'.

Jālandhara, 'net holding', performed by bending the head forward and pressing the chin in the triangular hollow at the join of the collar bones of the neck, thereby constricting the network of arteries at the jugular notch. This 'chin-lock' is believed to prevent the escape of the vital essence from the *sahasrāra* (the subtle plexus at the top of the head) downwards towards the navel where it is needlessly devoured by the digestive fire. Through this bandha the nectar becomes available to the yogi himself who thereby 'becomes immortal and wanders with delight through the three worlds'.

Uḍḍiyana, 'flying', the alternate contracting and relaxing of the abdominal muscles. The body is bent forward, the shoulders hunched, and the abdominal muscles contracted by drawing in the belly at the navel and 'holding hard', or by drawing the muscles up at each side and leaving the central muscle outstanding. A variation of this, called *nauli*, is sometimes classed with the purificatory acts of *śodhana*; it is then performed by isolating the rectus abdominis (the straight muscle of the abdomen), 'locking' it and then moving it rapidly from side to side, 'like quivering water'. It is supposed to 'cleanse the digestive organs and assist the digestive winds'.

Meḍhra-bandha, 'phallus-lock', causing the phallus to assume an erect position and 'locking' it while thus erected, so that it remains rigid for an indefinite period. Yogis have been known to tie a weight of as much as twenty pounds to the tip of the organ, lift it and keep it lifted by means of this bandha. The performance of the feat is said to be assisted by drugs and aphrodisiacs.

Retas-bandha, 'semen lock', an extremely secret bandha taught by the guru (preceptor) only by word of mouth and never set down in writing. It is connected with certain highly esoteric techniques such as *vajroli*, and is produced by closing one or more of the *nāḍis* or channels* of the subtle body to prevent the emission of semen during intercourse (*see* bindu).

Books

See under Paramudrā, Tantrism, and Yoga.

BARBARIANS. The word *barbara* in Sanskrit means a 'stammerer', an almost exact equivalent of the Greek barbaros. The term had no particular significance prior to the brāhminical revival, when it assumed a distinctive meaning. It stood for an uncouth, uncultivated person and was in the early centuries BC and AD applied in general to any foreigner hailing from the northwest. The Barbara tribes mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* are associated with the Ambashṭhas (a mixed Mongolian-Aryan race), Gandhāras (Afghans), Pahlavas (Parthians), Śakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks) and other immigrant peoples who had settled in the northwestern regions of India. The sea of Barbara named after them was probably a large lake near the mouth of the Indus on which stood the trading* centre of Barbarike.

During the earliest period of written historical records as found in the Buddhist and Jain chronicles we note the presence of new intrusive elements, both on the borders and within the boundaries of India—Mongolian, Iranian, and other alien races, who were conquering, ruling or making their home in India. It was the age of the great janapadas or kshattriya states, both

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monarchical and republican, a period of foreign and kshattriya ascendency. Kshattriya thinkers were responsible for many of the philosophical doctrines embodied in the Upanishads. Kshattriya, Mongol and hybrid races were producing the great protestant systems of thought that are among the glories of India. Buddha, like Mahāvīra was part Mongolian; Buddha was born of a Śākya father, Mahāvīra of a Lichchhavi mother. Gośāla, most famous of the itinerant Ājīvikas*, was a man of low parentage, which in Sanskrit was one way of saying that he may have belonged to a barbarian race.

In 516 BC the Persian emperor Darius annexed the Panjāb and the Indian satrapy continued for many years to pay a huge tribute to the Achaemenian king. For over a century thereafter close relations were maintained between Iran* and India. The Mauryan period saw the advent of the most important of the 'barbarian' conquerors, namely, the Greeks*, whose association with India is one of the most fruitful episodes in the history of the country.

The interval between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas is of paramount significance in the study of Indian civilization. Says Professor D. C. Sircar, 'The most interesting feature of the post-Mauryan period is the establishment of foreign supremacy' (III, p. 101). During this interval of nearly five centuries India was uninterruptedly exposed to Buddhist and Dravidian influences from within, and to the impact of forceful Eurasian and Mongolian influences from without.

Greek rule in the Bactrian kingdoms of India was brought to an end by fresh invasions from Central Asia and the Persian plateau. The new invaders, referred to for convenience, and illustratively, as 'barbarians', belonged to three main groups, namely, Śaka or Scythian, Pahlava or Parthian, and Yueh-chi or Kushān. The term of their domination extended from about the first century BC to the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century AD. These three groups ruled contiguous areas, were contemporary, and have been frequently confused.

Sanskrit literature refers to them interchangeably as Pahlavas and Śakas, but these terms were often used for any foreigners, and were subsequently employed to designate the Arabs, Turks, Afghans and others who entered India at a much later date. It is not easy to distinguish Śakas, Parthians and Kushāns. The dynasties intermarried both among themselves and with the local ruling houses, and recent historians refer to them sometimes by their original names, but more frequently by hyphenated forms such as Indo-Parthians, Pahlava-Śakas, Indo-Scythians, Scytho-Parthians, Indo-Kushāns, and so on. According to Dr F. W. Thomas, 'It would seem probable that the tribes from eastern Iran who invaded India included diverse elements mingled indistinguishably together, so that it is impossible to assert that one dynasty was definitely Persian while another was Śaka' (III, p. 123). Ethnically these groups were mainly of Mongolian and Persian components, and the culture they brought was a synthesis of Greek, Persian and Chinese.

The role of the Bactrians, Śakas (including the Śaka satraps), Kushāns and others in neutralizing the partisan and nationalistic potentialities of the empires that were contiguous with Persia, Rome and China, by fostering the spread of the cosmopolitan creed of Buddhism in the new milieu created by

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them, cannot be overestimated. But for the Kushāns, who straddled across the empires of Rome and China, the Mahāyāna teachings would never have been carried to the court of Peking so early.

No proper assessment has yet been drawn of the contribution made by these foreign converts to Buddhism to the culture of Hindu India, and of their part in the promotion of Buddhism in the Far East. They constituted a major factor in the process of the Indianization of alien invaders, and conversely in the assimilation of foreign ideas by the Indians.

Large numbers of Bactrian Greeks ended up as Buddhist converts and settled in India. The Śakas, Kushāns and others followed a similar course. All of them contributed to the slowly changing face of Śākyamuni's creed. The Buddhism preached in Kanishka's day was radically different from the Buddhism of Buddha, a result largely due to the impact and subtle interaction of heterogeneous religions, like the worship of Ahura Mazda, Serapis, Christ, and the other religious systems of Persia, Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Rome and China, which met and mingled in the common ground provided by the Śaka and especially the Kushān empires.

These centuries of foreign domination gave India some of her greatest kings, influenced the growth and development of her art and drama, prepared the way for the revival of Hinduism, and lent much new colour and character to Hindu culture. In the establishment of important towns*, in the setting up of an efficient civil administration, in the founding of historical eras, in the spheres of writing, numerals, art, dress, diet and the crafts, the impress of the barbarians is clear and indelible. The clue to much of modern Indian history lies in this vast, chaotic and turbulent epoch, during which India was able, under new and powerful impulses, motivated by fresh racial infusions, to evolve a synthesis of magnificent achievements.

The majority of Hindu historians and patriots tend to gloss over this period altogether as being of no account, or speak of it as though it were a shameful phase, about which the less said the better. They have grievously neglected and consistently underestimated the far-reaching effects of the barbarian invasions on Hindu life and society. Thus, Dr C. V. Vaidya, one of the foremost scholars on the medieval Indian period, in speaking of this age says that the Bactrians left no remnants in India; the Śakas left no trace; even the Kushāns who ruled from 150 to 300 AD left no relics, and must have 'dwindled away'. The Huns who were supreme for one hundred years did not impress the population, 'which remained uncontaminated'. Thus nine centuries of foreign rule and influences are brushed aside so that the Motherland might be shown to be 'uncontaminated' by odious alien contact (*see* sanatva).

This, from the pen of a scholar of greath breadth of mind and generosity of outlook, reflects the deep distaste the Hindu feels for one of the most significant phases of Indian history. Several other historians write of this period as a time when the best, finest and purest elements among the Hindus, the orthodox champions of the Hindu *dharma*, retired quietly into the caves and forests, waiting for the storm to blow over, and then emerged during the Gupta period with the ancient precepts of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* untarnished.

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This assessment of the barbarian period is misleading, since there was little, if any, chance of preserving the old Vedic culture from contact with the new modes of thought and ways of living. What is more, proof of the radical change in Hindu society that resulted from foreign domination can be gleaned, indirectly but conclusively enough, from the Hindu writings.

An example may be taken from the religious heart of Hinduism during the time of the Kushān king Kanishka. Kanishka's governor of the province that included the sacred city of Banāras, was the notorious Vanashpara (*c.* AD 100–120) whose descendants were the Banaphars of Bundelkhaṇḍ. (A dialect, Banaphari in Bundelkhaṇḍ goes by their name.) According to the Purāṇas, Vanashpara established himself at Padmāvatī and added new conquests around Magadha to the Kushān dominions. He is described as a great warrior, 'powerful like Vishṇu', of exceptional bravery, but having the appearance of a eunuch, a portrayal which brings to mind Gibbon's description of Vanashpara's occidental cognates of a later date, the Huns: 'As they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age'.

Vanashpara's ruthless policy is especially worthy of note since, according to Dr Jayaswal, 'He made the population practically brāhminless', and this in an area regarded as the seat and font of Hindu orthodoxy. He persecuted the priests, abolished the kshattriya class, and in every way depressed the brāhmins and the Hindu nobility, raising to high estate various foreigners of no caste at all. He settled the region between Bundelkhaṇḍ and Bihār with the Madrakas from the Panjāb, the Chakras from Gedrosia, the Scythic Pulindas, and the Śakas from the northwest, and these outsiders held all the important administrative posts.

The *Yuga-purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* lamenting over the activities of the foreigners says, in the prophetic style characteristic of these writings, 'They will destroy one fourth of the total population by the sword, one fourth will they carry with them to their own city'.

The policy of Vanashpara was followed by the later Kushān rulers and governors elsewhere. Very often they stopped Hindu worship and imposed Buddhism. Hindu texts, some of which may be records of eye-witnesses, describe the hapless condition of the Hindus at this time, and graphically portray the ruthless process by which the invaders disorganized Hindu society. Non-Aryans, mourns one text, follow the religious practices of the Aryans and the population lose their character and are degraded. The brāhmins, kshattriyas and vaiśyas are all base men; they all dress alike and follow similar customs; they belong to heretical sects: 'They strike friendships for the sake of women'. The aliens slay brāhmins, interfere with the sacrifices and sacred ceremonies and 'carry off the daughters of hermits' (II, p. 46). 'Indeed', complains Guṇāḍhya, 'what crimes do the villains not commit'. One text goes on to name five powerful mlechchha kings who destroy the four castes. The Vedas become futile. Śūdras rise to importance and assuming the prerogatives of priests offer oblations to the sacred fire and behave like brāhmins. They speak to brāhmins in terms of equality, and brāhmins address them as 'Noble Sir'. In fact brāhmins, kshattriyas and vaiśyas disappear and the country becomes mlechchhanized, i.e. mongrelized. Rites and sacrifices

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cease and all men become one caste. A non-brāhminical religious and social system was ruthlessly imposed on the Hindus and, concludes Jayaswal, 'Hindu life was suspended'.

From this it will be seen that there was no question of the brāhmins retiring to the solitudes and wilds until this period of almost nine centuries blew over. They were themselves involved in the relentless process of change. This was, in effect, a time when a new Indian cultural pattern was being evolved. The foreign occupation delivered a shattering blow to the Hindu way of life as conceived by the ancients. When the Śaka and Kushān era came to an end, the Hinduism of the spacious days of the śrutis and Epics was forced into the labyrinth of a defensive brāhminism whose convolutions were delineated with such care by Manu and the lawgivers. It is to be emphasized that many of the so-called 'old texts' of Hinduism and much that is related in mythology, date from the barbarian period, even if one were not rash enough to go so far as certain scholars who suggest that some of the Ṛig-vedic hymns may refer to the time of the Parthian and Śaka kings of India (I, p. 464).

In brief therefore, the barbarian domination radically altered the outlook and faith, the customs and character of the people of India. For good or ill the change came, as was inevitable after almost ten centuries of Greek, barbarian, half-caste, mlechchha and śūdra rule in India, in north, south, east and west. Orthodoxy itself was modified under these external stresses, and orthodoxy, as it exists today, became largely the reactionary refuge of an oppressed priesthood from the conditions imposed upon them by the drastic levelling influence of barbarian rule.

The rise of the imperial Guptas saw the consummation of the marriage between Hindu and barbarian, and contingent influences extending from Rome to China are discernible both in Indian works of art and literature and in the elements of the Hindu religion. At the end of the fifth century AD the Ephthalite Huns descended into the Indian plains and established an empire that ranged over Persia, Khotan, and other remote parts of Central Asia. One legacy of this period is the emergence of the Rājputs*, descendants of the Hunnish and Gurjara invaders, today regarded as the chief custodians of Hinduism. In the Deccan and South India the barbarian culture culminated in the suzerainty of the Pallavas, Chālukyas, Sātavāhanas and other lesser dynastic lines. The Buddhist king Harsha of Kanauj (d. AD 647) gave some semblance of unity to northern India, but on his death the ensuing chaos remained unresolved until the Muslim conquest.

Between the death of Harsha and the dawn of the Muslim period the sub-continent was seldom divided into less than a dozen kingdoms and several principalities. According to Hiuen-Tsang, seventh century India outside Harsha's realm was split up into about seventy kingdoms. Whatever momentary unity was achieved under the rule of a powerful king was immediately dissolved with his death. Every fragment of these shattered 'empires' formed the nucleus of new principalities, and every ambitious stripling who could pay the hire of a handful of mercenaries and appropriate his neighbour's lands, claimed to be a *saṁrāṭ chakravartin*, or a *mahārājādhirāja*. The brāhmins who invariably formed a coterie around the successful

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brigand supplied the necessary pedigree to establish his lineage and give him respectability.

Internecine strife, religious persecution, and insecurity, which had largely characterized the last ten centuries of the barbarian period, continued to be the main features of the Indian scene until the arrival of the Muslims.

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BARD. The bard, court poet or chronicler occupied as conspicuous a position in Ancient Indian courtly life as his counterpart in the days of Ancient Greece and other heroic periods of history. In spite of this, however, the profession of bard in many parts of India was looked down upon. He was regarded as a procurer and his wife a prostitute. One of the Sanskrit synonymns for prostitute means 'wife of a bard'. The bard was known by a variety of names in different localities.

The *sūta* was the traditional custodian of heroic poetry, whose duty it was to preserve the genealogy of gods, kings and ṛishis, and recount the country's history and act as the royal herald. The sūta's duties often included the training of elephants and horses, and he was not infrequently the king's physician and cook. He lived at the royal court and sang of the heroic deeds of the warroirs of old, in ballads known as *chariya-kāvya*. He also went forth to battle with his royal patron, acting as his charioteer in the campaigns. It was the ancient sūta who composed and kept alive through the centuries the bardic poetry that grew into the great epics. He generally belonged to a pratiloma caste (born of a kshattriya male and a brāhmin female) and was later classed with the kshattriyas. The sūta of the eastern kingdoms was called a *māgadha* from the country so named, and played a prominent part in courtly legend.

In medieval India the bardic tradition was carried on by the *chāraṇ* of Gujarāt and the *bhāṭ* (or bhaṭṭa) of Rajputāna, who were the hereditary bards and genealogists in their respective regions. They claimed brāhmin descent, were men of excessive self-esteem, and had a reputation for making a demand and then proceeding to kill themselves or a member of their own family if the demand was not complied with, so that the guilt of the death would rest on the transgressor's head. The Rājput bhāṭs maintain the genealogical records of their patrons, visit them periodically bringing with them their voluminous registers (*vahi*), sometimes by the cartload, containing details of the family pedigree and history. The profession is strictly hereditary. There are three requirements for a chāraṇ or bhāṭ, namely, the ability to write and recite bardic poetry; a good memory for learning the old repertoire of songs; and a facility for chronicling new events glorifying the patron.

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Hierophants like the *pāṇḍa* of Gaya and Hardwār also maintain genealogies of those families who regularly worship at their shrines. Many other rulers, notably the Mahārājas of Mysore and Kashmīr, began appointing hereditary bards only about a generation ago, on the lines of the Rājput bards.

It is noteworthy that among the lesser communities the bardic tradition is also frequently found. The balāhi or untouchable weaver caste of Madhya Pradesh have chroniclers corresponding to the Rājput bhāṭs, and it is said that their records are in certain respects fuller than those of the Rājputs. Similarly, among the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, bards known as *pardhan* (or *patari*) have a tradition of great antiquity handed down orally from father to son, recounting the origin of the Gond race, their early fortunes, chief families and genealogies. The association of Rājputs with Gonds is of long standing, and the Rājputs may have simply elaborated an idea originally borrowed from the Gond tribes.

Another class of bards are the *Bauls* of Bengal. The term baul means 'mad', and refers to the itinerant rustic minstrels or strolling players who despise formalism, the ochre robe, the Vedas and conventional religion. They travel from village to village singing devotional hymns and folk songs to the accompaniment of simple musical instruments like the *ektāra* ('one string' fiddle) and the small drum, thus carrying on the tradition of the ancient māgadhas of Bengal. The Bauls have left a profound impression on seventeenth and eighteenth century Bengali writing, especially after their own work had received the stimulus of sufi mysticism. Baul singers include both Hindus and Muslims. Rabindranāth Tagore wrote many lyrics on baul models.

Some of the Bauls have acquired a more sinister reputation than that of simple singers of folk songs. These are usually accompanied by female companions and follow a cult of Buddhist, Tantrik and Vaishṇavite admixtures. Like the Śāktas they have sex rites but believe procreation to be evil. One of their sacraments is a drink compounded of the excreta of a cow, by which they seek the so-called 'power of Kṛishṇa', i.e. sexual union without issue. K. M. Sen finds similarities between baul beliefs and those of some of the early cults mentioned in the *Atharva-veda*.

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BATHS. In Hinduism the *snāna*, 'bath' is an act of *śodhana* or purification*, regarded not only as a hygienic necessity but also as a ritual obligation. Both personal cleanliness and spiritual sanctity are achieved by the same process, the difference lying in the intent.

Snāna is best performed in flowing water, preferably a river or spring, but a tank or pond, though still, or fresh water from a bucket or tap, is preferable

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to the sea, except on certain occasions. Sea water is believed to carry off not only the bodily impurities but also the bodily auras. In any case, 'whatever water is used, it must be thought of as the Ganges water, even if it is not Ganges water.'

The most effective form of snāna is the *arghya*, a ritual bath in the river, when the worshipper makes oblations to the sun. Tanks, ponds and pools are also suitable for ceremonial baths, particularly if they are sacred. All such places are regarded as 'crosspoints' connecting the bather with heaven and earth. They are known in Sanskrit as *ghaṭṭa*, and are always flanked by stairways or embankments to ease the worshipper into the new element. The modern Hindi *ghāṭ* consists of flights of steps descending to the water's edge.

The ritual bath generally involves the rite of *majjana*, 'sinking', when the bather completely immerses his body in the water. Simple ablutionary acts are classed with the snānas and often form part of arghya. The *āchamana* or rinsing of the mouth (*see* purification); *pādya*, the washing of the feet; the *abhisheka* or aspersion* in consecration rites; *kshāla*, when water is poured or allowed to descend over one; *dhāvana*, the 'rubbing' of the body to wash off the dirt; *mārjana*, the 'wiping' of the body to dry it after the bath.

A common ritual ablution is the *avabhṛitha*, a ceremonial bath taken before or even during a sacrifice. In the greater Vedic sacrifices the chief wife washed the back of the sacrificer and he washed hers in turn, after which they worshipped the sun. The avabhṛitha is also performed to atone for any error that might have occurred in the course of the sacrifice, and it is then known as the *nirṇeka* or 'expiatory' bath.

A special bath is taken by the Vedic student after the completion of his studies (*see* Education) to wash off the odour of sanctity which has accrued to him as a result of his celibacy and his close association with his guru. This aura can be very potent and is considered a source of danger to those who come in contact with it. Because of this bath (snāna) he becomes known as a *snātaka* and is now ready to assume the responsibilities of a householder, and take up his place in communal life.

It may not always be possible for a person to go through the rites of purification himself even when it is essential that he do so. In such cases substitution baths may be performed. A small stone may be bathed in place of the sick or dying person, after the necessary 'endowing' rites have been performed over the stone (*see* minerals). Similarly when it is not possible to move an image because of its size, or because the material will not suffer contact with water, the *śālagrāma* (in Vaishṇavite worship), *bāṇaliṅga* (in Śaivite) or other sacred stone may be bathed and anointed in place of the deity.

Although water is commonly used, it is by no means the only medium of cleansing. In the fire-bath, purity is acquired by jumping over a fire, or standing or sitting before one or more fires. In the ash-bath, often taken immediately after the fire-bath, the ashes of sacred plants are spread all over the body. In the air-bath the naked body is vigorously rubbed while the god Vāyu is invoked; it is necessary to perform *prāṇayāma* breathing exercises, and break wind while taking an air-bath. In the dust-bath, the dust raised by the hoofs of a cow is symbolically sprinkled on the body, and some of the

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dust applied to the forehead. The sweat-bath is very commonly practiced by yogis; the perspiration induced by yogic exercises has a special potency, and should never be wiped off but smoothed back into the body with appropriate mantras.

Other baths such as massaging one's body while exposed to the sun (sun-bath); bathing in the rain (rain-bath); dry-bathing during a rainless storm (wind-bath), are supposed to give one great energy. Rubbing the body with the palms of the hands (palm-bath), with certain leaves (leaf-bath), with soft stone (stone-bath), or sand (sand-bath), mud (mud-bath), or with a piece of cloth (cloth-bath), with oil (oil-bath) or clarified butter (ghee-bath) are all valuable in specific cases, but each requires to be performed in a particular way and should be accompanied by the correct mantras.

Certain perverse yogic sects like the Kāpālikas* practice a form of bathing which they believe endows them with superhuman siddhis or powers. It takes place after a long period of preparation, when the produce generated by one's own body is used as the medium for the bath. Urine is collected in the skull which they always carry with them, and poured over the body. Small quantities of excreta are daubed on the crown of the head, the navel, and the tip of the male member. After ritual congress with their female partners the emitted fluid is applied to the body. The monthly flow of the partner is similarly used.

Followers of less obnoxious cults are satisfied with the application of cow-dung and urine to their foreheads.

Books

See under Sociology.

BENGALI (*Bāṅgālī*), a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken by about fifty million people in the state of Bengal. Although largely influenced by Sanskrit and structurally Indo-European, Bengali is of pre-Aryan origin, and has unmistakable Dravidian affinities in phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary (VII, p. 3.)

The earliest extant literary specimens in Bengali are short lyrical songs called *charyā*, composed between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and embodying the tenets of the Buddhist Sahajīyā sect. Some old proverbs and liturgical works of Buddhist and Śaivite cults have also survived from this period. The language of the charyā is believed to represent the initial stage in the evolution of Bengali from Māgadhī. 'After the charyā,' says J. C. Ghosh, 'there is no definite evidence of any literature for four hundred years'.

The Sena period brought a revival of Hinduism under the patronage of the Sena kings. The poet Jayadeva* (*c.* 1100) came from Bengal, and although his work belongs to Sanskrit literature, there is some ground for supposing that it had a Prākṛit origin. The Sanskrit influence which commenced with the Sena period gained strength, and translations and adaptations of Sanskrit classics for long remained the mainstay of Bengali writing.

Almost contemporary with the Sanskrit period was the rise of an indigenous Bengali trend which sought expression in the cults of Dharma (crypto-Buddhist in origin), of Mānasā the serpent goddess, and of Chaṇḍī the

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mother goddess. Poems in praise and honour of these deities were written in the form of the *dohā* or short lyric, or in the form of the *kāvya* or long narrative poem. They were called *maṅgala* (auspicious) when the hero-devotee was rewarded; and *vijaya* (victorious) when the hero-devotee was triumphant over obstacles in worship of the deity. These two styles reached their culmination in the fifteenth century.

Vaishṇava influence, always strong in Bengal, is to be found throughout the early and medieval periods, expressing itself generally in the *pada* or short devotional lyric addressed to Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. The best of the early Vaishṇava poets was Chaṇḍidās* (*c.* 1380) who also wrote many lyrics in praise of the mother goddess. Closely linked with the name of Chaṇḍidās was that of the Vaishṇava poet Vidyāpati (d. 1475) who, although he wrote in the Maithili language*, had almost as great an influence on Bengali as Jayadeva.

The poet Kṛittivāsa (1346–90) translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Bengali, making it one of the most popular books of Bengal. It was written in the *payār* or heroic couplet form, and to such effect that the payār remained the principal medium of Bengali poetry until the nineteenth century. The poet Sañjaya (1350–1410) produced the oldest Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata*, although the best known translation of this epic is that by Kāśīrām (*c.* 1645). A little after Sañjaya, Mālādhav-vasu (*c.* 1480) translated the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* into Bengali. Vaishṇava ascendency reached its peak in the lifetime of Chaitanya*, whose entire literary output consisted of a single poem of eight stanzas, but who nonetheless left a lasting impress on the thought and literature of Bengal.

A change of great significance took place with the arrival of the Muslims at the end of the twelfth century, for they became great patrons of Bengali and Sanskrit letters, and their influence continued unabated until the modern period. As a result of this influence many Persian words and literary forms were introduced. There is a considerable body of critical opinion which asserts that it was primarily Muhammadan patronage that raised Bengali to a literary status (XII, p. 20), and that if Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengali as a literary medium would scarcely have received royal patronage (I, p. 212). Hindu rājas came to maintain vernacular courts only after Muslim rulers had set the fashion. Modern Bengali still retains about three thousand words of Persian or Arabic origin (IV, p. 4).

The synthesis of Hinduism and Islam found expression in numerous hymns devoted to Satyapīr and other Hindu-Muslim deities, written by men and women of almost all sects and religions in India, including many Muslims. A curiosity of this time was the Portuguese merchant Antony who settled in Bengal, wrote devotional verses to the Hindu gods and became one of the most popular writers of kāvyas in Bengali.

But in spite of the strong Muslim influence, the indigenous current remained unsullied in two particular forms of writing. Firstly, in the hymns of Bengali poets written in adoration of their patron goddess Durgā, such as the hymns of the poet-saint Rāmprasād (1718–75) and secondly and more effectively in the songs of the bardic* Baul folk-singers. It may be said that the most important feature of Bengali literary history during the seventeenth

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and eighteenth centuries was the art of the Bauls who sang their devotional and mystical psalms in the simple language of rural Bengal.

The attitude of cultured Bengalis to their own literature by the end of the eighteenth century was one of indifference, neglect, and even scorn. The rustic idiom of the Baul was not calculated to serve as a model for the more sophisticated writer who had been brought up on Sanskrit classics. Bengali was looked upon by Bengali paṇḍits and scholars as a degraded and barbarous language (IX, p. 430) to be used, if at all, only for the coarsest subjects. Ordinary conversation naturally continued to be carried on in Bengali, and a small number of poetical works were written in a purified form of the spoken vernacular, but generally those who deigned to use it, evolved a highly sanskritized form of the language that, they believed, placed it on a somewhat more acceptable level. Ninety per cent of genuine Bengali words were excluded and Sanskrit sesquipedalian terms substituted. This literary language could not be used for conversation, and in fact could not always be pronounced by the authors themselves (VI, p. 217). Even Bankim Chandra Chatterji, speaking of his own time said, 'Educated people do not read Bengali' (IX, p. 430).

The commencement of the nineteenth century saw a revival of Bengali under the impetus of Western and Christian influence. Printing was introduced, prose was born, and the modern theatre established. Literature became secular. An important focus of progressive thought was the Baptist Mission at Serampore (Śrirāmpur) which, besides a Bengali translation of the Bible, printed scores of indigenous classical texts. Practically all vernacular publications in the first two decades of the nineteenth century were printed by that Press. The present Bengali alphabet was fixed by the printing types cast by Charles Wilkins, and the Bengali grammar and dictionary of William Carey were for long regarded as standard works. The establishment of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 was a landmark in the history of Bengali prose. India's first vernacular journal, the *Dig-darśan* was issued from the Serampore Mission Press in 1818, under the editorship of John Marshman.

It was against this background that modern Bengal emerged. The environment created by British rule put an end to the pedantry of Sanskritized writing. A new middle class élite, the *bhadra-log*, 'prosperous people', emerged, and from among them came the independent and professional man of letters, the first giants of Bengal. Among the earliest was Rāmmohan Roy* (d. 1833) regarded as the Father of Bengali Prose. He was followed by the greatest of the Bengali prose writers, Ishvarchandra Vidyāsāgar (1820–91), whose earliest work was writing textbooks for the College of Fort William in Calcutta. Using a simple vigorous style he next devoted himself to reform along orthodox social lines, especially aimed at the enforced celibacy of widows and the abuses of polygamy.

Social reform was in fact everywhere the order of the day, and its targets were not only the Hindus, as in the first Bengali drama directed against the Kulīn brāhmins, written by Rām Nārāyaṇa Tarkaratna (1856), but also the British. A classic of this kind was a play by Dīnabandhu Mittra (1829–73) entitled *Nīl-darpaṇ* (1860) which drew a vivid picture of the oppression of the peasantry by European indigo planters. As drama it was very indifferent, but

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the theme was stirring and it created a sensation out of all proportion to its literary merit. When it was translated into English the translators were fined and imprisoned for libel.

Devendranāth Tagore (d. 1905) father of the famous poet, was himself a well-known author, and wrote with simple dignity and moving eloquence, mainly on religious subjects. One of the most influential figures of that age, and the finest Bengali poet before Tagore was Madhusudan Dutt* (1824–73), who by his wit and vigour opened wide the doors for Western ideas. Another prominent poet, although more reluctant in his appreciation of the West, was Raṅgalāl (1826–87). But his views on the need for radical changes in Bengali writings were clear and unmistakable. He wrote, 'The more Bengali poems will be composed in pure English fashion, the more will shameless and ugly poems vanish from our view' (XII, p. 135).

The next great figure was Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1834–94) who founded Bengali prose fiction, and whose novels took the Indian literary world by storm. He did for Bengali fiction what Madhusudan Dutt had done for Bengali poetry. He was much influenced by the West, often used plots and situations from Scott and others, and in fact became known as the 'Indian Walter Scott'. But he soon launched into indigenous themes with extraordinary success. A fanatical patriot, Bankim is largely responsible for the partisan, provincial nationalism that is so characteristic of Bengal today. Some of his novels appeared in the pages of the *Baṅgadarśan*, a journal started by him, which itself was an epoch-making event, and which became the vehicle for a tremendous ferment of literary activity. It was in one of Bankim's novels that the famous Indian anthem, *Bande Mātaram* (Hail Mother) first appeared.

Sarat Chandra Chatterji (1876–1938) worked as a government clerk in Rangoon, but returned to Bengal to devote himself to the novel. In many ways he was typical of numerous writers who are unable to assess their environment and gauge their abilities. A keen observer but without discrimination, a social reformer carried away by emotion, he could not discern that he was tilting against abuses that had already been given their death blow by his predecessors.

Rabindranāth Tagore* (d. 1941) the last name in Bengali literature, is still the last, in spite of many eminent followers. He dominated his epoch completely and the others will for a long time only flourish in the shade cast by his presence. 'It is doubtful', says a Bengali critic, 'if anything like the post-Rabindranāth period has already begun in our literature' (VIII).

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BESTIALITY. In common with other primitive societies the world over, the early Indian tribal communities lived in close contact with their domestic animals which at times led to various forms of sexual indulgence with them. This is found widely reflected in Hindu mythology, in Sanskrit literature and in art, particularly temple sculpture.

In a very early legend Prajāpati cohabited with the dawn goddess Ushas*, who in vain assumed hundreds of animal shapes to escape his attentions, and in this manner they produced all the animal species. Later myths attribute to Śiva the creation of the species by union with prototypal female beasts engendered out of the primeval chaos. Again, Śiva in the form of a bull had intercourse with Pṛithivī in the form of a cow and thus begat the Maruts. Gaṇeśa the god of good luck was born from the union of Śiva and Pārvatī who wished to enjoy each other 'in the elephant mode'. The sorcerer and wonder-worker Gorakhnāth* came into the world as a result of Śiva's union with a cow *in ano*. The Aśvins were sired by Sūrya mating with his wife in the form of a horse and a mare.

Not only gods, but demons, ṛishis and men changed shape to savour the delights of congress in an animal metamorphosis. The curse that Kalmāshapāda brought upon himself was the retribution for having interfered with a rākshasa couple mating in tiger form. Altogether, animality was believed to be much more voluptuous and sense-filling in nature, and among the siddhis promised to practitioners of various yogic disciplines are those by which a man could become a beast in order to have sexual enjoyment with animals.

In an incident of the *Mahābhārata* the dying antelope pierced by Pāṇḍu's arrow while mating with a female antelope was actually a ṛishi who had been able by his occult powers to transform himself and his wife into deer for the purpose of experiencing love, transanimated as deer.

The animals commonly used for bestial purposes were the ewe, the she-goat, and more rarely the she-ass or mare. In an ancient tale the heavenly nymph Urvaśī after her marriage insisted on having her two pet rams sleep with her. Some form of animality appears to have been part of an early fertility rite, elements of which survived in the *aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice* when the chief queen went through a ritual of union with a dead horse.

Among the many references to bestial practices found in Sanskrit literature there is one relating to the Malla princess Mallikā, wife of Prasenajit of Kosala, who gratified her lust by congress with her pet dog, while Prasenajit himself sought satisfaction with a she-goat. At a later date pet dogs and monkeys were sometimes trained for use in harems.

Representations of bestiality are found in Hindu temple sculpture; they are seen at their most flagrant in the Black Pagoda at Konārak and some of the temples at Bhuvaneśvar. Vātsyāyana in the fifth century, and other

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authorities on erotics classify all male and female types after animals like the hare, buck, horse, elephant, and recommend animal postures during congress, to the accompaniment of appropriate animal sounds.

Some scholars discern in animality a relic of bestial rites practiced by the ancient Indian tribal peoples with their domestic beasts or with the beasts of the chase, in order to ensure the fertility of the fields, the abundance of game, and general prosperity for the tribe.

Books

See under Kāmaśāstra and Perversions.

BETEL. The name of the betel vine, *Piper betle*, is derived through the Portuguese from the Malayan *vettila*. The fresh leaf of this vine is layered with lime, sprinkled with chipped pieces of the areca nut and catechu (Kanarese kāchu) and with other ingredients if required. The prepared leaf is then folded over and pinned down with a clove or two and the whole stuffed into the mouth and chewed. In the process the saliva and the mouth become a very brilliant red. The practice of betel-chewing is widespread, an estimated seven hundred million people in India, the Indian Archipelago and the South Seas being addicted to it. The somewhat astringent areca nut, also called, by transferrence, the betel nut, contains the poison arecoline which causes a mild intoxication and gives a feeling of euphoria and contentment.

Although it is universal in India today the chewing of betel was for long regarded as a śūdra custom. There is no mention of it in the Vedas, Sūtras or the Epics, and it is first referred to only in the Jātakas, an indication that it was ultimately derived from 'native' Indian practice, current among the Austrics and other aboriginal tribes. Both the Sanskrit words *tāmbūla* (the rolled betel-leaf) and *guvāka* (the areca palm) are of Austric origin.

The Hindi terms for the betel (*pān*) and the betel nut (*supāri*) are now commonly employed in India. The offering of '*pān-supāri*' to an idol is one of the features of ceremonial worship*, and a similar offering to guests is a standard form of hospitality in the home. In medieval times it was attended by an elaborate etiquette. The 'Bearer of the Betel Bag' was an important functionary in the royal courts, being both purveyor of this pleasurable drug and also a kind of physician. Many other components were often added to the basic ingredients, to induce sleep (opium), to cool the body (camphor), to increase sexual power, to relieve constipation, cure diarrhoea, to sooth the nerves. Betel-bearers always accompanied kings wherever they went, and during battles these attendants, who were most often young women, would sit beside the royal personage and periodically pop a betel into the royal mouth.

There used to be special pān-gardens termed *bāṛā* (or *bāḍā*) which were almost sacred enclosures reserved for the élite. The extensive grounds in which the harems of the palace women were situated always contained such an enclosure where the king would relax with his female entourage. There was also a special language of betel for lovers (*see* Skills).

The fact that betel-chewing colours the saliva a bright red may give it

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certain associations with the blood rites, and in many places an exchange of betel, seals a pact and constitutes a binding oath.

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BHAGAVADGĪTĀ (*Bhagavad-gītā*, 'Song of the Lord') a philosophical interlude by an unknown writer comprising the 25th to 42nd chapters of the *Bhīshma-parva* section of the *Mahābhārata*. It does not belong to the *śruti* or revealed class of writings but to the *smṛiti* or traditional works, and represents an eclectic compilation of a considerably later date than the *shaḍ-darśanas* (orthodox philosophies), revealing the influence of Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Vedānta, and the Upanishads, particularly the *Śvetāśvatara*. It may have received its first outlines in the first and second centuries AD, and probably acquired its present form about AD 300. There is no mention of it in the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*, which otherwise incorporates a huge mass of legendary and supernatural material concerning Kṛishṇa, and the work is little heard of until the ninth century philosopher Śaṅkara wrote his commentary on it. Some critics feel it was revised or rewritten by Śaṅkara himself.

The *Gītā*, as it is usually abbreviated, is written in the form of a dialogue between Arjuna and Kṛishṇa on the eve of the great battle of Kurukshetra. As the opposing hosts of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas are drawn up for battle, Arjuna bids his charioteer, Kṛishṇa, drive to an open space from where he can see the two contending hosts set out in battle order. Viewing the noble youths and warriors on both sides in their splendid array, Arjuna is suddenly struck with remorse at the thought of attempting to gain the kingdom through the slaughter of his own kinsmen. He hangs his head in sorrow, and his celestial bow gāṇḍīva drops from his hand. He seeks Kṛishṇa's guidance, since he himself desires neither victory, empire, fame nor pleasure, if it be won through killing his own people. Kṛishṇa's reply constitutes the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* and is venerated by many Hindus as the actual utterance of the Supreme Deity.

The poem consists of eighteen chapters, and is divided into three sections of six chapters each. The first part advocates the pursuit of yoga, and dwells on the advantages of self-mortification and asceticism, and on the need for the annihilation of self, and the virtue of seeing god in everything. In the second part the pantheistic doctrines of Vedānta are elaborated, and Kṛishṇa reveals himself in all his glory as the Supreme Deity. The last part of the poem expounds the principles of *purusha* and *prakṛiti*, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, the five subtle and five gross senses, and other categories of Sāṁkhya philosophy, by which it has been largely tinged.

Many Hindu commentators and critics have devoted themselves to the study of the *Gītā*, among them Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha, and Nimbārka; and among the moderns, Tilak, Aurobindo, Gāndhi and C. Rājagopālāchāri. But they often differ widely in their opinion regarding

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the ultimate teaching of the *Gītā*. This possibility of a many-sided interpretation is summarised in the *Gītā* thus, 'Some by meditation, others by knowledge, others by imitation, action or worship, pass beyond death'. The Gītā thus sets forth not one but several concepts of religion. The various interpretations of the significance of the *Gītā* may be briefly set forth.

Some critics regard its pantheism, so clearly related to the Upanishads, as the keynote to the *Gītā*. Here the chief purpose is the need for discriminating between the self (*ātman*) and the non-self (*prakṛiti*). The only reality in the universe is the self, whether individual or Supreme. The whole manifold world of nature, the universe of name-and-form detached from and outside the ātman is illusion (*māyā*), created, sustained, and ultimately to be destroyed by Kṛishṇa. *Nāsato vidyate bhāvo, nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ*: Of the unreal there is no being; of the real there is no not-being.

Some regard the central teaching of the *Gītā* to be that of stern devotion to dharma, especially to caste duties. Duty, it teaches, is essentially work; that is work according to the dictates of caste. The ideal, however, is not work with the purpose of gaining rewards, but *nish-kāma karma*, 'non-desire activity', i.e. dispassionate service, with no thought of recompense and without fear of any consequences. Working because it is one's duty, and not for pleasure, personal gain or glory.

This is cogently brought home to Arjuna by the advice of Kṛishṇa in the solution of his own problem: whether he should fight. The reply is that one must do the duty allotted to one by birth in the caste to which one belongs. Specifically it is said that *svadharma* (one's own duty) or the duty of one's own caste, even performed imperfectly, is better than *paradharma* (another's duty) or the duty appropriate to another caste, even if well performed. Another's duty brings dangers, one's own duty brings salvation.

A brāhmin's duty is righteousness, a kshattriya's fighting, a vaiśya's agriculture and trade, and a śūdra's service. To Arjuna then the reply is given that since he is a kshattriya his duty is on the battlefield against his foe. It is wrong to question the wisdom of war or to be troubled about its ultimate consequences. When killing becomes a duty, then slay without scruple. All creatures are destined to die and the soldier's pity or cowardice will not save men from death. The bodies of mortals will perish but their souls are part of the Indestructible and cannot die. He who thinks that the soul can be slain, and he who thinks that he is a slayer are both wrong. Kṛishṇa himself has already slain them all, and Arjuna will be only the apparent cause of their death.

Other commentators of the *Gītā* regard as its primary message the doctrine of *Brahma-vidyā*, or knowledge of Brahma, accompanied by asceticism. Good works are given their due place but more time must be devoted to contemplation and knowledge (*jñāna*) of the Supreme. Knowledge, especially that attained through the Sāṁkhya* method dispels delusion, destroys sin, purifies the knower, bestows peace and nullifies all works and consequences which would otherwise bind a man to action-and-reaction and so foreordain him to another rebirth.

A man who seeks knowledge should be moderate in all things. His appetites subdued, his mind under control, he should regard as of equal worth

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a lump of earth and a piece of gold. Friends and enemies, good and bad, virtue and vice should all be in his eyes as if they were the same. A man striving for this state should abandon his possessions and worldly hopes, betake himself to some secluded spot, and seated on kuśa grass, and with eyes fixed on the tip of his nose, meditate on the Supreme. His mind must not flicker, but should remain steadfast, *yathā dīpo nivātastho*, 'as a lamp in a windless place'.

Most commentators regard the doctrine of bhakti or devotion as the chief glory of the *Gītā*. Kṛishṇa says, 'Whenever there is a decline of faith and an upsurge of irreligion I make my appearance in this world'. In passages that have tried a host of commentators by their apparent contradiction to his otherwise insistent emphasis on caste, Kṛishṇa says, 'I am indifferent to all born beings'. He states that he takes no account of caste, and promises salvation to all who believe in him, including sinners, women and śūdras. 'Be sure that no one can perish who trusts me, though he be born from the very womb of sin'. All forms of devotion to him are acceptable: 'In whatever way men worship me, in the same way I fulfil their needs'.

Some authorities think that the originally pantheistic *Gītā* with Brahma as the Supreme and only lord, received later material interpolated by the hand of a Vaishṇava poet. As it stands, both concepts, the pantheistic as well as the theistic exist side by side. In these later interpolations *bhakti* or devotion and *śraddhā* or faith, are both emphatically stressed. The *Gītā* is the first clear presentation in Hindu writings of the idea of the descent of deity incarnate as a saviour of all mankind, and not for a particular situation, a fact which has prompted scholars to suggest that it may have borrowed from the teachings of the New Testament.

Scattered throughout the *Gītā* are the memorable sayings of Kṛishṇa about his divinity and all-sufficiency: Whatever you do, do for my glory. All things were made by me, and in me are all things. To this end am I born, to establish righteousness. Deluded men know me not, the Unborn, the Unchangeable. On me are all things suspended like pearls upon a string. I am the light and far beyond the darkness. I am the life, the way and the refuge. I am the goodness of all good things. I am the first and the last. Be of good cheer, I will deliver you from your sins. He who does not believe and doubts will perish utterly. Think on me, come unto me, have faith in me, adore me, and worship me, and you will rise to my abode where neither sun nor moon has need to shine, for all the lustre they possess is mine. Those who worship me with devotion are in me, and I too am in them. It has frequently been observed how many of these sayings bear a resemblance to the utterances of Christ.

In Chapter IX Arjuna asks Kṛishṇa to reveal himself, and there takes place a Transfiguration, a *viśva-rūpa-darśana* (All-Form-Vision), a vision of the all-pervading Form, when Kṛishṇa displays his true self.

'In him was the whole universe centred in one. Endowed with countless eyes and numberless mouths, and innumerable faces turned in every quarter, and blazing with the glory of a thousand suns, with celestial ornaments and fierce weapons; with many hands, feet, and organs, with countless stomachs and fierce and fearful tusks terrible to behold.'

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All the Kaurava enemies, the sons of Dhṛitarāshtra, Bhīshma, Droṇa and others were sticking in the interstices of the god's teeth, with their heads crushed to powder. Filled with awe Arjuna with joined palms gave utterance to his adoration of the Ancient One, Lord of Lords and First Creator: 'Salutation to thee on all sides, salutation to thee before and behind'.

The *Gītā* adds few new ideas to the eschatological system of the Upanishads, and the *lokas* are mainly on the traditional lines. Hell falls to the lot of wicked sinners who suffer there until they are reborn. The Upanishads in fact provided much of the metaphysics of the *Gītā*, which is regarded as a distillation of the Upanishads. 'The Upanishads are the cows, Kṛishṇa the milker, Arjuna the calf, men of pure minds the drinkers, and the nectar-like *Gītā* the Milk Divine'.

Although revered by many Hindus as the very word of God, the *Bhagavadgītā* has been severely handled by critics, both Hindu and non-Hindu. Spiritually it is a disappointment. Although it starts on one of the most poignant themes in the whole range of philosophy, presenting an enigma of profound and moving import in terms of deep sympathy and psychological insight, the main text is an anticlimax. It is replete with tautology, contradiction and rhetoric, and according to one critic, seems to have been conceived by a mind ridden with vague philosophical concepts far removed from the basic issue involved.

At the same time that it holds up as an ideal, 'the knower of the Self who looks with equal eye on the learned brāhmin and on the low-caste eater of dog's flesh', it laments such trivialities as the overlapping of *varṇas*, and stresses the immutable sacrosanctity of caste. There are tiresome divagations into the metaphysical conceits of Sāṁkhya and not too lucid expositions of such concepts as the *guṇas*, *māyā*, and the Supreme, mixed with in-and-out breathings, concentration on the nose-tip, reflections on matters concerning diet, sleep, and the glorification of rituals and sacrifices, and the mystique of the sacred syllable *Oṁ*.

It ardently advocates a study of the 'sacred dialogue' of the *Bhagavadgītā* as a sure way to salvation, but what this way is is never clear and has been the subject of endless disputatious commentary. The idea of 'absolute action', or action absolved from all relevance to an end or aim is a Gospel in a Vacuum. In the view of some the solution of the actual problem of Arjuna appears brutal and merciless, and hostile critics, without due justification, find in the book a ruthless 'cult of murder' (X, p. 33). One Hindu scholar quoted by Bouquet holds that the *Gītā* is a 'pious forgery, a hotch-potch of various mutually incompatible doctrines', and goes on to say that 'the brāhmins were quite within their rights in refusing to treat it as *śruti*, or canonical'.

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BHAKTI, 'attachment', or fervent devotion to god. The term stems from the root *bhaj*, 'partake of', and originally implied participation in a rite. Derived from this is the name of the ancient Vedic god Bhaga, the giver of good fortune and therefore one who is adored. In the Vedas he is one of the Ādityas, a god of indeterminate powers, who presides over marriage and bestows wealth. At Daksha's* sacrifice he was assaulted and blinded by Śiva, suggesting an early enmity between the two. Bhaga may have been one of the earliest deities worshipped by the Vaishṇavites. The term *Bhagavat*, 'possessing bhaga', was an early title of both Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa, while *Bhagavān* in medieval times meant the Supreme Being. A derivatory epithet is *Bhāgavata*, or that which relates to god. The Vaishṇavite devotee is called a *bhagat* (also *bhakta* or *bhāgavata*). Although found in Śaivite and other sects, bhakti is associated particularly with Vaishṇavism. The *Bhagavadgītā** and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa** are Vaishṇavite bhakti classics.

The Vedas as a rule do not favour the way of bhakti, and the rise of the devotional cults in Hinduism can only be explained by the influence of non-Vedic cultures (II, p. 58). According to the *Padma-purāṇa* the doctrine of devotion had its origin in the South, i.e. among the Dravidians. At first it met with strong opposition from brāhmin orthodoxy because of its disregard for traditional religious ceremonial, but later many brāhmins joined the movement and made substantial contributions to its development. The influence of Christianity* on the doctrine of bhakti has frequently been pointed out.

Devotion to god assumes many forms, and the *bhakta* or devotee may hold himself as related to god in one or more *bhāva* or attitudes, the chief of which are: (1) *dāsya-bhāva* (*dāsa*, 'slave'), the attitude of a servant to his master, such as that of Hanumān to Rāma; (2) *sakhya-bhāva* (*sakhi*, 'friend'), the attitude of a friend to a friend, as that of Arjuna to Kṛishṇa; (3) *vātsalya-bhāva* (*vatsala*, 'a cow with a new-born calf'), the attitude of a parent to a child, as Kausalyā to Rāma; (4) *śānta-bhāva* (*śānti*, 'tranquil') the attitude of a child to a parent, as Dhruva to Sunīti; (5) *kānta-bhāva* (*kānta*, 'desired'), the attitude of a wife to her husband, as Sītā to Rāma; (6) *rati-bhāva* (*rati*, 'passion') the attitude of the beloved to her lover, as Rādhā to Kṛishṇa; (7) *dveshya-bhāva*, (*dvesha*, 'hatred') the attitude of an atheist or god-hater towards god, as Śiśupāla* king of Chedi to Kṛishṇa; this notion is based on the Tantrik belief that an intense feeling towards the deity may even be expressed in hatred for him, since this implies a belief (albeit concealed) in god's terrible rage and power (*see* antinomianism).

In the orthodox view bhakti implies (*a*) a belief in a personal god of absolute love, mercy, and grace (*prasāda*), especially towards his devotees; (*b*) a burning, indeed all-consuming, personal love for the deity; (*c*) absolute faith in and devotion to the deity; (*d*) *prapatti*, 'resignation', or total self-surrender and submission to the will of god; (*e*) *śaraṇāgati*, or coming to god

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as a refuge for complete protection; (*f*) belief in the divinity of the human soul and god's willingness to save all who love him and are devoted to him.

Bhakti has no need of knowledge, for the main obstacle is not ignorance but unbelief. One should therefore abandon all notions of getting to 'know' god by mental process or meditation. Bhakti has no need of 'works' either. One should relinquish all consideration of actions supposed to yield merit or demerit, for this can reduce one's trust in god's grace and love. The doctrine of karma* is thus set at naught, for god's grace is greater than man's sin. Bhakti has no need of rites and ceremonials, for on the path of bhakti all things done and thought may be regarded as offerings to god. Bhakti takes no heed of caste and class for even the lowest beings are qualified for *bhakti-mārga*, 'the way of devotion, faith and love'. All that is required is a deep feeling for god, and a constant remembrance of him.

As aids to bhakti, certain devotional observances are permitted because they create an intimate personal relationship between devotee and deity. These are (1) *śravaṇam*, 'hearing' the praises of the deity; (2) *vandanam*, 'praising' the deity and chanting his name; (3) *smaraṇam*, 'remembering' the deity at all times; and (4) *sevanam*, 'serving' the deity by worship and by doing good deeds in his name.

Bhakti to be effective must be unremitting. One must avoid all thoughts not associated with god, and do all things for him and in his name alone, eschewing all contact with non-devotees. Many legends are told of the penalties attaching to distraction from complete devotion. For example, king Bharata, an ancient ruler of the first manvantra and a great devotee of Vishṇu, rescued a fawn from drowning and became so attached to it that his concentration was impaired. As a punishment he was born again as a doe, remembered his former life and atoned for his error by constant thoughts of love towards the deity. He was next reborn as a brāhmin of ungainly appearance, but of profound wisdom. Having converted many to Vishṇu he finally obtained redemption. The *Vishṇu-purāṇa* relates the story of the devout king Śatadhanu who once conversed with a heretic. His wife Śaibyā, a virtuous and discreet woman turned away. The king was reborn as a dog and his wife as a princess who recognized him and reminded him of his one great lapse. He suffered many incarnations as a jackal, wolf, crow, and so on, and in each form his wife reminded him of his transgression until his sin was finally purged away. They were both reborn as persons of distinction, married, lived lives devoted to Vishṇu, and when they died ascended to the heavenly abodes.

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BHAṄGA, 'bend', a form of aṅgika* or bodily posture, originally derived from the dance pose, which has found its way into sculpture and painting. It represents all deviations of the body from the central line of equipoise in

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the standing or seated figure. The basic norm is known as the *sama-bhaṅga*, 'equally bent', or symmetrically aspected figure, whether standing or seated, e.g. Buddha seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā* pose. The upright figure, even if not 'bent', is usually also classed as sama-bhaṅga, e.g. the statue of Gomaṭeśvara. The sama-bhaṅga denotes spiritual equilibrium and is usually reserved for the stances of the major gods. From this original position a number of flexed poses are derived.

The *ābhaṅga*, 'somewhat bent', position has the weight of the body placed on one leg more than on the other. In a variation, the weight rests on equally bent legs but the torso is slightly inclined to right or left. Many kinds of the *ardha-sama-bhaṅga*, 'half-equally-bent', are described. Generally the torso is straight and one or more limbs are asymmetrically flexed. The best known is the pose of Kṛishṇa playing the flute, where he is depicted standing with the weight of his body on one foot, while the other foot is crossed over the front resting on the toes. In the *tri-bhaṅga*, 'thrice bent', the head, torso and hips are inclined at slightly different angles. The tribhaṅga is one of the chief attributes of the standing female figure in Indian sculpture. In the *ati-bhaṅga*, 'greatly bent' pose, the limbs are deeply flexed and the body quite asymmetrical. A good example is the famous Naṭarāja pose of the Dancing Śiva.

Books

See under Dance and Sculpture.

BHAṄGĀSVANA, a ṛishi king who being without an heir decided to undertake the *agnishṭut* sacrifice so hateful to Indra. Its results were so successful that he begat a hundred sons. But Indra resolved to punish him and kept a lookout for a chance to do so. One day when the ṛishi rode out into the forest he was made to suffer the delusion of being lost, and was thus led to a magic lake. He plunged into it to refresh himself and was immediately transformed into a woman.

Filled with shame and sorrow he (now she) mounted his steed, returned to the palace and explained his predicament to his family and courtiers. Bhaṅgāsvana then left the kingdom to his sons and retired to the forest. Here in his female state he dwelt with a hermit and bore him a hundred children and sent them, when they were grown, to rule jointly with his other sons. Indra however dispatched a messenger to stir up discord between these two groups of brothers.

Hearing of this quarrel Bhaṅgāsvana loudly bemoaned his fate until Indra came to him and disclosed the reason for his punishment. The ṛishi begged to be forgiven and Indra granted his plea, but asked him whether he would rather have his first batch of sons live or his second, and whether he would prefer to remain a woman or become a man again. To the first question he declared that he would want the sons he bore as a woman to live since he bore a greater love as a mother than as a father; to the second question he replied that he would prefer to remain as a woman, as in sexual union the woman always experiences the greater joys. Indra was so pleased with this revelation that he granted both his wishes.

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This story was related by Bhīshma to Yudhishṭhira to show that a woman derives greater pleasure than a man from the sexual act.

Books

See under Mythology.

BHARADVĀJA, an Aṅgiras mahā-ṛishi to whom many Vedic hymns are attributed. He was the illegitimate son of the sage Bṛihaspati and Mamatā, wife of the sage Utathya*. When he was kicked out of his mother's womb by the legitimate occupant Dīrghatamas, Bṛihaspati told Mamatā, *bhara-dvā-ja*, 'carry the twice begotten', or, in another version, 'cherish this child of two fathers', whence his name.

Bharadvāja had lived through three lives and become immortal. The powers accruing to him as a result of his dreadful austerities caused grave apprehension in heaven, so Indra sent the apsarā Ghṛitāchī who, when she saw the holy man approach a stream for his ablutions, disrobed and bathed naked before him. At the sight of her beauty his seed fell from him. This he put into a bucket (droṇa) and in due time it grew up to become the young Droṇa*, a great hero of the *Mahābhārata*.

For a time Bharadvāja served as the family priest of Divodāsa king of Kāśī, before he retired to the Daṇḍaka forest. In the *Mahābhārata* he is represented as living at Hardwār, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as having a hermitage at Prayāga where Rāma and Sītā visited him during their exile. His descendants were known as the Bhāradvāja. Besides Droṇa the sage had a second son, Yavakrīta, and two daughters, namely, Śrutāvatī and Iḍaviḍā, the latter the wife of Viśravas.

Yavakrīta underwent severe penances to acquire the wisdom of the Vedas without study. Having gained the knowledge he turned impious and arrogant, abused the ṛishis, made love to the daughter-in-law of the sage Raibhya*, and was thus instrumental in the death both of his father and of Raibhya. But as a result of the expiatory devotions of Raibhya's son, all were restored to life.

Bharadvāja's daughter, the virginal and peerlessly lovely Śrutāvatī also underwent great penances in order to win Indra for a husband. To test her worth Indra appeared to her in human form and asked her to cook some fruit for him. She tried to do as the guest had bidden her, according to the dictates of hospitality, but after a whole day's cooking the magic fruit was still not cooked. Her fuel was exhausted, so she placed her feet in the fire and kept putting them further and further into the flames. Overjoyed at this demonstration of obedience to her duties Indra revealed himself and took her up to his heavenly abode.

Books

See under Mythology.

BHARATA, son of Dushyanta, was carried for three years in the womb of his mother Śakuntalā before he was born. Bharata is one of the great patriarchs

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of Hindu mythology who is believed to have given the name to the Indo-Gangetic plain known as *Bhārata-varsha*, later used for the whole of India (Bhārata). He is the traditional founder of the Lunar race of the Bhārata. Some authorities identify the Bhārata with the Dravidians (II, p. 898–99). This ancient warlike tribe figures in the *Ṛig-veda* in relationship with king Sudāsa and the Tṛitsu tribe, and as enemies of king Puru (*see* Divodāsa). Early in their history the Bhārata probably merged with the Tṛitsu and then with the Kuru.

Bharata had three wives by whom he had nine sons, but all of them he suspected were illegitimate as they were quite unlike him in appearance (I, p. 172), a legend that may account for the many different races who claimed him as a common ancestor. The epic of the *Mahābhārata* tells the story of Bharata's descendants.

Fifth in descent after him was *Hastin*, who received his name from the 'elephant' lake where he was born. He founded his capital on the Ganges (in the modern district of Meerut) on a site known after its Nāga inhabitants as Nāgasāhvaya, which became famous in legend as Hastināpura, later the headquarters of the Kauravas. Among the sons of Hastin were *Ajamīdha*, who married a Gandhāra princess and extended his realm northwards, and Rantideva.

Rantideva, in spite of his immense wealth was a pious and benevolent ruler. He was profuse in his sacrifices and gave enormous bequests to charity. He is described in the *Mahābhārata* as employing 200,000 cooks to prepare the 2,000 head of cattle and other animals that were slaughtered daily for his kitchen. With this beef and other viands he fed the innumerable mendicants and brāhmins who flocked to his kingdom.

Eighth in descent from Bharata was *Saṁvaraṇa* son of Ṛiksha, who was driven from Hastināpura by the Pañchālas and forced to take refuge among the thickets of the Indus. His love for the beautiful Tapatī (or Taptī), daughter of the sun-god, is a charming episode in the *Mahābhārata*.

The child of Saṁvaraṇa and Tapatī was *Kuru*, who is connected with the Epic tribe of the Kuru. This tribe is mentioned in the Vedas and is thought to belong to a later (i.e. purer) wave of Aryan migration. The area where they settled was famed as one of the few pure Aryan regions of India, and the great Brāhmaṇas were composed in their country. They were often linked with the Pañchāla as the Kuru-Pañchāla. It was in Kurukshetra, 'the field of Kuru', that the celebrated battle was fought between the two great protagonists of the *Mahābhārata*: the Kauravas (named after Kuru), and the Pāṇḍavas (named after Pāṇḍu, a much later descendant).

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BHARATA, the semi-legendary author of a treatise on drama, music and the dance, called the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, probably first written between AD 100 and AD 300, but in its present much mutilated and retouched form dating from

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about AD 500. The name Bharata is allegedly composed of the first syllables of *bh*āva (emotion), *rā*ga (melody) and *ta*la (rhythm).

Bharata, so the story goes, was permitted to view one of the great celestial dramas of Indra's court, and was then ordered by Brahmā to put into literary form as much of this art as it was possible for him as a mere mortal to understand, for the edification and solace of mankind. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* is supposed to be Bharata's attempt to reconstruct the principles of this divine performance, and to reproduce those features which, besides being spectacular (*dṛiśya*) and audible (*śravya*) were at the same time instructive. Brahmā inspired him to take the element of recitation (*pāṭhya*) from the *Ṛig-veda*, action (*abhinaya*) from the *Yajur-veda*, song (*gāna*) from the *Sāma-veda*, and sentiment (*rasa*) from the *Atharva-veda*. From these four constituent elements he formulated the art of *nāṭya*, or drama. Śiva and Pārvatī helped him to elaborate the basic patterns of the dance.

The first dramatic representation was said to be the story of the Churning of the Ocean (*see* nectar) showing the victory of the gods over the demons, a fact which so enraged the demons that they tried to stop the show and were only kept out by Indra brandishing his banner and driving them off (*see* pole ceremonies).

Bharata is thus regarded as the father of Indian dramatic and dance theory and of dramatic criticism. His *Nāṭya-śāstra* is an encyclopaedic work on poetics, drama, dance, music (*see* music history) and aesthetics. Here we find the beginnings of the doctrine of *rasa* (mood) and *bhāva* (emotion); rules for dramatic writing; plot elements; descriptions of gestures; technical devices, and so on, which were further amplified by his successors. According to Bharata, acting and dancing

'yield the fruit of righteousness to those who follow the moral law, and pleasure to those who follow lust; give restraint to the unruly; discipline to the devotee; vigour to the impotent; zeal to the warrior; wisdom to the ignorant; sport to kings, and courage to the broken willed'.

There is no unanimity of opinion about much of what Bharata wrote, and there are several conflicting schools of interpretation.

Parallels between Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* and its commentaries on the one hand, and Aristotle's *Poetics*, and Hellenistic dramatic theory on the other, are remarkably close. The points of similarity include: the idea of the unity of action (all parts of the drama should be strictly relevant to the main plot); the unity of time (events of one act should not exceed the duration of one day); Bharata's dramatic propriety (that the number of persons on the stage should be limited to five; that violent and unseemly actions should not be portrayed) and the Aristotelean conventions; the doctrine of drama as imitation (*anukṛiti*) and the Aristotelean doctrine of mimesis; Aristotle's classification of characters as ideal, real and inferior, and Bharata's as high, middle and low; the division of a play into acts and of acts into scenes; the use of the prologue in both Greek and Hindu convention; the employment of stock characters in Hindu as well as in Hellenistic (especially Roman) drama, such as the Fool, the Parasite and the Pimp; the use of asides and soliloquies; the device of a 'mark of recognition' for hero or heroine (e.g. the ring in

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Śakuntalā, the necklace in *Ratnāvalī*). On these and other grounds critics believe that there is much to warrant the theory of Greek influence, extending from Aristotle to the New Attic Comedy, on Bharata and his early editors.

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(*See under* Dramaturgy, Dance, Music.)

BHARATA-NĀṬYAM, the modern name of an ancient form of dance originating in south India around Tanjore, and greatly patronized by the Chola kings. Traditionally it is said to have been introduced to the south by way of central India where it was taught by Arjuna to the ladies at the court of Kirāta.

An essentially feminine dance, Bharata-nāṭyam is the temple dance of India and was for many centuries associated with the *devadāsīs* or temple prostitutes who performed it before the deities. Hence it is also referred to as the *devadāsī-attam*. Nandikeśvara in his *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* sets forth the standard for the devadāsī: 'She should be young, slender, round-breasted, large-eyed, self-confident, witty, pleasing, and have a good sense of time.' The dance is still occasionally performed with the usual techniques for religious purposes in the *kuruvañji* form, where the gods are invoked and mythological themes enacted inside a temple but never on the stage.

The Bharata-nāṭyam is a semi-dramatic type of dance, generally performed by a solo dancer, who acts out more than one role through gesture and mime. In style it is more elegant than Kathākali. Its classic poses have been sculptured on the walls of the temple at Chidambaram. The dance stresses the erotic (*śṛiṅgāra*) element and the facial expressions and gestures have to some extent vulgarised what is otherwise a great art form, though much has been done to restore its purity today.

The 'dance-unit' in the Bharata-nāṭyam is the *adavu*, strictly a simple short rhythmic cadence of movement from the basic standing posture in the centre of the stage. A sequence of adavus is called a *thirmanam*, and it is in the execution of the thirmanams that the technical skill of the dancer is revealed. What is called the *paṇḍanallur* style of Bharata-nāṭyam has broad sweeping movements, vigorous footwork and powerful leaps.

In practising the adavus, a certain rhythmic beat of syllables called *sollukattu* is intoned (*see* dance), such as *tai tai dhidhi tai*, or *tai tai tam*, and so forth. Phrases of variegated patterns are coined from these and other syllables which lend their staccato rhythm to the dance. The secular forms of the Bharata-nāṭyam are now standardized, and the usual programme generally consists of items in the following order:

(*a*) **Alaripu,** the shortest and simplest Bharata-nāṭyam pattern, is an introductory piece intended as an invocation to the gods. The adavu of the alaripu are simple and the whole sequence lasts for about five minutes;
(*b*) **Jāti-svaram** (or *jethi-svaram*), a more difficult number of a 'pure-dance' kind, producing no mood and evoking no sentiment, but executed only for the sake of beauty, as an expression of the ideas evoked by the music. The musical accompaniment, also called jāti-svaram, consists of a pattern of jātis (*see*

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music). The rhythm is varied and complex and the dancer has to follow it closely, making this dance a perfect study in time and measure in the south Indian musical idiom;
(*c*) **Varṇam,** the most elaborate, complex and difficult item in a Bharata-nāṭyam programme. It is a combination of mime and dance and calls for a high degree of technical skill. The dance ends in a furious tempo with quickly changing patterns of the feet and rapid flourishes of the hands. It lasts for about an hour and can rarely be appreciated in all its subtlety by any but an expert;
(*d*) **Śabdam** and **padam** are shorter pieces enacting a poem, with the mime element predominating;
(*e*) **Tillana,** a name derived from *tarana*, a song brought from north India in about AD 1750, which was absorbed into Carnatic music as the tillana and later became a favourite feature of the Bharata-nāṭyam. This is considered the most beautiful item and has a number of statuesque poses with arms outstretched, and varied cadences of movement.

The Bharata-nāṭyam dance is considered a marvel of artistic synthesis, subtlety and sophistication, combining pure dance patterns of endless variety, ever changing facial expressions and gestures, in which the hand, neck, eye and each part of the body combine to produce a harmonious whole.

Books

See under Dance.

BHĀRAVI (fl. AD 550), author of *Kirāt-ārjunīya*, a Sanskrit *mahā-kāvya* (short epic) in eighteen cantos, based on an episode of the *Mahābhārata*. It narrates how the hero Arjuna, while engaged in the worship of Śiva, is provoked by a *kirāta* or mountaineer who is out hunting, and fights with him. The hunter is actually Śiva in disguise who desires to test the valour of his devotee. After a long, exhausting struggle, Arjuna discovers the identity of his invincible adversary, and falls down and worships him. Satisfied with Arjuna's bravery, skill and piety, Śiva presents him with the *pāśupata*, a magical weapon* for use against his enemies.

Full of poetical fancy, Bhāravi's *kāvya* contains brilliant descriptions of natural scenery, but is marred by artificiality and trivial verbal tricks that soon become tiresome. There are lines that give the same sounds and sense whether read forwards or backwards; couplets that can be read in as many as four different ways, with four different meanings; and stanzas that contain only certain syllables and sounds. His felicity of expression and mastery of verse remain unequalled among kāvya writers.

Books

See under Sanskrit.

BHARTṚIHARI (?AD 570–651?), grammarian, lyric poet, philosopher, man of the world, who alternated seven times in his choice between a monastic and a worldly life. On one occasion as he entered the monastery he had a carriage waiting near by in case he should change his mind. He despairingly

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confessed that he was the mere plaything of these strong conflicting inclinations. He received the patronage of the Maitraka ruler of Valabhī, and was supposed to have been the brother of the celebrated king Vikramāditya, though this was only one of the many conflicting stories woven around his name. The seventh century Chinese traveller I-tsing stated that Bhartṛihari was a Buddhist, in which case he must have held liberal views for he pays reverent homage to Śiva as well.

Among his works are three *śataka* or 'centuries', namely, *Śṛiṅgāra-śataka* on Love; *Nīti-śataka* on Polity and Ethical Wisdom; and *Vairāgya-śataka* on Renunciation, but according to authoritative opinion only the first collection can definitely be attributed to him. Bhartṛihari is essentially a poet of love. Woman is the joy of life and the cause of sorrow; she brings trouble and gives pleasure; she causes heartache and joy. She is both the guiding star and the rocky shoals in our journey through life. She is the summit of virtue and the receptacle of evil. Life without woman is empty, and with woman is full of frustration and disappointment. This simple philosophy is expressed sometimes with malice and indignation, but also with wisdom, humour and gentleness.

Much as he was drawn to material things, Bhartṛihari realized only too well the inadequacy and futility of worldly pleasure. He writes,

'What if you have attained your wishes for success? The neck of your enemy lies under your heel; good friends are all about you; fortune favours your every endeavour; you have succeeded in preserving your body for ages so that you might continue to enjoy the pleasures of the flesh: *tataḥ kim*, what then? where do you go from there?'

The following two works have also been ascribed to Bhartṛihari, although without unanimity: *Rāvaṇa-vadha*, 'Rāvaṇa-slayer' (also called *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, the kāvya of Bhaṭṭi, a prākṛitized form of the poet's name, Bhartṛi), which relates the deeds of Rāma in twenty-two cantos, but is designed primarily to illustrate various figures of speech and the complexities of Sanskrit grammatical forms; and the *Vākya-padīya*, a semi-philosophical treatise on poetics, grammar and speech. The last-named work, extensively read and commented on by Hindu scholars, is regarded as one of the most important Indian treatises on the philosophy of language belonging to the Śabda-Advaita, the Word or Logos-Monism, as contrasted with Śaṅkara's Soul-Monism.

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BHĀSA (fl. AD 350) Sanskrit dramatist. Thirteen plays attributed to him were discovered only recently by Ganapati Sastri who published them in

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1912 as the 'Trivandrum Plays'. Bhāsa is better known in the south than in northern India. Opinion is divided in regard to the date of the plays, ranging between the fifth century BC to the eleventh century AD, although the existence of a medieval playwright of this name is established beyond doubt by the fact that Kālidāsa and other poets refer to Bhāsa.

The *Bāla-charita*, his best work, is concerned with the feats of the youthful Kṛishṇa and his slaying of the tyrant Kaṁsa. Another important work, the *Svapna-vāsava-datta*, displays the dramatist's skill in characterization. Of lesser merit is the *Chārudatta*, from which the dramatist Śūdraka borrowed much, but which today survives only as a fragment.

Bhāsa's plays present some curious problems. They exhibit a flagrant disregard of the rules of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (I, p. 263). In his *Pratimā-nāṭaka* (Image-drama) King Daśaratha, lamenting over the exile of his son Rāma, is shown dying on the stage, whereas the presentation of a death scene was contrary to the conventions of the Indian drama. After the death of the king, his statue (whence the name of the play) is placed in the temple and the widowed queens come bringing it offerings of flowers. Again, exhibiting royal effigies and paying them divine honours was not an Indian custom, but was common to Greece and Imperial Rome. For this reason critics believe that the influence of the New Attic Comedy may be discerned in the plays of Bhāsa (III, p. 169).

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III. Rawlinson, H. G. *Intercourse Between India & the Western World*, Cambridge, 1916.
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BHAVABHŪTI (fl. AD 730), Sanskrit dramatist, second only to Kālidāsa in importance, who was given the title of *Śrikaṇṭha* ('Splendid Voice') or The Throat of Eloquence. A brāhmin, born in Berār, he lived at the court of the king of Kanauj*. His plays depict the grandiose and sublime rather than the simple and commonplace, and are replete with learning, logic and metaphysics, but also show a wonderful skill in portraying the depth of passion. His plots are superior to Kālidāsa's.

Bhavabhūti's plays include *Mahāvīra-charita*, 'The Great-hero's Chronicle', describing the fortunes of Rāma, and containing much that is stirring and martial. It deals with the first part of Rāma's life, while its sequel, the *Uttara-Rāma-charita*, 'Latter Rāma Chronicle', is devoted to Rāma's later years. His *Mālatī Mādhava*, the Sanskrit Romeo and Juliet, is a powerful romantic drama with the love theme delicately and purely handled. It is the best example of the prakaraṇa or drama of domestic life (*see* theatre), with a story taken from actual life. This play is also noteworthy because it contains an act relating to the practice of human sacrifice among the Aghorīs and worshippers of Durgā.

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Books

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(*See also under* Drama history.)

BHĪMA, 'terrible', the second of the Pāṇḍava brothers, was the son of Vāyu the wind-god, and Pāṇḍu's wife Kuntī. Burly in size, possessed of prodigious strength and brute courage, he was coarse-mannered and truculent, easily moved to murderous wrath, and could be vengeful and merciless to his enemies. His favourite weapon was the club, in the use of which he had been trained by Droṇa and Balarāma. To satisfy his gluttonish appetite half the family food was given to him as his share, the other half sufficing for his four other brothers, their mother, and their common wife Draupadī.

Bhīma's great enemy was Duryodhana his Kaurava cousin, who out of envy for his strength poisoned him and threw his body into the Ganges. The river carried Bhīma to the serpent kingdom where the serpents restored him to health and vigour and he returned to Hastināpura even stronger than before. As a son of the wind-god he was able to move with great speed, and on one occasion with the help of his monkey half-brother Hanumān he visited Kubera's kingdom in the Himālayas.

During the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīma caused the death of Purochana who had attempted to destroy them in a fire. He had many adventures with *rākshasas* (ogres) and *asuras* (demons) whom he slew by the dozen, as a result of which they promised to plague mankind no more. The legends of his encounters with Hiḍimba and Vaka are well known.

Hiḍimba, a red-headed, yellow-eyed rākshasa, lived in the forest to which the Pāṇḍavas retired after the burning of their dwelling by Purochana*. Smelling human flesh in his domain he dispatched his sister, Hiḍimbā, to bring the mortals before him for a meal. But when the female ogre beheld the powerful form of Bhīma she fell in love with him. Transforming herself into a beautiful woman she informed him of her brother's intention, and advised him to escape. Bhīma's eyes blazed forth as he replied in a voice of thunder that his own arms were as strong as the trunks of elephants, his legs were like iron maces, his chest like the girth of great trees, and that he would slay her arrogant man-eating brother. Bhīma and Hiḍimba fought 'like two enraged bull elephants, tearing up trees and hurling rocks', until at length the rākshasa was overcome and killed.

When the Pāṇḍavas were leaving the forest, Hiḍimbā followed them pleading with the mother, Kuntī, to induce Bhīma to marry her. Seeing that she was sorely stricken with love, Kuntī persuaded her son to marry the ogress and the gigantic couple were duly united. Their son Ghaṭotkacha, 'pot-headed', was so named because no hair grew on his head. After the Pāṇḍavas moved to the city of Ekachakra, the rākshasī and her son remained in the forest. Ghaṭotkacha took part in the battle of Kurukshetra* and was killed by Karṇa with the miraculous lance that Indra had bestowed on him.

Near the city of Ekachakra, in the country of the Kīchaka, where the Pāṇḍavas now sojourned, there lived a forest-dwelling rākshasa named Vaka, 'crane'. The Pāṇḍavas heard that this monster forced the rāja of the place to send huge quantities of food every day, and that Vaka devoured not only

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the food but also the man who brought it. Shortly after their arrival it became the turn of their brāhmin host to carry the day's provisions to Vaka, and at the suggestion of Kuntī, her son Bhīma took the food and provoked the demon to a quarrel. In the combat that ensued Bhīma seized Vaka around the waist and broke his back, and then taking him by the two legs tore him asunder. 'Terrible were the loud screams of the rākshasa while he was being pulled apart. He died howling.' Vaka's brother Kirmīra next opposed the Pāṇḍava's entry into the forest of Kāmyaka along the banks of the Sarasvatī, and in a quarrel with Bhīma the ogre threatened to devour him. Bhīma took up the challenge and after a fierce fight strangled the rākshasa and crushed his bones to pulp.

Many other adventures befell the mighty Bhīma, and from all of them he emerged triumphant. After Yudhishṭhira's *rājasūya* (royal consecration) sacrifice, Bhīma became involved in a quarrel with king Jarāsandha* and slew him. When king Jayadratha* carried off Draupadī, Bhīma would have killed him but for her intercession. The slaughter that followed in the hero's wake would have been much greater were it not for the restraining influence of his mother, his brothers and his wife Draupadī.

Bhīma played a conspicuous part in the battle of Kurukshetra. He fought against Bhīshma, slew the raja of Magadha and his two sons, engaged in a duel with Droṇa, killed Duḥśāsana and drank his blood as he had sworn to do to avenge Draupadī's humiliation. But his foul attack on Duryodhana, and his brutality to his fallen foes earned for him the name of Jihma-yodhin, 'unfair fighter'. Bhīma joined his brothers in their final journey to Svarga (paradise) beyond the Himālayas.

Bhīma is also called Bhīma-sena (Bhīma the fighter); Bāhu-śālin, (large-armed); Jarāsandha-jit (Jarāsandha's conqueror). Besides Hiḍimbā he had another wife, Balandharā princess of Kāśī; and besides Ghaṭotkacha he had another son, Sarvatraga (or Sarvaga).

Books

See under Mahābhārata, and Mythology.

BHĪSHMA, the most noble and upright of all the heroes of the *Mahābhārata,* was the son of Śāntanu king of Hastināpura and Gaṅgā*, and a descendant of Bharata of the Lunar dynasty. He was also called Śāntanava (after his father), and Gāṅgeya and Nadi-ja, 'river-born', after his mother, the river-goddess.

In his old age Śāntanu, his father, fell in love with the beautiful Satyavatī* daughter of King Uparichara, rāja of Chedi. The rāja was prepared to consider the match provided Satyavatī's son succeeded to the throne. King Śāntanu could not agree to disinherit his first-born and went away dejected, but when the boy came to hear of it he urged his father to wed the girl, while he himself took a vow never to marry or to beget any children. It was because of this dire oath that the lad was named Bhīshma, 'the terrible'.

Śāntanu and Satyavatī became the parents of two sons. The elder, the headstrong and arrogant Chitrāṅgada ascended the throne after Śāntanu's

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death, and had a brief reign, dying in a fight against a warrior from Gandhāra. Bhīshma then placed the second son Vichitravīrya (*vichitra-vīrya*, 'excellent valour') on the throne and acted as his protector. When the time came for the young king to marry, Bhīshma abducted the three beautiful daughters of the king of Kāśī (Banāras), having defeated all those who strove to prevent him. Returning to Hastināpura he presented the maidens to queen Satyavatī for her son.

The eldest of the three girls, Ambā, pleaded that she was already betrothed to the king of the Śālva (or Śānva, a daitya people of Rājputāna), and was accordingly sent back with an escort. But the king refused to accept her since she had dwelt beneath another man's roof. The spurned maiden retired to a forest to practice austerities with the intention of gaining power in her next incarnation to slay Bhīshma who was responsible for her plight. In order to hasten her rebirth she threw herself upon a pyre. She was reborn as Śikhaṇḍin* and as such was instrumental in Bhīshma's death.

Her two sisters, Ambikā (or Amvikā) and Ambālikā (or Amvālikā) married Vichitravīrya who, however, died without issue. His mother Satyavatī then appealed to another of her sons, the sage Vyāsa, to raise children through Vichitravīrya's two young widows. Long austerities had made the sage repulsive to behold, and when Ambikā lay with him she closed her eyes to avoid seeing his face, and her son, named Dhṛitarāshṭra (*see* Kauravas) was born blind. In her turn the second widow, Ambālikā, became pale with fright while being embraced, so that her son, Pāṇḍu (*see* Pāṇḍavas) was born pale. The queen mother desired that Vyāsa should be the father of a son without defect, but Ambikā shrank from a second embrace and sent the sage to her śūdra (low-caste) maid, who bore to Vyāsa a son named Vidura (or Kshattri), regarded as the incarnation of the god of justice. He gave good advice to both Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas during the War, but sided with the Pāṇḍavas. Vidura's name is associated with the handing down of certain Pañcharātra* doctrines.

These three children, Dhṛitarāshṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura were reared by Bhīshma who acted as regent. When the time came to select the next king, Dhṛitarāshṭra was passed over because of his blindness, and Vidura because of his humble birth. Thus the pale Pāṇḍu came to the throne of Hastināpura.

Bhīshma in due time also assumed charge of the education of the sons of Pāṇḍu, known as the Pāṇḍavas, and the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra, known as the Kauravas; and seeing the growing rivalry between the two families he counselled moderation. When hostilities commenced he took the side of the Kauravas, and was mortally wounded on the tenth day of the battle of Kurukshetra*.

Because Bhīshma had no children as a result of his vow, it has become incumbent on all good Hindus to offer śrāddha on behalf of the descendants who might have been, but for his self-sacrifice. The occasion is known as Bhīshmāshṭamī on Māgha śukla eighth. (January/February).

Books

See under Mahābhārata and Mythology.

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BHṚIGU, an arch-ṛishi and prajāpati who appears in countless legends in Hindu mythology. In the famous quarrel between Śiva and Daksha*, Bhṛigu sided with Daksha and officiated at Daksha's sacrifice, and had his beard pulled off by Śiva. He is therefore depicted beardless. Bhṛigu married Khyāti a daughter of Daksha and the couple became the parents of the goddess Lakshmī.

A legend relates that the ṛishis once debated the respective merits of the various deities, and Bhṛigu was appointed to settle the matter. He first visited Śiva but could not obtain access to the god who was engaged with his wife. He condemned Śiva as one possessed of the property of darkness, fit only to be honoured in the form of the liṅga and unworthy of worship by the pious. He next went to Brahmā but that god was engrossed in listening to the learned discourses of the paṇḍits and was so inflated with his own importance that he paid no attention to Bhṛigu who pronounced him as undeserving of the worship of good men or those desiring salvation. He next went to Vishṇu and found him asleep; indignant at such laziness the sage gave him a kick. Instead of being offended Vishṇu apologized for not being ready to receive the sage, gently pressed Bhṛigu's foot, hoping that it had not been injured, and expressing himself honoured by contact with so holy a man. Greatly pleased at such virtue and humility, Bhṛigu declared that Vishṇu alone was worthy of worship by men and gods.

Bhṛigu means 'roaster' or 'consumer', and he and his descendants are linked in a number of myths with Agni god of fire. In fact they are often referred to as belonging to a middle or aerial class of gods associated with wind and fire, and makers of aerial chariots. One such aerial being, Mātariśvan, is the Hindu Prometheus, who in the *Ṛig-veda* brings down fire from heaven for the Bhṛigus as a gift.

In another myth Bhṛigu cursed Agni with the compulsion to devour all things, both pure and impure, because Agni had reported the whereabouts of an asura's wife to her husband, the woman being with the sage at the time. On Agni's plea the curse was modified so that all impure things consumed by the god of fire would become pure.

Bhṛigu was profoundly versed in the mysterious workings of destiny and was said to have compiled astrological charts giving the horoscope of every person ever born or to be born in the world. Manu referred to him as his son and entrusted his secret 'Institutes' to him.

Bhṛigu is the founder of the Bhṛigu or Bhārgava race. In legend the Bhārgavas are the purohits or family priests of the *daityas* (demons) and *dānavas* (giants). They are also associated with the Aṅgiras, Atharvans, and Ṛibhus; and with an ancient race of anchorites known as the Yati, who incurred the wrath of Indra and were devoured by wolves at the god's command. According to one theory the Bhṛigus and Bhārgavas were the Bruges of Thrace, reputedly responsible for introducing the use of fire.

Among the famous Bhṛigus and Bhārgavas were Chyavana, Śukra, Śaunaka, Ṛichīka, Jamadagni, Paraśurāma, and Vālmīki. In later legend the names of the Bhārgavas are mentioned in connection with the Ānarta of Gujarāt; the Haihaya kings; the rulers of Kanyākubja in Madhyadeśa, and later still with the rulers of Malabār in South India.

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Books

See under Mythology.

BILHAṆA (?1040–1130) Sanskrit historian and poet, the son of a grammarian, was born in Kashmīr. He left Kashmīr about AD 1065 and became the court poet at Kalyāṇa where he wrote an epic, the *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita* to celebrate the reign of Vikramāditya VI, the Chālukya king of Kalyāṇa. The epic is historically inaccurate, unreliable and exaggerated, but the poetry is good and Bilhaṇa shows himself a master of simple graphic description.

He is also said to be the author of a play, *Karṇasundarī*; and of a poem called *Chaura-pañchāśika* ('The Thief's Fifty Stanzas'). In the latter the hero (identified by some with the poet himself), condemned to death for stealing the love of a princess, composes fifty erotic stanzas each beginning with the words, 'Even now I remember', in which he describes with intense ardour the joys of the love he experienced. The king is so affected by the beauty of the verses and the feelings portrayed that he pardons the culprit and bestows on him the hand of his daughter.

Books

See under Sanskrit.

BINDU, 'drop', or globule. In Hindu occultism the bindu is a metaphysical point out of time and space, the 'area' in which samādhi is experienced. It is a sacred symbol of the universe, written as a dot or the sign of zero, and in the human body symbolized and materialized in semen, in which latter sense the term is frequently used among tantriks. It is the quintessence of all manifested things. Says the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, 'Verily, of created things earth is the essence; of earth, moisture; of moisture, plants; of plants, flowers; of flowers, fruit; of fruit man; of man, semen.'

Semen, classed among the *dhātus**, or basic bodily substances, exists in a subtle form throughout the whole body. Under the influence of the procreative will it is withdrawn and concentrated in gross form in the sex organs. According to esoteric physiology the bindu in its *retas* ('effusive' or seminal) form is like a grain of gram (*chanaka*) and consists of two parts: *śukra* or semen, which is white and contains the *bīja*, 'seed', resides in the viśuddha chakra and represents Śiva; and *rakta* (so called because it is the quintessence of 'blood'*) which is red in colour, possesses *tejas*, a 'fiery' and magical potency, resides in the seat of the genitals and represents Śakti.

Semen is believed to have an irresistible magnetic or attractive power, particularly when it is retained in the body and made the centre of a field of force. The man who deliberately practices celibacy with the intention of drawing men and women to him can do so by concentrating on the power generated and stored in his unexpended semen. It is related in Hindu legend that by this means the ṛishis of old made themselves centres of irresistible power, for which reason the gods tried to frustrate their designs by sending nymphs to seduce them. In the case of such adepts the power of the released bindu was believed to be creative, irrespective of where the semen was deposited (*see* vega).

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In sexual union semen may be invoked to arouse the desire of the woman. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* recommends that if a man wishes to achieve that result

'he should while inserting his member into her, join mouth to mouth and caress her organ by gently rubbing it and should whisper, "O semen, you have your origin in my heart; you are the condensation of all my organs; drive mad with desire this woman and let her organ be inflamed like a doe wounded by a poisoned arrow".'

In Vajrayāna and other forms of Tantric Buddhism, semen is equated with the highest bliss, and Buddha is represented as 'dwelling in the vagina of the female in the name of semen'. Buddha as semen 'represents neither existence nor non-existence, but the formless nature of Supreme Bliss' (III, p. 157).

In the curious tantrik rite where the bindu is 'aroused', women play an active part, but they are regarded as a danger if *maithuna* is performed merely for the sake of pleasure ending in emission, since man thereby losses some of his vital energy. During coition the grosser elements of the bindu are withdrawn into the genitals and emitted along with the subtle elements that make up the celestial nectar. It is necessary to conserve this vital fluid, and more than that, to absorb the subtle effluvia that constitute the bindu of the woman. The female bindu in itself is considered of little value, but it can be utilized to arouse the male retas and send it streaming along the *nāḍis* and so cause the spiritual centres to glow. The female partner is used, but only that man might absorb her vital energies, as in *vajroli*, and prolong his own life. It is believed that she is psychically depleted by this vampirism, but women prepared to make the sacrifice can always be found among the devout.

There are several other methods for the 'agitation of the bindu', which are combined with respiratory techniques and the control of the vital winds. Thus, among the tantrik sex magical rites there is one in which the adept seeks to attain 'the immobility of breath and semen', and even a 'return of the semen'. It is associated with the mysterious *parāvṛitti* (return, transformation, revolution) that involves both a return of the semen and a turning of the mental and psychological faculties for the purpose of attaining śamanas, siddhis and immortality.

Tantrik texts continually reiterate the fact that the semen should not be expended. The emission of this vital principle must be controlled and economised, to prolong youth, vigour, and life. The nectar, say the tantras, should be absorbed by the yogi himself. 'The plough (penis) and the bulls (testes) the wise man will use for ploughing his own land and sowing his own seed, so that he can eat his own fruit'. This 'eating of one's own fruit' has received a two-fold interpretation, one esoteric and one gross.

Tantrik teachings prescribe various means of regulating the sex act and arresting the retas. The technique known as *ūrdhva-retas* 'upward-flow', is concerned with the suppression of ejaculation (*coitus reservatus*), the progress of the semen-power through the stations of the *avadhūtikā* (within the spinal column), and its sublimation. By the esoteric chemistry of this magical sexual action, the bindu, during the climax of the creative moment, is converted into a vital force and given an upward flow. Western scholars have

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held that the technique is nothing more than a pressure on the urethra, and the contraction of the anus, combined with certain respiratory methods at the time of ejaculation, resulting not in the 'ascent of the semen' but in its discharge into the bladder, whence it is voided through the urine. The technique was known to the Chinese Taoists and was brought to India from China.

In this method the internal seminal ejaculation is not completed in a transitory moment, but is eked out in indescribable ecstasy. The intense orgiastic bliss when the retas is thus suspended and stretched out can be diverted from the physiological to the psychological plane, and then to the psychic and the spiritual planes, producing a state of spiritual power and exaltation and 'enlightenment' that is akin to and often identified with samādhi, since the adept is then said to experience supreme bliss in its purest form.

The eating of one's own fruit has also a grosser interpretation. In this case the absorption may be either internal or external. Continence is one of the aids to the internal absorption of the semen in its gross form. External absorption is a form of autosexuality without manual stimulation. This is done during certain āsanas* which enable the yogi to void it and ingest it orally.

'Reclaiming' semen that has already been expended is also prescribed in many texts. The Vedas recommend that during intercourse and just before culmination the man should take a deep breath and exclaim, 'With vigorous jets of semen, I reclaim semen from you' (II, p. 22). Again, the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* says that the ejected seed should be touched and the mantra repeated, 'I reclaim this spilt semen; let my vigour return; let me glow with strength again; let the fire return to its accustomed place'. Taking his seed between the thumb and finger he should rub it between his breast and eyebrows (VII, p. 439).

The Kāpālika and other Śākta adepts in the bhagāsana and vajroli mudras use various other forms of 'reclaiming'. After the performance, the discharged semen is combined with cowdung and applied to their bodies by the two partners. (I, p. 334).

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BIRDS, in Hindu legendry hold many of the secrets hidden by Brahmā in the various species of the animal* world. Their ability to fly makes them the supreme messengers of the deities, and their freedom to enter the heavenly spheres has given them access to truths hidden from mankind. On certain

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nights the speech of birds becomes intelligible to men. Many Hindu tales tell of travellers resting at night under a tree on which a bird and his mate discuss the future and thus reveal it to the wayfarer listening below. The mysteries of *paksha-vidyā*, 'bird-lore', are said to be vouchsafed to a few select *siddhas* (adepts) who, however, are precluded by the terms of this gift from openly revealing what comes to their knowledge.

Of all the birds the crow (*vāyasa*) carries the three greatest secrets: it has the secret of immortality (*see* longevity) which has earned it the name of *chirajīva*, 'long-lived'; it has the secret of the origin of things for it was the one bird present at Creation (being itself created out of the primeval chaos); and it has the secret of hell since it dwelt for many aeons in the infernal realms. In some parts of India the crows of hell are worshipped with offerings of the *piṇḍa* rice-balls which are otherwise offered to ancestors (II, p. 38).

In Patañjali's time the science called *vāyasa-vidyā*, 'crow-lore', was a popular study (I, p. 147). Omens were determined by the flight of crows and by their cawing, but these had to be very carefully interpreted as crows are supposed to be aware that they are being observed for divination, and try to mislead one. Prognostications were also read from the flight and cries of other birds, and many ancient books on divination have a section or two devoted to the subject of *śākuna* or augury, notably a classic by Varāhamihira*.

Several Hindu gods have birds for their *vāhana** or mounts. Prominent in legend and literature are the peacock, the mount of Sarasvatī and of Kārttikeya; the parrot, mount of Kāma; the owl, mount of Lakshmī; the vulture, mount of Śani; the eagle, mount of Vishṇu. The goose or swan (*haṁsa*) is the vāhana or mount of Brahmā. It swims on the surface of the water but is not bound by it. It is a homeless, free wanderer. It has a secret, for those who understand it, concealed in its name which in its inverted form, *sa-ham*, 'this-I' (i.e. 'this am I'), epitomises the whole philosophy of the Upanishads. In *prāṇayāma* or breath control, the inhalation is said to make the sound of *haṁ*, the exhalation, *sa*. Haṁsa is thus the sound of the living *prāṇa*. Hence the emancipated saint is given the title of *paramahaṁsa*, 'highest swan'.

The vulture (*gṛidhra*) was once widely worshipped by the primitive peoples of India, who believed that the king of vultures (later identified with Jaṭāyu, ally of Rāma), was the ruler of the infernal regions, and in former times Hindus would offer them piṇḍa rice-balls. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* also cites invocations for the worship of vultures (II, p. 38).

Many species of birds are named in the *kāvyas* or minor epics as classical examples typifying certain qualities. Thus the *baka* or heron symbolized hypocrisy and treachery; the *kukkuṭa* or cock stood for discrimination; the *sārikā* or thrush for secretiveness; the *sārasa* or crane for caution. The *chakravāka*, a kind of goose, was held up as the ideal of conjugal fidelity; because of a curse this bird always passes the night apart from its mate, and their plaintive cries as darkness approaches, echoing through the night of their separation, are frequently described by poets. The *chakora*, a partridge-like bird is depicted as feeding only on moonbeams, and having eyes that grow turbid at the sight of poisoned food. The *chātaka*, a cuckoo-like bird, is according to legend unable to bend its head down to drink water in the normal way because of the formation of a loose crest on its head, which falls

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over its beak; a punishment for having in a former life prevented her daughter-in-law from drinking water because of a small misdemeanour. In the kāvyas it is described as a proud bird which would rather die of thirst than drink anything but the raindrops from the clouds.

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BLACK PAGODA, the name given by Europeans to a Hindu temple situated near the seashore at Konārak on the east coast of India, south of the Mahānadi river. It is called black in contrast to the whitewashed temple of Jagannātha at Purī near-by, but the title also has more sinister implications.

The temple, dedicated to Sūrya the sun-god, was begun in 1278 in the reign of Narasiṁha I of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa who was alleged to have been born with a tail. The site chosen for the temple, like much of the area around the mouth of the Mahānadi, was hallowed by prehistoric associations, first with indigenous and later with Maga and Buddhist cults. Konārak derives its name from the words *kon*, meaning area or country, and *arka* which in Persian means park or fortress, and in Sanskrit means sun or Saturn. Konārak was thus an area dedicated to the Sun god, and the name may have been of Maga origin. Like Purī and Bhuvaneśvar it is believed to be a '*kshetra*' (field) or ancient sacred area, which the Gaṅga kings merely confirmed by building the temple on its site.

To the Muslims, Konārak became a place of ominous association; it reputedly had a great magnetic boulder which was believed to attract ships and cause them to be wrecked off the shores, a tradition preserved in the story of Sindbad which tells of ships being drawn towards a magnetic rock. According to legend Narasiṁha had the rock shaped and placed on the top of the temple, from where it continued to draw ships to their destruction until it was removed by the Muslims and cast far out to sea.

Students of architecture have expressed the view that the Black Pagoda is one of the most extraordinary structures ever erected. Although of massive size it is still one of the most perfectly proportioned Hindu monuments in India. In design it is an architectural interpretation of the *ratha* or chariot, drawn by the horses of Sūrya. There are twelve giant wheels each about ten feet high. The temple itself consists of *deul* (tower) and *jagannmohan* (assembly hall) built on a raised platform. The huge monolithic building slabs had to be transported over eighty miles across swamps and rivers to the present site. The larger sculptures are counted among the masterpieces of Indian art, and exemplify the vitality and skill of Hindu work at its best.

The temple was never completed, and is now in ruins. According to Muslim chronicles it was a place accursed, the centre of a debased cult of extreme vileness. It was suddenly visited by a terrible pestilence in divine retribution for the diabolical rites practiced there. The site was abandoned and the temple all but buried in the sands of centuries, until it was rediscovered in 1893.

A striking feature of the Black Pagoda is the high relief sculpture that

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adorns the walls, representing in some respects the culmination of similar work found in the temples of Bhuvaneśvar (Orissa), Jagannātha (Purī) and Khajurāho (Central India). The work does not appear to be that of the sculptors who fashioned the larger statues, but seems to have been executed by specialists in eroticism. Bas-reliefs and carvings of men, animals, grotesques, and floral and foliate patterns cover the temple surface in wild profusion. Here representations of love-play and *maithuna* are chiselled with complete freedom and abandon. Men and women are portrayed with 'daring fidelity' (much of it now obscured by weathering) in the most erotic attitudes, indulging in sexual union in all its normal, perverse, and bestial variations.

Speaking of the actors in this stone pageant one Hindu critic says, 'They take it so easy and in such a nonchalant manner that there is not the slightest suggestion of a nuisance being done or a shameful act being gone through' (II, p. 653). But other critics aver that the sculpture is vulgar in conception and crude in execution, and does not even possess the merit of beauty. These reliefs survive in the history of art, they declare, as the ultimate degradation of the artistic talent. The forms and postures represented are such that 'the average mind would scarcely conceive, leave alone express.' There is said to be no extant parallel in all the world's art, religious or secular, to this extraordinary exhibition.

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BLOOD, or *rakta*, in the Āyurvedic system of Hindu medicine is classed among the *dhātus* or basic bodily substances. For a time it was added to the list of the doshas or humours, but this fourth dosha was soon abandoned. Owing to the sinful nature of her sex functions woman was believed to have certain psychic impurities in her blood which were periodically drained from her body during menstruation*. The blood of the male, on the other hand, was life-giving and was thought to contribute to the formation of *bindu**, so that part of the seminal fluid was also called rakta.

Among the ancients, blood was believed to be a magical, vitalizing substance, and hence offerings of blood were made to help the sun move through the heavens, to assist the fecundity of fields and cattle, and to please the gods. Certain deities were particularly associated with blood rites, and the custom of offering the blood of beasts and men to the goddess Kālī was very old, as can be seen from references in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*.

Though animal* and human* sacrifices have been offered to the deities in India from prehistoric times, it seems that among certain aboriginal Austric tribes the sacrifice of living victims was discontinued, and red ochre or vermilion dye substituted for blood; the idol was daubed with it and the body or forehead of the sacrificer marked with the same dye. The use of vermilion in various Hindu ceremonies may therefore be regarded as a relic of early blood rites.

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Offering one's own blood is believed in some cases to have special virtue. In Bengal when a husband or son is ill, a vow is made and on recovery the goddess is repaid by an offering of blood. The woman, wife or mother, goes to the Kālī temple, performs a *pūjā*, draws blood from her little finger, tongue, ear-lobe or breast by means of a small incision and offers it to the goddess.

Bathing in human blood was held to be a sovereign aid to beauty. Somadeva relates the story in which a pregnant queen asks her husband to gratify her longing by filling a tub with blood for her to bathe in. Such a bath was believed to rid the skin of all impurities, lend beauty to the hair, and make one altogether irresistible to men. A similar belief was common in many parts of the world, including Europe.

Drinking blood was regarded as a valuable remedy for bodily ills. Suśruta, speaking of the loss of blood due to surgical operations, recommends that the patient be made to drink a potion of animal blood. The Kāpālikas consider human blood as an invigorating drink for the *ātman*, and a means of obtaining supernatural powers. Blood-drinking appears to have been practised among the warrior classes of certain tribes of Ancient India, as illustrated in the *Mahābhārata* incident when Bhīma drinks the blood of his slain enemy Duḥśāsana, and in the legend which tells how Dama would have drunk the blood of his father's murderer (*see* Marutta) but was restrained by the gods from doing so.

Books

See under Āyurveda.

BODHIDHARMA (?AD 450–535?) a fierce-faced Mahāyāna philosopher, who founded the Dhyāna (Chinese, Ch'an; Japanese, Zen) or Meditation Sect. He is unknown in India and according to the *Loyang Chia-lan Chi* came from Persia, but he is regarded by many scholars as an apocryphal invention.

It is said that one of the famous sermons of Buddha consisted in his holding up a golden-coloured flower, saying nothing. After a while one of his disciples, Kāśyapa, smiled. This was the origin of the Dhyāna school. The smile of enlightenment was passed down through twenty-eight successive patriarchs, the last being Bodhidharma who laid down the principles of the sect.

According to Chinese tradition he went to Canton from south India in AD 480 at the invitation of the Chinese emperor. When the emperor told him of his works, of the temples and monasteries he had built, the manuscripts he had copied and the number of monks he supported, and enquired of Bodhidharma how much merit he had acquired by all this philanthropy, the sage replied, 'None!' On another occasion when a pupil said, 'Pray, pacify my mind', he asked the enquirer to show him his mind, and on the pupil saying he could not, replied, 'There, I have pacified your mind!'

Bodhidharma did not believe in scriptures or rituals, nor in benefactions, prayers or asceticism. He advocated meditation by a direct intuitive method picturesquely called 'facing the wall', i.e. turning one's face away from all desire and perturbation. He urged his pupils to purge their minds of all desire and thought of self, to cease from purposeless striving, and to realize the true unity of the Buddha-nature. He finally retired to the northern

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mountains where he meditated 'facing the wall' for ten years, and then gave a robe and a bowl as a symbol of succession to his chief disciple.

The school he founded became very important in Japan where it was known as Zen and where it exerted a deep influence on Japanese culture. Bodhidharma's dark, bearded visage, staring eyes and gnarled joints figured in the kakemonos of tea-houses, and on the sword-hilts of the samurai.

Books

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BODHISATTVA (*bodhi-sattva*, 'enlightened being'). One of the central concepts of Mahāyāna is that of the 'Saviour Buddha', who appears at intervals on earth to guide men along the path to salvation. Originally the term referred to those who took the vows of subjugating evil passions, and of teaching truth, in order to lead all beings to Buddhahood.

There is no conformity regarding the vows and disciplines to be undertaken, but they usually included the following: (1) to worship, (2) praise and (3) make offerings to Buddha; (4) to confess past sins and (5) rejoice in the virtue of others; (6) to study and (7) preach the law; (8) to benefit all beings and (9) turn over the stock of one's merit to others; (10) to free others from the bondage of ignorance.

The ultimate mission of the bodhisattva is to save all beings, and he is thus often contrasted with the Hīnayāna 'arhat', who is concerned only with his own salvation. Certain bodhisattvas vowed not to enter their final beatitude until all beings, even the worst demons in the lowest hell should know the saving truth and be converted. This deliberate postponing of his own salvation, to which he is entitled through his meritorious and righteous deeds, in order to assist in the salvation of all creatures, is the hallmark of the true bodhisattva.

There are said to be ten stages (*bhūmi*) in man's progress towards the attainment of the bodhisattva status. Here again lists vary, depending on the school. In general the following ten stages are accepted by most schools: (1) Joy, the stage when the aspirant develops his holy nature; (2) Purity, when he casts off all defilement; (3) Brightness, when he gains a clear insight into the nature of the Law; (4) Burning, when the flame of Wisdom reduces his passion and ignorance to ashes; (5) Invincibility, when he is beyond temptation of any kind; (6) Facing, when he is face to face with the highest knowledge; (7) Far-going, when he acquires the knowledge of Expediency by means of which he can help to save all beings; (8) Immovability, when he realizes that the specific character of good and evil in all things is unreal; (9) Goodwill, when he is able to help others; (10) Dharma-megha, 'Law-Cloud', when he attains perfect enlightenment and compassion and becomes a bodhisattva who sheds his love on all, just as the cloud brings rain to all.

There have been many famous bodhisattvas in Buddhist tradition, the majority of whom are legendary, although a historical basis does underlie some, such as Samanta-bhadra (see below), and Vimala-kirti, 'bright-making', a householder and hero of a Mahāyāna sūtra named after him. A

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few bodhisattvas were moved by compassion and renounced eternal bliss in order to return to the earthly sphere to instruct the unenlightened. Other bodhisattvas are believed to dwell in a state of beneficent meditation in quiet mountain solitudes, or on the astral plane, and send forth powerful thought forces which influence man to follow the right path.

The bodhisattva concept, in some cases, replaced even Buddha, and it was necessary only to have faith in a bodhisattva to be saved. In Tantrik Buddhism the bodhisattvas are allowed *śaktis* or consorts and are treated as gods and goddesses. They are assigned letters of the alphabet, mystic diagrams, colours, quarters, elements, families, *vāhanas*, postures, *bīja mantras*, and esoteric locations in the human body, no list being consistent with another.

The major bodhisattvas, are named below, but it should be remembered that some of them are classed with the Dhyāni, and other Buddhas (*see* Mahāyāna), and often shown in close association, and even identified with, the leading spirits of the Buddhist demonian hierarchy.

Amitābha (*amita-ābha*, 'boundless light'), probably of Iranian origin, is the guardian of the West. He took a vow not to accept his reward of the bliss of Buddhahood until all beings were saved. He established a 'Pure Land' called Sukhāvatī for the salvation of man, entry into which required only faith in and surrender to him. All sinners and criminals who remember and repeat the name of Amitābha before death are saved by his grace. Even good works are not necessary for salvation. This doctrine forms the subject of a famous Mahāyāna sūtra called the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*. In certain sects of Tantrik Buddhism Amitābha has a *śakti* or consort named Pāṇḍarā, 'yellow'.

Avalokiteśvara (avalokita-īśvara, 'watchful Lord'), also called Padmapāṇi, 'lotus-bearer', whose attribute is compassion, which reaches down even to Avīchi, the lowest Buddhist purgatory (*see* hell). His heaven is Akanishṭha, 'youth', and his śakti is Tārā. In her metaphysical aspects Tārā has a host of forms, which are almost like goddesses. Avalokiteśvara is given a female form in China and Japan.

Mañjuśrī, 'charming', represents the wisdom-aspect of the Buddha principle. He stimulates the understanding, and with his naked sword destroys error and falsehood. He is widely worshipped among Buddhists, who believe that he can bestow intelligence, strength and eloquence.

Vairochana, 'illuminant', regarded as the dharma-kāya aspect of Buddha, or the Law Incarnate. He is the guardian of the centre, and his śakti is Mārīchī, whose chariot is drawn by seven pigs and whose charioteer is a bodiless head.

Samanta-bhadra, 'instantly auspicious', also called Chakrapāṇi, 'wheel-bearer', figures prominently in the 'Gandha-vyūha Sūtra' as the altruistic monk who taught the young Sudhana the ten vows of the bodhisattva's life. He seems to have been a real person.

Lesser bodhisattvas and Dhyāni Buddhas are: **Akshobhya,** 'unshakable', also called Vajrapāṇi, 'thunderbolt-bearer', or Vajradhara, whose śakti is Lochanā, 'light'; **Ratna-saṁbhava,** 'gem-being', or Ratnapāṇi, 'gem-bearer', whose śakti is Māmakī, 'motherling'; **Amoghasiddhi,** 'infallible power', or Viśvapāṇi, 'all-holding', whose śakti is Vajradhātveśvarī (*vajra-dhātu-īśvarī*, 'thunderbolt-metal-goddess'). **Mahāsthāma,** 'great-stance', who is the

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embodiment of wisdom. All these beings play an important part in Tantrik Buddhism.

The last of the bodhisattvas will be **Maitreya,** 'benevolent', a messianic saviour still to come. He is waiting in the Tushita heaven for the appointed hour. According to Mahāyāna tradition Buddha prophesied that his advent would occur when humanity faced its next great crisis. Maitreya, is represented as a rubicund, laughing figure, dispensing salvation to all men from a bag of inexhaustible merit that he carries.

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BODILY SUBSTANCES. In ancient āyurvedic physiology the human body was believed to consist of a number (from three to seven) of material substances called *dhātu*, which were formed as a result of the natural processing of ingested food. These elements manifest themselves and function as follows:

Rasa, the alimentary juice or chyle; originates from digested food, finds its place in the heart, flows from the heart through twenty-four ducts, ten up, ten down and four horizontal, and thus feeds the whole body. At the end of five days rasa is transmuted into rakta or blood, and in thirty days into sperm or ova;
Rakta or blood*, is generated from rasa. An imbalance of the humours* (*dosha*) can spoil blood and make it frothy, black, blue, green, slow or fast, and noxious. Rakta was once regarded as a fourth dosha but this classification was soon abandoned;
Māṁsa or flesh, is blood processed by the natural fires and condensed by the bodily winds. It is specialized in the form of muscles (*peśī*), about five hundred in number;
Meda or fat, is flesh further processed by the natural fires and deposited in a single layer under the skin and in a triple layer under the belly;
Asthi or bone, is fat processed by the natural fires and dried and hardened by the bodily winds. The number of bones listed varies between 300 and 360, with most authorities favouring the latter and finding a relationship between the bones and the number of days in the year;
Majjā or marrow, is the oily 'perspiration' of the bones, congealed to moisten the dryness of the osseous framework;
Śukra or semen, originates from the marrow. It is present all over the body, but concentrated in the testicles. It is regarded as a form of psychic heat and plays and important part in occultism (*see* bindu).

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The seven dhātus are separated from each other by seven *kalā*. Each kalā consists of a fluid extract from the dhātus. The quintessence of these seven dhātus is called *ojas* or energy, which is the vital force behind all activity. The metabolic production of ojas from food, assisted through each of its stages by the digestive *dhātvāgni*, 'dhātu-fires', peculiar to each of the dhātus, which both heats and cools the food, takes 360 days, i.e. the number of dhātus (seven) multiplied by the number of days it takes the first dhātu to become the last dhātu (thirty), plus five months for the last dhātu to become ojas or energy.

Ojas is cold, oily, white, and pervades the whole body. In its pure state it is produced only by true brahmacharya (chastity) combined with a supreme indifference to grief, injury and loss. It then creates a glow in the individual and gives him many psychic gifts.

Books

See under Āyurveda.

BODY. An individual human being (*manusha*), a creature (*jana*) living on the present earthly plane, as distinct from man in the after-death sphere, is conceived of in several aspects. Fundamentally he is regarded as embodying the mysteries of the cosmos. Truth resides in the human body and the human body is therefore the best medium through which Truth may be known. Man is a microcosm* and contains within his person all the multifarious elements and processes of which the universe is constituted, including a fragment of the divine. The unique feature about a man is his *ātman* or soul*, the vital principle which is regarded as a spark of the divine within the mortal frame.

This mortal frame, or the physical vehicle, is called *śarīra*, 'body', within which the vital principle is confined, and within whose bounds the soul has its experiences on earth. Because of its habitation in the śarīra the soul is known as śarīrin. The śarīra is also called *deha*. 'covering', and man in his incarnation on earth is referred to as *dehin*, 'embodied'. The śarīra actually consists of three parts (gross, subtle and causal), and each of these three bodies houses a self or ātman enclosed in one or more *kośa*, 'sheaths'. These sheaths (five in all) enfold the selves like the coats of an onion. The bodies, selves and sheaths are described as follows:

(1) *Sthūla-śarīra*, the 'gross-body', the organic vehicle of flesh and blood, made up of five gross elements called *bhūta* (fire, water, air, earth, ether), which on death are resolved once more into their initial state. It houses the *bhūtātman* or elemental self, which is covered by the *annamaya-kośa*, 'food-formed sheath', so named because it is built up and sustained by the food eaten. The gross body is activated by the mind and other components of the causal body. It is said in some philosophies to consist merely of 'name-and-form' and to be devoid of reality.

The gross body is considered from the viewpoint of its anatomical* structure, e.g. head, eyes, ears, tongue, hands, feet, orifices (q.v.). It is further considered from the viewpoint of its constituent elements such as bone, muscle, flesh and other dhātus or bodily-substances*; and fluids like blood,

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bile, saliva, semen (q.v.). Also its doshas or humours* such as wind, choler, and phlegm; and its breaths (*see* wind).

(2) *Liṅga-śarīra*, 'sign-body', also called *sūkshma-śarīra*, 'subtle-body', houses the *jīvātman* or soul, which is enclosed within three sheaths, namely, the *prāṇamaya-kośa*, 'etheric-formed sheath' (sometimes spoken of as the 'etheric double'); the *manomaya-kośa*, or mind-formed sheath (the 'astral body'), and the *vijñānamaya-kośa* or 'knowledge-formed sheath'. The *liṅga-śarīra* is made up of seventeen elements, namely, the five senses* of perception, the five faculties of action, the five vital forces or winds*, along with the *manas* (mind) and *buddhi* (higher mind) as part of its psychological* apparatus. These enable a man to identify himself and distinguish the things around him.

Part of the liṅga-śarīra is 'material', but in a very subtle sense, being invisible and intangible, and is connected with the gross body at several points called *chakras**, which constitute a network of invisible *nāḍis* (*see* channels of the subtle body) or arteries. These chakras provide points of contact with the astral world and are areas of occult experience (*see* kuṇḍalinī). A portion of the liṅga śarīra is also referred to as the 'transmigrating body'; it remains when the body is destroyed, and lives through the cycles of life and death of the reincarnated physical bodies bearing the accumulated karmas. But it is not eternal, for when it finally attains liberation it is resolved into its constituent elements.

(3) *kāraṇa-śarīra* or causal body, also called the *para-śarīra* or over-body, and *karma-śraya* or 'action-holding'. It houses the *ānandātman* or 'bliss-self', which is enveloped by the *ānandamaya-kośa*, 'bliss-formed sheath', which is the sphere of the all-transcendent blissful consciousness and the state of dreamless sleep. The causal body represents a sort of record-keeping link between the physical body and the soul, and stores the experience of all actions performed during this life. It goes out with the soul and conditions future existence, determining the form of birth in the next incarnation.

Since the functioning physical body operates on all areas of all the bodies, its study covers the whole field of practical Hindu occultism, and special techniques of physical culture (see) are employed to enlarge and perfect its sphere of operation. Even the physiological functions such as eating, breathing (prāṇayāma*), excretion, coition, and menstruation* take on an occult significance. Related mysteries are connected with purification* of the body, ritual nudity* and continence*. The bodily positions (*aṅgika**), hand gestures (*mudrā**), interior bodily knots (*bandha**), leading to the great paramudrās*, methods of meditation* and the techniques of trance* are all facets of this esoteric study.

Finally, the human being functions in two distinct forms of experience, as male and female, and these two genders* constitute the dual principles of his androgynous* nature. Hence the characteristic organs, the liṅga* and yoni* are regarded as the most significant of the personal components, since they are the agents of fusion and the means of reconciling the polarities in a single harmonious unity. The male (*see* man of the world) and female (*see* strītantra) and their intimate relationships (*see* erotics) are further spheres of study.

The bodies of great men are believed to be impressed with certain auspicious

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stigmata* that attest their superiority. Their bodies are also said to be suffused with a radiant glow. This aureole, called the *prabhā*, may sometimes be seen as a ring of flames encircling them. Sometimes only the head bears this ring of light or halo which is called *śiras-chakra*, 'head-disc', and is frequently depicted in the statues of gods and holy men.

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BOGAR or Bhogar (?200 BC–AD 200?) the Indianized name of a semi-legendary *sittar* (Tamil for the Sanskrit *siddha*) or tantrik adept and alchemist of south India who visited China and brought back certain sex-magic teachings from there. Some believe he was of Chinese origin. He was an initiate of the school founded by the sage Pieng-tsu who was associated with the Yellow Emperor. In Chinese tradition Pieng-tsu obtained certain Taoist secrets of sex-magic and transcendental alchemy from the Five Girls, fairy guardians of the sexual act, and as a result of following its techniques he lived for eight hundred years. It is said that several Chinese emperors and sages died from the effects of experiments with elixirs and sex practices taught by this school; they are honoured as casualties in the hermetic Battle of the Bedchamber.

At the school of Pieng-tsu, Bogar acquired and perfected his sexo-alchemical knowledge. He returned to India accompanied by a Chinese siddha known by his Indianized name as Pulipāṇi, and together they gave instruction to Indian disciples in Taoist techniques, magic, alchemy and medicine. These two adepts are considered the real founders of the Siddha, Nātha and Rasavāda cults, and the patriarchs of Chīnāchāra, or the 'Chinese Way' of tantrism*. According to their doctrine the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kwan Yin) is likened to a prostitite or eunuch bestowing his favours as the reward of conversion to the true faith, while Buddha himself, as Vasishṭha* sees him, is shown wrapt in sensuous delights.

Bogar visited Kāmarūpa*, Paṭṇa and Gaya, and then went on to Arabia from whence he returned to south India and finally left for China, accompanied by a group of his Tamil disciples who after learning some of the arts and sciences from that land came back to the Tamil country. Pulipāṇi stayed behind in south India and is said to be still living, giving instruction to selected disciples. It is to be noted that out of the eighteen South Indian sittars, two at least are believed to be of Chinese origin.

Books

See under Tantrism.

BRAHMĀ as a deity is post-Vedic. He is the Creator and the first god of the later Hindu triad, of which Vishṇu the preserver and Śiva the destroyer are the other two. These three gods had no prominence in the Vedas, and Brahmā was never a popular deity in any sense. He was rarely worshipped, and even today there are only two important temples in India raised to him:

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one at Pushkar near Ajmere, and the other at Khedbrahmā. There is also a bathing ghāṭ dedicated to him at Bithūr. Legend has it that on completing the work of creation Brahmā offered an *aśvamedha* sacrifice at Bithūr, and that on ascending again to heaven he left behind the toe-pin of his wooden clogs; this toe-pin is embedded in one of the steps of the ghāṭ and is an object of worship.

Brahmā is associated in ancient cosmology with the creation of the universe. In some myths he himself is involved in the process of creation. The Vaishṇavites originated the legend of Brahmā springing from a lotus that rose from the navel of Vishṇu, and generally subordinated him to Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa and Rāma. The attribution of various animal forms to Vishṇu, such as the boar, fish and tortoise, were also drawn from legends originally connected with Brahmā. The Śaivites were similarly responsible for devising suitable myths to prove the superiority of Śiva over Brahmā. According to them Brahmā originally had five heads, each one appearing as he turned to gaze at his newly created daughter-wife, Sarasvatī. The fifth head was destroyed by Śiva (in some accounts cut off by a swipe of Śiva's left thumb nail), who was once annoyed with Brahmā for being presumptuous enough to deny that deity's superiority, or according to another legend, because he had violated Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva.

Brahmā is depicted as red in colour, with four bearded faces and four arms, each hand holding respectively a drinking vessel, his bow Parivīta, a sceptre, and a Veda. His abode is Brahmāloka (*see* paradise). The *vāhana* or vehicle on which he rides is the milk-white Haṁsa, a swan or goose, actually a mythical bird which was said to have the ability of separating *soma* and milk from water. Hence the Haṁsa became a symbol of discrimination, and because of its colour, of the soul or Supreme Spirit. The year of Brahmā, called a *kalpa* or aeon*, is a fundamental concept in Hindu cosmology. Brahmā is often identified with Nārāyaṇa* and Prajāpati*, and is the father of Daksha and other 'mind-born' sons, so called because they were personifications of his thought. Among these sons were the four Kumāra who, declining to create progeny remained for ever pure and innocent boys. Their names were: Sanat-kumāra, Sānanda, Sanaka and Sanātana.

Another primeval being associated with Brahmā is Virāj, 'ruling', who dwells in paradise*. Virāj figures sometimes as the son, but more often as the daughter of Brahmā, and one myth relates how Brahmā in the form known as Āpava ('water-mover', sometimes identified with Vasishṭha), divided himself into two: the primeval male, Purusha*, and the primeval female Virāj. Elsewhere Purusha and Virāj are said to have sprung from one another. From the union of Brahmā and Virāj was born the Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. In her aspect as the primeval female, Virāj is known as Śatarūpa (śata-rūpa, 'hundred-formed'), because of her manifold shapes; and also as Prakṛiti, personifying nature, the female sex; and Māyā* or illusion.

The chief wife of Brahmā is *Sarasvatī*, goddess of wisdom and science, the Minerva of Hinduism, who is also the goddess of speech and music, and the deviser of the Sanskrit script. She was born of Brahmā himself and is depicted as white in colour, without superfluous limbs, and with an elegant form. Her vāhana is the peacock, which she rides holding a *vīna* (stringed musical

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instrument) in her hand. Originally she was the goddess of the river Sarasvatī, one of the *sapta-sindhava*, or seven sacred rivers, which was once noted for its fertilizing and purifying power but was rendered dry by the curse of Utathya*. The river starts in the Himālayas, but on entering the plains it gets lost in the sands of the desert.

In the *Mahābhārata* her son is the ṛishi Sārasvata who during a great drought and famine was fed by his mother on fish. Thus sustained he was able to continue his study of the Vedas when other brāhmins had to neglect their studies in search of food. After the drought the other brāhmins had to come to the Sārasvata brāhmins for instruction in the Vedas.

As goddess of speech Sarasvatī appears in the *Ṛig-veda* in the aspect of *Vāch* (speech), personification of the uttered word, queen of the gods, mother of the Vedas and lamp of the ṛishis. The hymn dedicated to Vāch in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛig-veda* is known as the *Devī-sūkta*, which is used in the annual worship of Devī by Śakta worshippers. Vāch is associated with Brahmā as his wife, and with Prajāpati as his mistress, and in the *Atharva-veda* is identified with Virāj. Brahmā has a second wife named Gāyatrī*, whom he hastily married when Sarasvatī was late for an important sacrifice.

Brahmā (masculine) the god, is not to be confused with Brahma (neuter) the Supreme Soul (*see* God). Brahmā the god is also known as Abja-bhū (lotus-born), Ādi-kavi (first-poet), Ashṭa-karṇa (eight-eared), Chatur-ānana (four-mouthed), Chatur-mukha (four-faced), Dhātṛi (originator), Druhiṇa (avenger), Kiñja-ja (lotus-born), Lokeśa (world-lord), Nābhi-ja (navel-born), Pitāmaha (great patriarch), Sanat (ancient), Sarojin (lotus-like), Srashṭṛi (creator), Vedhas (wise), Vidhātṛi (creator), Vidhi (fate).

Books

See under Mythology.

BRĀHMAṆA. Broadly speaking the post Ṛig-vedic philosophy shows two trends, discernible in the Brāhmaṇas and in the Upanishads. Though belonging to the Vedas they are considered apart from the Vedas, as they express notions that have a character and quality of their own and render them convenient for separate consideration.

The Brāhmaṇas are theological manuals composed by and for brāhmins, and have been referred to as 'the Hindu *Talmud*'. They were composed later than the mantras, dating from about 600 BC, and are mainly textbooks of ritual and prayer for the priests, serving as commentaries on the Vedic hymns, describing in detail the sacrificial ceremonial, and giving many curious explanations both linguistic and legendary of the origin and meaning of the rituals. They seem to codify the ritualism of the aboriginal rather than the Aryan priesthood, since it is inconceivable that their fantastic ceremonies were ever put widely into execution, least of all by the robust, unsophisticated Aryans of the Vedic age. Written throughout in prose, they represent the oldest prose in any Indo-European language, although they do not have great literary merit.

The Brāhmaṇas stress the importance of prayer, sacrifice, ritual, liturgy, formalism, textualism, and emphasize the observance of caste and the

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āśramas. Sacrificial rites are regarded as all powerful, controlling the processes of nature and even the gods. This led to an elaborate formulary and to the domination by the brāhmin priesthood who conducted vast and elaborate rites and attached cosmic significance to the smallest minutiae. Says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'Verily there are two kinds of gods: the gods themselves who are assuredly gods, and the priests who have studied Vedic lore'.

Professor B. K. Ghosh refers to the Brāhmaṇas as 'an arid desert of puerile speculations on religious ceremonies marking the lowest ebb of Vedic culture' (IV, p. 225), while Max Müller with unkind emphasis declared that one could not read ten pages of the Brāhmaṇas without revulsion, and that for pedantry and absurdity they could hardly be matched anywhere. 'These works', said the great German scholar, 'deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots and the ravings of madmen.'

Each of the Vedic *saṁhitās* has its Brāhmaṇas, which reflect as it were the character of the saṁhitā with which they are associated. The Brāhmaṇas also often give the name to the related Upanishad. The Ṛig-vedic Brāhmaṇas include: the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*c.* 600 BC) perhaps the oldest of them all. Its author was Māhidāsa* the son of a śūdra mother. It deals principally with the great soma sacrifices and the different ceremonies of royal inauguration. The *Kauśītaki*, also called the *Śāṅkhāyana* or the *Āśvalāyana Brāhmaṇa*, contains much material common to the *Aitareya* and treats of various sacrifices.

The Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajur-veda* include: the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Black Yajur-veda* the origin of which is linked with the name of the sage Yājñavalkya. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Hundred-paths Brāhmaṇa), belonging to the *Vājasneyī saṁhitā* of the *White Yajur-veda*, is an important source of information for sacrificial ceremonies, theology and philosophy. Next to the *Ṛig-veda* it is the most important work in Vedic literature, and is ascribed to Yājñavalkya. It is found in two recensions, namely, the Mādhyaṁdina and the Kāṇva.

The Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāma-veda* are eight in number. Included among them are: the *Prauḍa Brāhmaṇa*, consisting of twenty-five sections, hence also called the *Pañcha-viṁśa*. It contains the famous *vrātya-stoma* ritual by which non-Aryan converts were admitted into the Aryan fold. *Shaḍ-viṁśa* ('twenty-sixth') *Brāhmaṇa*, so called because it was added to the twenty-five sections of the Prauḍa. The *Sāmā-vidhānā Brāhmaṇa*, the third Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda, devoted entirely to magic. It gives the chants to be used for various spells. *Tāṇḍya* (or Tāṇḍaka), the most important Brāhmaṇa of the *Sāma-veda*, sometimes confused with the *Prauḍa*. It is concerned with sacrifices in general, and with particular rites like the *sattras*, *vrātya-stomas*, and others. The *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*, a manual treating of omens and auguries, marvels and miracles. It is sometimes regarded as part of the *Shaḍ-viṁśa* and is often classed with it. The *Chhāndogya Brāhmaṇa*, famous for the Upanishad named after it.

The *Atharva-veda* has only one Brāhmaṇa, namely, the *Gopatha*, a very late work composed largely of material gathered from previous sources, including the *Śatapatha* and the *Aitareya*.

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BRĀHMIN (strictly, 'brāhmaṇ'). The term is conventionally spelt 'brāhmin', in order to distinguish the caste from the Supreme Spirit, Brahman, and the sacred scriptures known as the Brāhmaṇas. It designates the first of the four Hindu castes who, according to legend, were created from the mouth of Purusha* so that they might instruct mankind.

In ancient times the term was specifically applied to those priests of the *Atharva-veda* (*see* hierophant) whose place was on the northern side of the altar during sacrificial ceremonies. It was above all a priestly caste, although today a brāhmin is not necessarily a priest. His duties were to conduct the daily rites, the *saṁskāras*, and the sacrifices, and to study and teach the Vedas. The life of a brāhmin was divided into four periods (*see* āśrama). Among his privileges were: *archā*, veneration by the people; *dāna*, 'gifts', especially *dakshiṇā*; *ajeyatā*, freedom from oppression; and *avadhyatā*, immunity from capital punishment.

One of the brāhmin's duties entailed the daily recitation of the Vedas, for which he and his class were often satirized, e.g. in the *Ṛig-veda* their monotonous intonings are compared to the croaking of frogs at the beginning of the rainy season. Their processionals are compared in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* to dogs moving in a circle, each holding the tail of the one ahead; their cupidity is brought out in a mock rendering of their chants, '*Oṁ*, let us eat! *Oṁ*, let us drink!'

There are today over 1,800 subdivisions of the brāhmin caste alone, who even among themselves may not eat together ('interdine') or intermarry. Thus, the orthodox brāhmin of Malabār is prohibited from sharing a meal with an orthodox brāhmin of Kashmīr. The brāhmins of the north form a distinct caste from those of the south; brāhmins from one part of the south are distinct from those of another part of the south. Brāhmins from the same subdivision of the same sub-category and identical in every other way, may yet be distinct because they come from different areas, even near by.

Attempts have been made to classify the various brāhmin classes, but without much success. The categorization according to professions is useful mainly at the lower levels. Today the socially inferior brāhmins are those who are connected with the actual ritual of temple worship; they include the miscellaneous groups such as the *pujārī* who perform the *pūjās* in shrines and temples; the *ojhā* of occultist* propensities who exorcise demons and evil spirits; the *jyotisha* or astrologers who cast horoscopes and determine auspicious occasions; and the various guides at pilgrim centres. Included in the latter class are the *Gaṅgā-pātra*, who guide pilgrims visiting the Ganges; the *Gaya-wāl* who function at Gaya; and the *Prayāg-wāl* of *Allāhābād*. Among the 'inferior' brāhmins are the *Mahā-brāhmin* (or *Mahā-pātra*) who preside over funeral rites and officiate at the cremation of corpses. These

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brāhmins are not accorded the respect normally due to the caste. They receive as their fee the funeral clothes, jewellery, etc., which belonged to the deceased. It is believed that the wearing of these clothes by the brāhmin will provide the deceased with these necessities in the next world.

Strictly, every brāhmin should be able to trace his descent from one of the *gotra-kula* ṛishis (*see* community), but the classification of brāhmins is not usually made along the lines of this descent. There are in fact several systems of classification, all very rough and elastic. The one cited below has the advantage of geographical convenience. In it brāhmins are arranged in two groups of five great families each, as follows:

Pañcha-gauḍa (or *Pañch-gaur*), the five divisions of the white brāhmins to the north of the Vindhya range. They include:

(*a*) **Kanyā-kubja** brāhmins of Kanauj, who are subdivided into the Vārendra, consisting of 100 classes, and the Rāḍha (or Rāṛhi) of 56 classes. The Kanyā-kubja brāhmins include the Kulīns.

(*b*) **Sārasvata** brāhmins of the north-west, named after the river Sarasvatī. Regarded as one of the purest of brāhmin classes; many brāhmins of north and south India claim Sārasvata status.

(*c*) **Gauḍa** brāhmins of Bengal and Delhi, also constitute a large class. The Miśra, 'mixed' brāhmins of Bihār and Bengal claim Gauḍa status although this is not universally accepted. The Śarma brāhmins are the most numerous of the Gauḍa class.

(*d*) **Mithilā** (or Maithilā) brāhmins of North Bihār. There is a great deal of admixture amongst this group with other castes of Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

(*e*) **Utkala** brāhmins of Orissa; preserve many aboriginal customs and are mixed with Dravidian elements.

Pañcha-drāviḍa, the five divisions of the darker-skinned brāhmins of the South. They include:

(*a*) **Mahārāshṭra** brāhmins of the Marāṭha country. Chief of this class are the Chitpāvans (*see* Marāṭha). Also included in this category are the Gurjara brāhmins of Gujarāt.

(*b*) **Teliṅga** brāhmins of the Telugu country. The group includes the Muru-kināḍu, Velanāḍu, and Niyogi.

(*c*) **Drāviḍa** of the Tamil country. Among their classes are the Ayyar (or Aiyer) i.e. Arya (Aryan), Vaḍama and Gurukkal.

(*d*) **Karṇāṭa** of the Kanarese country, such as the Haviga, Śivalli, and Koṭa.

(*e*) **Malabār** brāhmins of Malabār, of which the best known are the Nambūdris (*see* Nāir).

A curiously obstinate survival from the traditional accounts of Hinduism is the notion concerning the racial purity of the brāhmins. This notion persists in the face of incontestable evidence that the brāhmins were, of all castes, the most thoroughly mixed. They were the product of a long period of continuous miscegenation*, and the sacred texts ascribed to them are the work of people of multi-racial antecedents.

By tradition, all brāhmin families claim descent from eight or nine mahāṛishi progenitors. The majority of these founder-ṛishis were of low birth or 'native' origin, and certainly not of Aryan stock. The ancient priestly

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hierarchy, and in particular the ṛishis, were established in India, according to one theory, long before the Aryans arrived. It has been suggested that the brāhmin phratria did not, as is generally thought, accompany the Aryan invasion, but were already in India when the Aryans appeared on the scene.

The earliest priestly class were the aboriginal shamans whose magical traditions were of immemorial antiquity. Later hieratic groups like the Maga may possibly have represented the pre-Aryan intrusions of migrant priests into the subcontinent. They were well versed in the intricacies of new sacerdotal rites, and may in due time have acquired a place in the native priestly hierarchy. Pargiter says, 'Tradition makes the brāhmin originally a non-Aryan institution'.

Some of the ṛishis of Hindu mythology are regarded as the ancestors of the demons (*dānavas*), giants, and ogres who opposed the Aryan advance, and these ṛishis, many of whom were of dark complexion, had no hesitation in taking native women as wives. Dānava ṛishis are in fact mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. The expression 'Dānava ṛishi' is in itself a contradiction in terms. Like 'Dravidian brāhmin', 'Dānava ṛishi' is incomprehensible unless we are prepared to accept the fact that these priestly classes were non-Aryan.

There are certain brāhmin families of ancient lineage attached to religious areas like Banāras and Gaya who preserve numerous 'folk' as opposed to Vedic traditions and clearly represent, says Vidyarthi, 'remnants of an ancient tribal priesthood who have taken the title of brāhmin and have sanskritized their way of life'; and Hindus from all over India worship these priests as if they were the deity incarnate (V, p. 62).

It is to be noted that so far as tradition goes the ancient ṛishis kept practically no genealogies. There was hardly any need for them to do so at the time, since they had no pretensions based on purity of blood. The only pedigrees preserved of the ṛishis are lists of teachers, through whom certain religious doctrines were handed down. Spiritual pedigrees we possess, but natural pedigrees are wanting (III, p. 185). Those traditions that are preserved have shown conclusively that the ṛishis were an unmistakably mixed class.

The term *brāhmin*, far from being well defined, is vague and elastic in its connotation. Least of all does it connote a hereditary caste coming down in unsullied succession from an Aryan people. If anything, the brāhmins may be said to represent a fusion of all the various priestly classes: the aboriginal priesthood as well as the priestly hierarchy that accompanied each influx of foreign invaders. *Brāhmin* is a term of convenience covering an amorphous category that embraces aboriginal shamans of Negrito and proto-Australoid descent, Dravidian hierophants who brought their spells from Babylonia, magi thaumaturgists skilled in the sorcerous arts, and priests attached to the Aryan armies. Their identity in any case was soon lost, for these prelates, whatever their origin, were men of resource and vigour who did not believe that they were blackening their souls or jeopardizing their place in paradise by marrying indigenous maidens, or mating with forest nymphs of no caste.

Given the opportunity it was inevitable that the priestly hierarchies would make common cause for a dominant position in the life of the people, and the priestly handbooks support this incipient tendency. Even before the time of

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Buddha the intolerance and cupidity of the brāhmins had become sufficiently notorious for the pioneer reformers to refer pointedly to these features in their criticism of the religious systems that were subjected to brāhminical influence. The ascendancy of priestcraft was kept in check for some time by the emergence of Indian materialism and rationalism as exemplified in the nāstika* sects and especially in Buddhism.

With the rise of Buddhism we find the power of the brāhmin hierarchy considerably shaken and its ambitions thwarted. With the conversion of Aśoka it suffered a further serious setback from which it did not recover for more than five hundred years, for when Aśoka's influence had passed, northern India was occupied by powerful nations from the barbarian* borders. Āryāvarta was overwhelmed by a flood of foreigners who occupied their citadels and lorded it over the land. Buddhism was the religion generally adopted by them, and the brāhmin priesthood were therefore of lesser consequence. To the brāhmin claim of superiority on the basis of his pure blood the Buddhist retorted, 'A long time has passed, and women are fickle by nature, and it is very difficult to ascertain the purity of the brāhmin race' (IV, p. 333). The old dispensation under which they had received their due meed of respect as custodians of esoteric ritual and sacrificial formulas was over. The brāhmins could do nothing but wait, and their time came with what is known as the 'brāhminical revival'.

No other historical fact so clearly reveals how deeply the awareness of the widespread miscegenation of Aryan with non-Aryan had entered into the consciousness of the orthodox as the phenomenon of this revival.

The term 'revival' is misleading inasmuch as it implies that at an earlier period the brāhmins had been a dominant power and had had a determining influence in the country's affairs. This was not the case. Brāhminism as a force to reckon with had scarcely existed at any earlier period in Indian history. True, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* they were even equated with the gods, but only the brāhmins knew about this. In pre-Buddhist time they were never supreme (II, p. 122). Bhandarkar, speaking of the centuries between 200 BC and AD 400 says that brāhminism did not occupy a prominent position since Buddhism was followed by most of the people from princes downwards.

In spite of claims to the contrary, pre-Buddhist brāhminism did not enjoy anything like the influence it acquired under the dispensation of the later lawgivers. It was still a small and isolated growth. The rigid exclusiveness of the caste system does not appear to have existed in Buddhist times nor for many centuries after.

The emergence of brāhminism as it is understood today, with the outlook and attitude of the superior caste, is altogether a later development, with its roots in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was a reactionary and escapist recourse against an environment growing progressively more heterogeneous through Mongolian, Scythian, Kushān, Hunnish and other 'barbarian' admixtures. By this time any adventurer with a few *ślokas* at his finger-tips could claim to be a brāhmin. No one asked him for his credentials. Just as the brāhmin produced fictitious genealogies for the recently-immigrated nomad chieftain, to link him up with ancient dynastic lines, so

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also he devised for himself a pedigree going back to hoary antiquity. But his bulwark and his refuge was his insistence on racial purity, and his battlecry the salvaging of the Hindu dharma from the rapacious clutches of the mlechchhas (barbarians).

Brāhmins were exhorted by Manu to avoid any city governed by a śūdra, or inhabited by a majority of heretics (Buddhists), outcastes (Śakas, Kushāns) or other infidels. As there was nowhere for them to go, since India was almost entirely under śūdra, half-caste, *mlechchha*, Buddhist, Greek and Zoroastrian rule, they had perforce to bide their time. It was from this twilight period of humiliation and confusion that brāhminism 'revived'.

No wonder there are apologists who regard these 'brāhmins', who were at that time devising their legal enactments in the hostile atmosphere of those early centuries, as the custodians of Hindu culture. For though they assumed divine status and reserved the good things for themselves, they did to some extent preserve the hard core of Hinduism from contamination, relegating the Mongolian and Iranian elements to a debased kshattriya* nobility who were compelled in their own interest to uphold the Hindu religion. But the hard core preserved by them was not what made for the greatness of Hinduism, but what elevated their priestly status and inflated their self-esteem. For if the brāhmins kept the torch of Hinduism aflame, they also kept its warmth and light to themselves.

If, as Max Müller says, there is a blank in brāhminical literature between the first century BC to the third century AD, there was certainly no cessation of their activities. For it was from precisely this period that they started laying the foundations of their coming ascendancy. E. B. Havell, that stalwart champion of brāhmin *rāj*, states that during the period of their subjection brāhmins by their disinterested labours thoroughly examined the foundations of Vedic religion. But it was more than an examination; it was a total revaluation, and a complete reinterpretation of it. Where the Vedas were inadequate to meet the requirements of the new situation the brāhmins did not hesitate to fabricate the requisite verse, or chapter, or even, if need arose, the requisite book (*see* forgery). To this period belong the brāhminization of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the sanskritization of Indian literature.

The 'revival' had three characteristic features. A bitter hostility to all languages not Sanskrit. An intolerance towards all religions not Hindu. A violent prejudice against all castes not brāhmin. The hallmark of the revival, and its only *raison d'être* was the glorification, even the deification, of the brāhmin caste, and the manifesto of the movement was a compilation known as the *Manu-smṛiti*, the first systematic treatment of brāhminical law.

From now on brāhmins openly claimed superiority in every aspect of life. The brāhmin was the best of men, the chief of all created beings and the equal of the gods. He was even superior to the gods. 'It is by the favour of the brāhmins that the gods reside in the heavens. The gods are invisible deities, the brāhmins are visible deities. The brāhmins sustain the world.' In the eyes of some brāhmins the gods had no right to the Vedas since they did not wear the sacred thread.

Both the person and the property of the brāhmin were absolutely inviolate.

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He took precedence over kings. He was exempt from taxes; he was given food without payment; and he received free medical treatment. In law he could do no wrong. In order to defray the expenses of a marriage or a religious rite, a brāhmin could help himself by force or fraud to the property and money of a śūdra, or to the property and money of the members of the other castes who had neglected their religious duties. These duties consisted mainly in following the dictates laid down by the brāhmins, in performing the ordained sacrifices, which necessitated the services of a brāhmin priest, and in according the brāhmin his full share of respect, reverence and worship.

Naturally, a caste as precipitously high as the brāhmin had to have an elaborate zareba of precautions to preserve its newly-found purity. The barricade of restrictions with which they fortified themselves precluded even the shadow of an outcaste falling on them. Curiously, this ritual purity did not forbid sexual intercourse, and when he found the opportunity or felt the need, the brāhmin did not disdain the pleasures of the bed with a woman for the trifling reason that she belonged to a lower order. The right of *niyoga* (*see* levirate) was only one of the lesser privileges that flowed from this exemption.

To be a priest was to be secure, both in this world and in the next. It was not only the most honourable and respected of professions, it was also the most lucrative. Small wonder then that it became necessary to limit the membership of this coterie of clerics and guard it from intrusion. Brāhminism became the hereditary monopoly of priests who, though indigenous and of mixed racial origins, now claimed unadulterated descent from the marauding Aryans, those blond, beef-eating, *surā*-swigging, idol-busting warriors who descended upon the Indian plains from the wild Central Iranian Plateau.

This state of affairs continued for several centuries until it received its first great setback under the onslaught of Islam. The democratic basis of the new religion first helped to modify the doctrines of Hindu reformist sects which came under Islamic influence. Western ideas, propagated largely by Christian missionaries, gave another fillip to the forces ranged against the caste system and brāhmin domination, soon to be joined by stalwarts from the Hindu ranks who added their voices to the clamour for reform.

In recent years the power and prestige of the brāhmins have declined considerably and continue to wane and their pretensions have been mercilessly assailed from all sides, even from within their own ranks. In the light of modern criticism, which is extremely harsh, any man laying claim to brāhminhood on the strength of the 'purity' of his 'Aryan blood', is the victim, innocent or willing, of an epic hoax of monumental proportions that should be exploded for the good of his own soul, for the general welfare of India, and the advancement of humanity.

In any event, the available evidence demonstrates beyond doubt that brāhminism as interpreted by the *śāstras* is a myth, for the Law insists that the brāhmin must be Aryan and incontaminate. There is absolutely no compromise on this issue whatsoever. Therefore the brāhminhood of every brāhmin hangs on the delicate evidence of his direct and untarnished descent from the Aryan invaders who were contemporary with the Fall of Troy. Such insistence on purity is of the paṇḍit's own devising and has to be answered by recourse partly to mythology, since the arm of history does not reach back

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so far, and partly to history. And mythology, and history, the Epics and ancient chronicles, the lawbooks and the Vedas, all endorse the view that bids us treat brāhmin Aryanness and brāhmin purity as a fantasy.

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(*See also under* Caste.)

BREATH CONTROL. The term *prāṇayāma* (*prāṇa-yāma*, 'breath-way') is applied to the study and practice of breathing techniques, which play a basic part in Hindu occultism and meditative exercises. The origin of this study is obscure but it is generally admitted that its development was influenced by Chinese practice, and in China it was at least as old as the Chou period (1000 BC).

Prāṇayāma represents the fourth stage in haṭha yoga, the eleventh in rāja yoga, and the seventh in mantra yoga, and is included in several other esoteric systems. It is among the most important methods for conscious control of the ten vital energies, especially *prāṇa* and *apāna* (*see* wind). It is employed in preparatory and cleansing exercises to purge the *nāḍis*, purify the internal vessels and give vitality to the subtle centres, but its ultimate aim is the complete suspension of breath. This happens when the 'central vital breath rises through the middle channel, first like an ant, slowly; then like a frog leaping; and finally like a bird flying upwards', and enters the centre of the thousand petals at the top of the head. When this is achieved 'life may be prolonged indefinitely, and the lord of Yoga may cross the ocean of sin and wander freely in the three worlds'.

Prāṇayāma, it must be remembered, is essentially one aspect of the *paramudrā**. To be really effective it must combine several breathing processes in the correct ratio of inhalation, exhalation and retention, through one or both nostrils, together with *āsanas*, *mudrās*, *mantras* and *bandhas*, with special attention paid to location, direction and speed of breathing, to its timing, depth and rhythm. The variations of breathing techniques are thus theoretically infinite, and textbooks and commentaries on prāṇayāma give several hundreds of them, each with its particular benefits and dangers.

There are four basic breathing processes, namely: (1) *pūraka*, 'filling', or inhalation, which may be shallow or deep, (2) *kumbhaka*, 'chalice', the retention of breath in the lungs at any point during inhalation, (3) *rechaka*, the 'emptying' of breath, which may be a shallow or a full exhalation, and (4) *hīnaka*, 'lacking', the holding of breath after exhalation or at any point during exhalation.

Breathing can be deep or shallow, heavy or light. Heavy breathing visibly moves the chest and expands the ribs; shallow breathing is gentle and almost imperceptible. In shallow breathing the passages around the nose and throat are relaxed and a cold draught of air is felt in the throat during inhalation.

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The shallow breath is taken with teeth apart but lips closed, and one is advised to breathe in as though savouring the fragrance of a rose.

The depth of breath is measured by the distance the *prāṇa* travels outwards while exhaling. The unit of measurement is the *aṅgula*, 'finger' (i.e. the breadth of one finger). Normally the breath is exhaled twelve aṅgulas away, i.e. the breath will not disturb a feather placed at twelve aṅgulas distance from the lips; during sleep the breath is exhaled sixteen aṅgulas away; while eating, twenty; walking, twenty-four; sound sleep, thirty; coition, thirty-six; terror, fifty-two; at death the prāṇa is ejected to an infinite distance.

The duration of inhalation, retention, exhalation and retention is measured in time* units called *mātrā*, and various ratios have been worked out for obtaining different results. Thus, if one inhales for five mātrās (or seconds, or other units), retains for five, exhales for five, and retains for five, the central arteries are cleared. The ratio of 5:10:5:10 clears the lower end of the main artery; 5:20:3:10 cures certain diseases, and so on. In fact there are specific ratios for specific diseases, which however vary with the individual. Frequently the *hīnaka* part of the breathing cycle is omitted, and only three figures are given, for inhalation, retention, and exhalation. The classic ratio is 1:4:2, e.g. 2 seconds, 8 seconds, 4 seconds, which if practised regularly over a long period gives one many wonderful powers and make one's face 'glow like the sun'. Also highly recommended is the ratio 1:2:2, which is the normal breathing ratio of many adepts.

Retention of breath is regarded as the key to prāṇayāma, the final aim being a complete suspension of breath following one long inhalation. In ordinary prāṇayāma exercises a retention of 12 seconds is regarded as the minimum, and 108 seconds the maximum. For the more advanced dhāraṇā the figure is 12 times this, i.e. 144 to 1296 seconds; and for dhyāna it is twelve times the duration of dhāraṇā.

A curious complementary study called the *nāsikā-śāstra* (nostril-science) was evolved in conjunction with prāṇayāma. It was thought that a man did not breath freely through both nostrils at any one time. Depending on planetary influences, on the time of the day, on the condition of his health, and his emotional state, he might breathe through one nostril more freely than the other. In fact it was regarded as an evil omen to breathe equally well through both nostrils together. At such a time it was not advisable to start any undertaking. It therefore became important to know what should be done and what avoided when breathing through one or other nostril was dominant. Although the rules of nāsikā-śāstra are applicable in broad outline to all persons, the yogi should study his own breathing idiosyncrasies and find out what applies to him. In this manner alone, it is averred, can one control one's health, well-being, life and destiny.

In general, it is believed that there is a cycle of breathing, alternating between the right and left nostrils, that changes every four hours, and that the polarity observed in all nature may be found in the human body in the nostrils. By a study of the subject one can induce breathing through the correct nostril by will power, or simply by closing the unwanted nostril with the finger. If one wishes to change the flow of the breath a special exercise is carried out. One such exercise goes: 'Press a hard object under the left armpit,

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lie down on the left side, place the right leg over the left, tickle the right ankle at the tendon leading to the big toe; this will alter the breathing from the left nostril to the right.'

The right nostril is dedicated to Sūrya, the sun. Breathing through this nostril raises the temperature and energizes the body. It is propitious to have the right nostril free, and one should take medicine only while breathing through it. If both husband and wife breathe through the right nostril during intercourse the child will be male. The left nostril is dedicated to Chandra, the moon. Breathing through this nostril lowers the temperature of the body and is soothing. It is generally unpropitious to breathe through the left nostril except for the following: laying the foundations of a house; taking up residence in a new house; putting on new clothes. If both husband and wife breathe through the left nostril at the time of intercourse the child will be a female. If they breathe through different nostrils the child may be of either sex.

Among the various kinds of breath-control taught in prāṇayāma, the more commonly practised exercises are the following:

Ujjāyi, 'victorious', an inward breath producing a snore-like sound between the nose and throat. By means of this the yogi can 'clear the upper parts of the brain, and increase the heat of the body'.

Śītakāri, 'cold-maker'. 'Pout the lips as if for sipping, move the tongue in and out of the mouth and sip the air with tongue and lips.' By this means the yogi can remain cool even near a blazing fire.

Śītāli, 'cooling'. Pout the lips and suck in the breath, 'whistling inwards'. This cools the body and renders it immune to heat.

Bhrāmari, 'bee'. Breathe in and out making a humming sound. By doing this 'the palate is set vibrating and the voice cleared, mellowing the passages through which the vital airs travel'.

Bhedana, 'piercing', breathing through one nostril only, while pressing the other nostril with the finger. In *sūrya-bhedana*, 'sun-piercing' the yogi inhales and exhales through the right nostril in order to heat the body; in *chandra-bhedana*, 'moon-piercing' he inhales and exhales through the left nostril in order to cool the body.

Loma, 'hair', consists in breathing in and out alternately through each nostril separately. This is believed not only to clear the nose but helps 'to direct the breath along certain channels, and to control moods and cure bodily ailments'.

Mūrchhana, 'swelling', a very deep breath is taken till the ribs swell out, and the air is then expelled all at once. This produces a state of mental passivity and is often combined with the *jālandhara-bandha* (chin lock).

Bhastrākā, 'bellows', shallow and rhythmic breathing in and out rather rapidly. A variation is called *kapāla-bhāti*, 'skull-brightness', which is performed by inhaling water through the nose to clear it. In bhastrākā there is no pause between inhalation and exhalation; the abdomen is drawn in with each exhalation and protruded with each inhalation. It is sometimes done in conjunction with purification* exercises. An extremely rapid form of bhastrākā is the *gharshaṇa*, 'rubbing'.

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Plāvini, 'floating', breathing while raising and lowering the arms to make the body elastic and light. Continuous practice of this, say the manuals, enables one 'to float or even walk on water'.

Śvasana, 'blowing', includes a wide variety of breathing techniques, of which the chief are: *phūk*, puff' of cold air suddenly exhaled upon a person in order to cure a disease; *phuṅk*, the same as the phūk but with a hot breath coming from deeper down; *phuṭ*, a sudden blowing out with a sharp sound; *phaṭ*, also a sharp explosive sound. All these figure very prominently in occult rites.

Other respiratory techniques involving hissing, humming, 'gargling' (without water), coughing, swallowing air, sniffing, as well as unsounded barking, mooing, roaring and other animal noises, are sometimes listed, along with their specific virtues.

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BṚIHASPATI (*bṛihas-pati*, 'prayer-lord') a name used alternatively in the *Ṛig-veda* with Brahmaṇaspati to designate the Lord of Prayer, the preceptor (*Guru*) and counsellor of the gods, and their high priest and chief sacrificer. As such he was the heavenly prototype of the earthly purohita or family priest, and was the apotheosis of the magical power of spells, invocations and prayers. He is believed to be related to the Hittite thunder-god and may have originally come from Media.

In certain texts he is identical with Agni, and associated with Soma in sacrificial soma rites. He is spoken of as the son of the ṛishi Aṅgiras. He is regent of the planet Jupiter and his chariot is drawn by eight pale horses.

Legend relates that he had sexual congress with Mamatā the pregnant wife of Utathya* for which misdeed his own wife Tārā (or Tārakā) was abducted by Soma the moon, thus giving rise to the Tārakā-māyā war, in which Soma was aided by Uśanas, Rudra and the whole host of *daityas* (demons) and *dānavas* (titans). Eventually Brahmā intervened and restored Tārā to her husband. Some time after, Tārā was delivered of Budha, a son, whom both Bṛihaspati and Soma claimed as theirs, until the child's mother settled the dispute by declaring that Soma was the father. Bṛihaspati's son through Mamatā, wife of Utathya, was Bharadvāja*.

An early law code is named after Bṛihaspati. An ancient ṛishi and the founder of a heretical nāstika sect likewise bears his name.

Bṛihaspati's other names are: Animisha-āchārya, (the Unblinking Teacher), Chakshas (Brightness), Ijya (Teacher), Jīva (the Living), Dīdivi (Shining), Dhishaṇa (the Wise), Girpati (Lord of Speech).

Books

See under Mythology.

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BṚIHASPATI (?500 BC–AD 500?) one of the foremost early nāstika philosophers, sometimes identified with Bṛihaspati the teacher of the gods. His nihilistic *Sūtras* have perished, but scholars like Śaṅkara and Madhva refer to him and quote brief lines in which he condemned religion and the priests. He decried the study of the Vedas, denouncing their authors as buffoons and rogues. Vedic ritual, he said, merely yielded a means of livelihood to the priests.

He denied the existence of heaven and hell and of the soul, declaring that these infantile notions, fit only for mothers to soothe or frighten little children with, were exploited by the priests as a means of keeping the superstitious laity in subjection. These 'soft-bellied and slothful' prelates were men devoid of intellect and manliness, and loved nothing more than to reap the rewards of the labours of others and to receive the humble obeisance of their deluded followers. He prognosticated a future of misery and servitude for all who accepted the pernicious doctrines of the brāhmins, or who believed that a noble or worthwhile rule for the conduct of men's lives was to be found in the fatuous outpourings of the Vedas.

His doctrine was named after him the *Bārhaspatya*, and brāhmin paṇḍits naïvely asserted that it was expressly formulated in order to weaken the power of the asuras. As a result of following this teaching, they said, the asuras became enemies of the priests, gave up their duties, neglected the dharma, despised the Vedas, became weak and ineffective and were easily defeated by Indra.

Books

See under Nāstika

BUDDHA (?568–483? BC) founder of Buddhism*, was the son of Śuddhodana a kshattriya king of Mongolian stock and a member of the Gautama clan of the Śākya* tribe. Hence Buddha is often called Śākyamuni, the sage of the Śākyas. Buddha's own name was Siddhārtha and his mother was Queen Māyā (or Māyādevī), a Lichchhavi princess.

Many different legends are related about his birth and life, which is not surprising when it is remembered that the earliest Buddhist chronicles were written two hundred years after the events to which they relate. Some scholars incline to the view that the whole account of his life is legendary and his teachings a mixture of several ancient systems (*see* mythology).

An angelic 'Annunciation' to his father preceded his birth, and there are also stories of a Virgin Birth and of homage paid by trees and water to the divine infant. Before his birth his mother, Māyā, dreamed that four kings raised her to the Himālayas where their four queens bathed and clothed her in heavenly robes. Buddha in the form of a white elephant with a silver lotus in his trunk circled three times around the queen's bed, smote her right side and entered her womb. In another legend a six-rayed star entered her womb. The queen told her dream to the king, and the brāhmin soothsayers of the court, notably Asita, interpreted it saying that the queen would bear a child who would be either a great king or a great Buddha (Wise One), a fact

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later confirmed when the infant was found to have all the thirty-two major marks of greatness on his body (*see* stigmata).

The queen carried the future Buddha for ten months, and when her time was near she expressed a desire to go to the home of her father in Devadaha for the confinement. On the way she gave birth to the child under the *sāl* trees in the Lumbini gardens near the town of Kapilavastu, the capital of the Śākya kingdom in the south-eastern foothills of Nepāl, one hundred miles north of Banāras. The spot was later marked by Aśoka with a column which is still standing today. Māyādevī was at that time forty-five years old, and when her child came forth the udumbara tree, which is said to blossom only when a Buddha is born, put forth wondrous blooms. There were also many other signs and portents.

Māyā died when her child was one week old, and he was reared by her sister, Mahāprajāpatī (or Gotamī) who was the second wife of Śuddhodana. The boy received an excellent education, mastered the arts of warfare, and absorbed the philosophy of his time, although one record says that his relatives complained of his abnormal pursuit of pleasure. At the age of nineteen the prince married his cousin Yaśodharā, daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi, and lived very happily with her. No portrait or description of Buddha exists; the earliest statues of him date many centuries after his death and are based on the Greek ideal of beauty. The only tradition concerning his personal appearance relates that he had long ear lobes.

Siddhārtha's father, remembering the prophecy of Asita and fearing that his son might become an ascetic and leave the kingdom gave orders that all ugly things should be hidden from him. But Buddha's keen mind discerned the truth even behind apparent beauty. The *Lalitavistara* describes how one night he went into the women's appartments where the most beautiful girls of the realm were asleep. And there he had the 'Graveyard Vision', for he saw not a bevy of sleeping beauties, but women with dishevelled hair and disordered garments, with squinting eyes and mouths awry and slobbering, and he was moved to loathing.

One day he went out into the streets and saw an old man bent with age and he was struck with sorrow to think that all things if they live, must come to the stage of senility. On another occasion he saw a sick man and pondered on the problem of sickness and suffering. The sight of a corpse on yet another occasion led him to reflect on the end of life and the misery of existence. These sights were followed by a fourth, that of a tranquil ascetic with a begging bowl setting out to learn wisdom, and it marked the beginning of his conversion. It is said that while he sat reflecting on these four *nimitta*, 'signs', news was brought to him of the birth of his first (and only) child, a son, born after eight years of marriage. His reply to the news-bearer was 'Here is yet another bond to break'. He named his son Rāhula, 'fetter'.

One night, six days after the birth of the boy he awoke suddenly, 'like a man who has been told that his house is on fire', greatly perturbed in spirit, called Chauna (or Chhaṇḍaka) his charioteer and bade him saddle his horse Kaṇṭhaka. He then softly stole to his wife's chamber to look for the last time upon his wife and son. The child was asleep next to its mother whose hand was laid upon its head. He felt an overwhelming urge to take up his son in

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a farewell embrace, but the fear of waking his wife prevented him. Turning away he went out into the moonlight to Chauna waiting with the horse, and rode off into the night. He was at that time twenty-nine years of age. This incident is referred to as the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* (*mahā-abhi-nishkramaṇa*, 'great-over-leaving'), The Great Renunciation.

As he rode, Māra, the Prince of Evil, appeared to him and tempted him with the offer of great empires, but Buddha did not heed him. After crossing the small Anomā river he cut off his long black hair and sent it home with Chauna declaring that he would never return till 'he had conquered old age, disease and death'. He next exchanged his clothes with a ragged beggar and at last felt free to pursue his search for enlightenment.

At Vaiśālī he put himself under a guru, Ālāra (also known as Ārāḍa or Kālāma), but becoming dissatisfied with him proceeded to Rājagṛiha where he studied under Uddaka (or Rudraka or Rāmaputta), whose brāhminical teachings left him still discontented. According to Buddhist records there were sixty-three schools of philosophy in Buddha's time, which no doubt added to the confusion of the great truth seeker.

He then repaired to Uruvelā a village near Gaya, and here he was joined by five mendicant friars. For six years he devoted himself to the severest forms of penance and asceticism. He lived on seeds and herbs and for a time even on dung; gradually he came down to a single grain of rice a day. He let dust and dirt accumulate on him; he frequented burial and burning places and slept with rotting corpses. But enlightenment did not come and he felt that no wisdom could be attained by *tapas* or asceticism. He finally resolved to abandon this futile method, and when one day he fell unconscious through exhaustion and weakness, he was revived and offered a dainty meal in a golden dish by Sujātā, daughter of a rich villager. Taking this as an omen he gave up asceticism, much to the displeasure of the five friars, who thereupon deserted him. He next went to a place now called Bodhgaya (or Budhgaya), near the banks of the Nairañjana river; here he sat down to meditate under the shade-giving *pīpal* (fig) tree, and here he resolved to stay until enlightenment came to him. This tree later became known as the Bo or Bodhi tree, because it was under its branches that, after seven weeks of meditation, he at last obtained the supreme knowledge he sought. At that historic site there now stands the Mahābodhi temple.

His approaching beatitude was foreseen by Kālika (or Kāla) king of the Nāgas who with his wife made obeisance to him. Once again he was tempted by Māra the Prince of Evil and his daughters, but Buddha touched the earth and the earth-goddess Vasudharā witnessed on his behalf and Māra and his daughters were discomfited.

On the full moon day in the month of Vaiśākha in the year variously dated between 533 and 528 BC as he sat wrapt in meditation he had a sudden vision of the endless succession of births and deaths. Birth he saw involved evil, and rebirth was the inevitable lot of all mankind. Then like the light of dawn the solution to this perplexing problem came to him. He is said to have remained sitting in a state of profound trance for a full night and a full day, for he had attained *Bodhi* (Enlightenment) or *Saṁbodhi* (Full Enlightenment). He was thirty-five years old at the time. From then on he was

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honoured as the Buddha (Wise or Enlightened One) and later as Tathāgata (*see* Mahāyāna). Buddha now embarked on a career of preaching that continued for forty-five years.

He proceeded to Banāras and delivered his first sermon to his five original companions who at first listened with scepticism but were soon convinced. This famous first sermon, the *Dharma-chakra-pravartana*, or *Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Law*, was delivered in the Deer Park (Mṛigadāva) at Sārnāth near Banāras. His band of disciples soon increased as he went from town to town preaching the new doctrine. He and his disciples were given food by the people of the locality in which they stayed, and on one occasion Buddha shocked his disciples by eating at the house of a courtesan. At Uruvelā he delivered the famous Fire Sermon to a group of fire-worshippers, and converted them.

The most renowned among the early converts to his teaching were Sāriputta (or Śāriputra) and Moggallāna, ascetics of Rājagṛiha, who were converted by Assaji, one of the five original disciples, with the simple statement that 'The Buddha has explained the cause of all things, and has also explained their ceasing'.

Buddha's discourses, which were always in the language of the people and not in Sanskrit, took the form of Socratic questioning, parables, formulas and *sūtras* (sermons). He scorned miracles but his disciples invented a score of miraculous legends around him. Thus, he was wafted across the Ganges; at the end of one of his sermons the whole world shook; his toothpick sprouted into a tree; he subdued fierce animals with love; he visited the Tāvatiṁsa heaven where he was welcomed by Indra and preached to the devas, and many others of similar import.

Buddha's fame spread all over India, and untold thousands, householders, merchants, peasants and princes became his disciples and followers. Anāthapiṇḍika a wealthy convert, a merchant of Sāvatthi (Sanskrit Śrāvastī), the modern village of Saheth Maheth, presented the order with the Jetavana grove, which he bought from Prince Jeta with as much gold as would cover the ground. A monastery was built in this grove and it became the headquarters of Buddha's ministry. Buddha travelled far and wide. He came to Kapilavastu where at his father's entreaty he visited his home and saw his parents and his wife and son. The latter, Rāhula, joined the Buddhist order and so did others among his relatives.

Among his famous followers were Ānanda his cousin, the 'blessed intimate' of Buddha and his chief disciple; Kassapa (Kāśyapa) the most learned of his disciples (*see* Bodhidharma); the rich youth Yasa; the king Bimbisāra; and the barber Upāli the oldest of the group.

A lifelong enemy of Buddha was another cousin, Devadatta, whose hatred for the sage began early in his youth, when a bird he had wounded was nursed by Buddha who refused to deliver it up, claiming that it was his since he had saved its life. Devadatta was Buddha's unsuccessful rival for the hand of the beautiful Yaśodharā. Later when Buddha's fame had spread Devadatta made three attempts on his life. In the first (having previously instigated Ajātaśatru to murder his own father and to seize the throne of Magadha*) Devadatta persuaded the prince to let him have assassins to carry

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out the murder of Buddha; other assassins were to murder the murderers; while Devadatta planned to kill the last murderer in the series to keep the secret with himself. The would-be murderers were, however, converted by Buddha. A second attempt made by throwing a rock at him also failed. The third attempt to loose a wild elephant was frustrated by Buddha's power over the animal which ended by listening docilely to his sermon. Towards the end of his life Devadatta inclined towards Buddhism and in fact before dying cried to Buddha for help and repeated the Buddhist creed, 'I put my trust in Buddha, the Law and the Saṅgha'. Though his conversion gained him salvation he had to spend a certain period of time in hell.

Buddha founded the *Saṅgha* or Buddhist order of monks whose following grew rapidly. The monks were not allowed to have any personal property; they were to beg for their food, wear coarse clothes, and live a simple life. The order consisted of *śrāvaka* (hearers or laymen), *upāsaka* (lay disciples), *bhikku* (Sanskrit, *bhikshu*, or religious mendicants), and *śramaṇa* (ascetics). An order of *bhikkuni* or nuns was also started at the repeated entreaty of his disciples as Buddha was reluctant to do so, and among the first members to join was his wife Yaśodharā. Buddha's advice to Ānanda on the subject of women is not without humour. When asked how one was to conduct oneself towards women he said, 'Do not see them Ānanda. If you have to see them, abstain from speech, Ānanda. And if you should have to speak to them, keep wide awake, Ānanda'.

Shortly before his death Buddha stayed at the house of a famous courtesan, Ambapālī. A little later he lived in Pava in the hut of a poor smith named Chanda, where he ate bad mushrooms and pork, which caused his death. On his death-bed he showed anxious concern for the smith lest the man be blamed for poisoning him. Buddha's last teaching was heard by Subhadra, a wandering ascetic, who became his last convert. His favourite disciple, Ānanda, was also present at his deathbed.

According to tradition Buddha died under a sāl tree at Kusināra (or Kusinagara) in the district of what is now Gorakhpur, aged eighty years. This is referred to as his *Pari-nirvāṇa*, 'final extinction'. His last words were, 'Subject to decay are all component things. Strive earnestly to work out your own salvation'.

Seven days after his death his remains were cremated, the ashes divided into ten parts and given to the rājas of the land where Buddha had lived, worked and died. Stūpas and *dāgobas* (reliquary chambers) were erected over the places where they were buried.

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BUDDHISM, based on the teachings of Gautama Buddha*, is one of the great world faiths. There is nothing in the life of Buddha to indicate that he set out to 'reform' Hinduism, but some of the doctrines promulgated by him were contrary to many basic Hindu beliefs. Buddha was strongly opposed to religious ritual, to ceremonial worship and the sacrificial system, and condemned the whole idea of the caste system as false and wrong; and in this sense Buddhism may be regarded as a reaction against the pretensions of brāhminism and the authority of the Vedas.

Scholars prefer to call early Buddhism a system of morality or ethics rather than a religion. Primarily it is concerned with moral precepts by which it urges men to live, and cares little for the soul or man's relationship with God. Buddha's teachings are sometimes agnostic and often frankly atheistic. His moral code does not rest upon divine sanctions and he has nothing to say about heaven and hell. He was keenly aware of the shallowness of intellectualism and verbal 'profundity', of the immense stupidity of the clever, and often warned his disciples against 'the thickets of theorizing, the wilderness of theorizing, the tangle, bondage and shackles of theorizing'.

Buddha laid much stress on self-sufficiency, an attitude tersely summed up in the sermon he delivered during the rainy season at Belva, when he lay sick: 'Whoever now, or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, and shall betake themselves to no external sanctuary, and shall not look to anyone beside themselves, it is they who shall reach the very topmost height'.

Another cardinal teaching of Buddha, and one that was to be interpreted in its own way by the Mahāyāna school, was his doctrine concerning the *atta* (Pāli, for the Sanskrit *ātman*), the soul or ego. Buddha taught that the soul does not exist. In other words he postulated for man a condition of *anattā* (Sanskrit, anātman) or non-soulness. What is called the soul is in reality a physical and mental aggregate of five *anicca* (Sanskrit, anitya), evanescent or impermanent conditions called *khanda* (Sanskrit skandha), namely; (1) *rūpa*, form or the physical body, (2) *vedanā*, feelings, (3) *saṁjñā* (Pāli, *sanna*), idea or understanding, (4) *sankhāra*, (*saṁskāra*), will and (5) *vijñāna* (Pāli *vinnana*) or pure consciousness.

The human personality, this soul of many skandhas, was bound within a process that Buddha likened to a wheel which he called *Bhava-chakra*, 'Existence-wheel'. By this analogy he taught that the soul was only a name for the constituent elements of experience and was the result produced by a simultaneous manifestation of these elements.

The wheel of existence is comprised of a series of twelve *nidāna* or 'causes' in the chain of causation, which are likened to the spokes of the wheel of 'becoming'. The sequence varies in different accounts but is generally given as follows: (1) *avijjā* (Sk. *avidyā*), ignorance, (2) *sankhāra* (Sk. *saṁskāra*), disposition, tendency, or will, (3) *vijñāna*, consciousness or reason, (4) *nāma-rūpa*, name-and-form, (5) *shalāyatana* (Sk. *shaḍ-āyatana*) 'six-entrances', i.e. the five sense organs and the mind, (6) *phassa*, bond or contact; the result of the association of the senses with the object, (7) *vedanā*, feeling and sensation, (8) *tanhā* (or *tṛishnā*), desire, thirst, or craving for existence and

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experience, (9) *upādāna*, becoming, causing, or taking, (10) *bhāva*, existence, (11) *jāti*, birth, (12) *jāra-maraṇa*, old age and death.

The law of causality is fundamental to Buddhism in its earlier form, and it was only later mitigated by the Mahāyāna doctrine of faith. The cause-and-effect relation starts with avidyā (ignorance); ignorance generates desire, and from it proceed all the contamination and shackles of sense, bringing suffering and pain (*dukkha*) in their wake; even pleasure (*sukha*) is not free from pain. And so we keep the Wheel revolving and lay in a store of action that creates *karma* (Pāli, *kamma*) or action-and-reaction, leading to rebirth and successive existences, all inseparably bound up with misery. Existence or being is, in short, associated with the three conditions of dukkha (suffering), anicca (transience) and anattā (non-soulness).

The transmigration of the anattā from existence to existence is endless, and the hope of salvation lies in living in accordance with the precepts formulated by Buddha. For a proper appreciation of these doctrines certain basic truths have to be understood. These truths called the *Four Noble Truths* (chatvāri ārya satyāni) relate to suffering, its cause, and the method of release from suffering.

1. Suffering (*dukkha*) exists wherever there is life. In the words of Buddha in his famous Fire Sermon,

'All things, O bhikkus, are on fire—with the fire of passion and hatred, and infatuation, with birth, parting, sickness, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair; with all these are they on fire.'

2. The cause of suffering, leading to endless rebirths, is desire (*ichchhā*), craving (*tanhā*) and thirst (*tishna*). The thirst for things and for existence and experience, for immortality, for sensual pleasure, and worldly possession and power.

3. Release from pain can be achieved only by abandoning desire, by crushing individuality, and by non-attachment to the things of the world.

4. The last truth concerns the way out of this circle of suffering and rebirth. In the consideration of this problem two extremes must be avoided, namely, attachment to passion and worldly pleasure on the one hand, and the practice of self-mortification and asceticism on the other. This mean between the two extremes is called the Middle Path (Pāli, *Majjhimā Paṭipadā*; Sanskrit, *Madhyamā Pratipad*).

The chart to guide man along this path is embodied in a series of precepts called the *Eightfold Path* (Sk. *Ashṭāṅga-mārga*) (or the Eightfold Noble Path), which leads to wisdom, calmness, knowledge, enlightenment, and release. The eight rules to be adhered to are: (1) right views, (2) right aspirations, (3) right speech, (4) right conduct, (5) right livelihood*, (6) right effort, (7) right mindfulness, and (8) right meditation.

The true pilgrim of the Eightfold Path is led to sainthood and salvation. Right meditation, following upon the right adherence to the other rules leads 'beyond the sphere of thinking' into a realm where all shackles have been broken, all desires crushed, and perfect peace attained. The person achieving this state is called an *arhat* (Pāli *arhant* or *arahaṁ*) or saint, and his final beatitude so attained is the state called *nirvāṇa* (Pāli, *nibbāna*). The term

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nirvāṇa has been variously interpreted, and elaborately explained by Mahāyāna; it is Upanishadic in origin and means 'extinguished'. The attainment of nirvāṇa is held up as the chief object of Buddhism. It is expressed by such phrases as, 'the extinction of personality', 'the blowing out of the flame of self', 'the extinguishment of the fires of illusion', and so on. These fires, once extinguished, leave no residuum of personality or self for re-ignition.

Buddhism took practical form in society as the *Saṅgha* (Church or Assembly), a Buddhist order of monks and laymen. Its tenets, which constitute the *Dharma* (Law), were enshrined in the various Buddhist scriptures. Buddha himself was honoured as the chief of beings. Some time after his death a short formula was composed for the Buddhist discipline summarizing the whole Buddhist credo thus: 'I put my faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha'. This Buddhist credo is referred to as the *triratna*, 'three jewels'.

Buddhist scriptures contain numerous lists of precepts called *śīla*, or 'conduct' rules, which lay down the goals to be pursued and those to be avoided. There were actually dozens of such rules, different lists being given for laymen, laywomen, monks, nuns, and for those aspiring to arhathood. Even the briefest list, the *pañchaśīla*, 'five commandments', is not uniform in all the texts. Some lists give as many as ten to twelve commandments, with many lesser commandments subsumed under them. In general the śīlas prohibit the destruction of life, and the causing of pain or injury. *Ahiṁsā** or non-injury is fundamental to Buddhism. Also condemned are theft, falsehood, drunkenness, sexual immorality, rich foods, attending dance performances, listening to profane singing and music, wearing ornaments, accepting gifts of gold and silver, using perfumes and unguents, using high couches and seats, eating at irregular hours, and day-dreaming about forbidden things. Some śīlas prohibit magic, prophecy, astrology, ritual and worship in any form.

The influence of the Buddhist religion on Hinduism has been profound and permanent. It was from the Buddhists that the Hindus acquired their respect for animal life and the notion of ahiṁsā or non-injury. The earliest hospitals for men as well as for animals were Buddhist establishments. The prohibition against eating meat is not Vedic in origin, but Buddhist, and it would seem that it was only in order to compare favourably with a rival religion that the Hindus abandoned meat-eating and the drinking of intoxicating liquors (I, p. 117).

Again, without any apparent show of indebtedness to an alien and unorthodox creed, Hinduism took over the idea of the āśramas from the monachal system of the Buddhists. Although solitary monks and ascetics were common in ancient Hinduism, the monastic establishments of subsequent times appear to have been founded by the Hindus in an effort to provide a system comparable with that of the Buddhists, and to divert through the brāhminical mill all those high-minded individuals who, under Buddhist influence, held mercy above sacrifice, and wished to become monks and mendicants. For the benefit of such the theory of the four āśramas was formulated by the writers of the dharma-śāstras. No one who felt the urge to wander off into the solitudes and devote himself to contemplation had any

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need to renounce his faith or seek guidance from the Buddhists. It was an attempt to organize for the benefit of those who were moved by the lure of the Buddhist way of life, a similar system within the brāhminical sphere of influence.

From Buddhism, Hindu philosophy acquired a precise system of logical enquiry and intellectual analysis, and it was largely as a result of the stimulus given by Buddhist teaching that the brāhmins were able to strengthen their own defences at this time and counter the Buddhists who had repudiated the Vedas, vulgarized their caste monopolies, and branded them as quacks and charlatans. But the Buddhist advances were not only a challenge to the brāhmins for clearing away their intellectual cobwebs (VIII, p. 122), they also provided many an example for the reformation of their own religious ideals. Says Sarkar, 'The so-called high Hindu ethics and personal morality is very largely a Buddhist achievement; a lasting reform and refinement inherited by later forms of brāhminism'.

In the political, educational and cultural spheres the Hindu debt to Buddhism has been overwhelming. Many early political and administrative systems are traceable to Buddhist assemblies and their democratic meetings. India's three greatest kings before the Muslim period were the Buddhists, Aśoka, Kanishka, and Harsha. The first systematic historical* records in India were kept by Buddhists. India's two greatest universities, Taxila and Nālandā became famous as Buddhist centres of learning. In the field of literature, practically every regional language in India begins with Buddhist works. Likewise, the first noteworthy poems which show the full development of Classical Sanskrit 'are curiously enough not works by brāhminical writers but of a Buddhist, Aśvaghosha' (IX, p. 21). The art of the fabulist is Buddhist in origin. The first Sanskrit dramas are Buddhist.

Buddhist architecture flourished centuries before the earliest known Hindu temples were raised, and many Buddhist features were incorporated into the Hindu temples from Buddhist models. The earliest sculpture seen at Bhārhut, Sānchī, Bodh Gaya, Amarāvatī, and other places, is Buddhist. The most famous of the early paintings in the history of Indian art, are the Buddhist frescoes at Ajantā. Truly does Vivekānanda say that Buddhism was 'the fulfilment, the logical conclusion, and the logical development of the religion of the Hindus' (XVI, p. 19).

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BUDDHIST HISTORY. Shortly after the *parinirvāṇa*, 'total extinction', or death of Buddha (483 BC), it became necessary to formulate the teachings of the Blessed One, so the monks of the Saṅgha convened a council of the Order near Rājagṛiha at which, tradition relates, Kāśyapa recited the authentic text of the Abhidhamma, Upāli of the Vinaya, and Ānanda of the Sutta (*see* Buddhist scriptures). This **First Council** (*c.* 483 BC) took on the task of resolving the varying interpretations concerning what Buddha taught and meant. According to tradition the first Buddhist schism took place the day after Buddha's death. Within a year there were four contending factions. Ten years later there were six major and over seventy minor sects, and they continued to multiply year by year.

In 390 BC a **Second Council** was held at Vaiśālī, at which an orthodox minority declared heretic a majority of monks and their followers who were laxer in discipline. This was the beginning of the great split between the orthodox sect of the Sthavira, 'venerables', and the sect later known as the Mahāsaṅghika.

Buddhism received an enormous impetus from the conversion of Aśoka (295 BC) who made it the state religion and sent missionaries to all parts of India to spread the faith. During his reign a **Third Council,** the Council of Pāṭaliputra, was convened in 247 BC, presided over by Moggaliputta Tissa, and the Buddhist canon laid down, which was more or less identical with the Tripiṭaka of the Southern Buddhists. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon, it is recorded that Aśoka's son Mahinda (Mahendra) went as a missionary to Ceylon where he converted the king and his court to Buddhism. Mahinda was followed by his sister Saṅghamittā who arrived in 245 BC bringing over a body of nuns, along with a branch of the sacred Bo tree, which was planted at Anurādhapura, the capital of the island, where it is still said to exist, making it the oldest historical tree in the world.

The next landmark in the history of Buddhism dates from the reign of the Kushān king Kanishka, who was an active patron of Buddhism, especially in his encouragement of the Mahāyāna* form of the religion. In AD 120 he organized the last great Buddhist assembly, the **Fourth Council** held at the Kundalavana monastery in Kashmīr, under the presidency of the learned monks Vasumitra and Pārśva, which was attended by five hundred monks from all parts of India, and lasted for six months. The Council authorized the issue of a new set of scriptures in Sanskrit; proclaimed the divinity of Buddha; surrounded him with angelic hosts and sanctioned many popular superstitions. The records of the proceedings were engraved on sheets of red copper, enclosed in a stone receptacle and buried in a site still undiscovered. Under Kanishka's patronage Mahāyāna spread into Kashmīr, Khotan and Chinese Turkestan.

By the first century AD there were 18 major and 488 minor Buddhist sects. Practically nothing is known, not even the names, of the lesser splinter

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groups, and little enough for certain, beyond the names, of some of the 18 major groups. The traditions about them are 'contradictory and confused' (II, p. 119). Attempts to set down the doctrinal distinctions between the schools even on the main subjects of dispute, have taxed the best efforts of the best scholars.

There were two main branches that gained strength between the conversion of Aśoka and Kanishka's Council, chiefly as a result of the split which occurred during the Second Council. These were the Sthavira, later called *Hīnayāna*, and the Mahāsaṅghika, which evolved into *Mahāyāna*. In time each again subdivided into a number of smaller sects.

The Sthavira, 'Venerables', constituted the orthodox stem who regarded Buddha as a man, held firm to the letter of his teachings, which they interpreted in an ethical light. They referred to their own doctrine as *Theravāda* since it was formulated at the First Council by the thera, 'Elders', but they were later spoken of by their opponents as possessing the Hīnayāna, 'lesser vehicle', in contrast to the greater vehicle of Mahāyāna. The Hīnayānists are classified under two subdivisions: firstly the *Vaibhāshika* (fl. AD 100) who follow the Vibhāshā or Commentary on the Abhidharma. Chief of the Vaibhāshika sub-sects is the *Sarvāstivāda*, who are pluralistic realists, appealing only to experience and perception. Knowledge, they state, is a direct awareness of objects, since the constituents of phenomena are not wholly transitory but have a permanent existence in latent form. The outer material world is real in so far as it can be experienced. Buddha was an ordinary mortal possessed of extraordinary intuitive knowledge by means of which he attained nirvāṇa. Secondly, the *Sautrāntika* (fl. AD 200) who adhere to the Sūtra-piṭaka, and are so named because they teach the *aim* (*anta*) of the suttas. They admit the objective existence of the phenomenal world, but hold that man has no direct perception of it, his knowledge being a matter of inference. When a man sees a tree, he actually has an idea from which he infers that it is a tree. In general the Hīnayānists abide by the Pāli scriptures (the *Tipiṭaka*), remain conservative, hold no theory of God and worship no deity, revere but do not worship Buddha, insist that each man who has heard the Law is a *śrāvaka*, 'hearer', or lay disciple, and is responsible for working out his own salvation, and that everyone must strive to become an arhat. Hīnayāna Buddhism is found mainly in Ceylon, Thailand and Burma.

The second great branch of Buddhism was first known as the *Mahāsaṅghika*, who were the original dissenters and were so called because, after they had been declared heretical, they convened a *mahā-saṅgha*, 'great assembly', of their own. They were the progressives, who regarded Buddha as eternal, and gave his teachings an esoteric interpretation. It was from this sect that the Mahāyāna* doctrine developed, receiving a vital impetus in the reign of Kanishka during whose time it extended into Central Asia from where it later spread to China, Japan, Korea and Mongolia. Among its early exponents were Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghosha, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Much of the credit for the spread of Buddhism outside the borders of India is due to non-Indian Mahāyāna monks and scholars.

Many generations of zealous Buddhists travelled from the fruitful centres of Indian Buddhism to the kingdoms of Central Asia, to the courts of the

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Chinese monarchs, to South China, Tibet, Burma and the Indian archipelago, carrying with them precious relics and countless manuscripts which the various rulers, particularly the Chinese princes, desired should be translated from the Prākṛits and Sanskrit for the benefit of their people. The long routes they traversed were dotted with cells of Buddhist teaching that had sprung up in the heart of Asia (*see* China), and which exerted their influence on more than one Buddhist sect.

The names of numerous scholars whose peregrinations took them along these ancient routes are preserved, mainly in Chinese texts, but their identity is not always certain. Indian authorities have in most instances claimed them as their own, partly because they came from 'North India', an area whose population was at that time completely intermingled with Greeks, Persians, and Kushāns, and to which came students from all parts of India; and partly because they bore Indian names.

There can be no doubt that some of these scholars were actually Indians. Such were Paramārtha (fl. AD 545) who worked in South China and translated more than eighty texts; Subhakara (fl. AD 715), a Tantrik Buddhist who also translated diverse works into Chinese; Amogha-Vajra (fl. AD 720) the favourite of three Chinese emperors who made a form of Buddhist tantrism fashionable in court circles.

A great and as yet unassessed contribution was made to the diffusion of Asian cultures by these Mahāyāna converts, most of whom studied at the great centres of north-western India. This scholastic intercourse between India and the Far East was a direct corollary of Buddhist enterprise, for the traffic was first opened by enthusiastic missionaries eager to spread abroad the teachings of the Blessed One.

But many of these scholars, and some of the most eminent among them, were not racially Indian at all, although they bore Indian names. Professor P. K. Mukerji reminds us that 'the practice of assuming Hindu names was very common among Central Asian, Chinese, Korean and Japanese Buddhists'; and this convention was also widely adopted by other foreign converts to Buddhism. Thus one of Aśoka's missionaries who carried the teachings to Aparānta (Saurāshṭra) was the 'Yona' monk Dhammarakkhita, of Greek origin. Among the generous donors who helped to build the cave monasteries of western India there were Scythians (Śakas) such as Ṛishabhadatta, responsible for much of the work at Kārle and Kānheri.

The 'Indian' scholars who journeyed to China and Hinterindia included Lokottama (*c.* AD 148), probably the most renowned of the pioneer missionaries to China, whose Indianized name conceals the identity of an Arsacidan prince of Parthia, who renounced his kingdom and the world to become a Buddhist monk. He translated one hundred and seventy *sūtras* into Chinese and became the head of the school of translators at the famous Loyang monastery which was the focus of Indian thought and culture in China. There was also the monk Lokakshema (fl. AD 150) another great missionary and exponent of Mahāyāna, and translator of twenty-three works, who was a Śaka by birth. Dharma-raksha (290–370), the translator of over two hundred and ten major Buddhist works, including treatises by Aśvaghosha, was the master of thirty-six languages, a great traveller and the founder of a monastery in

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China with several thousand disciples. In spite of his Indian title he was not an Indian but a Getian Yueh-chi. Śrimitra (*c.* 350), the pioneer of Tantrik Buddhism in China, was also not an Indian, but a Kuchean prince who renounced his kingdom in favour of his younger brother to become a monk. Dharmānandi (*c.* 384), a prominent personality in Buddhism in his day and an authority on Sanskrit *āgama* literature (parallels but not translations of the Pāli *Nikāyas*), was a Tokharian by race. The greatest of all the translators was the Indo-Kuchean half-caste Kumārajīva* (d. 413) who rendered into Chinese more than a hundred Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Buddhaghosha (fl. 430) author of the *Visuddhi-magga* and other major Theravāda works is claimed as a native of Burma. The great Bodhidharma* (d. 535) who founded the Dhyāna school (which later evolved into Zen) was a Persian. Prajñāvarman (*c.* 670) the monk who visited Nālandā about AD 670 and left a description of the university, besides copying one 'back-load' of books, hailed from Korea. The monk Pañchasumati (*c.* 675) who travelled twice through Central Asia, translated several standard works into Chinese, met I-tsing at Nālandā, was a Chinese, native of Shansi. Similarly Prajñādeva (*c.* 675) who headed the monastic establishment of Bodhgaya was a Chinese, native of Chiang province. Śikshānanda (d. 710) made a fresh series of translations of the greater sūtras which were an improvement on some of the earlier ones. Such was the renown of this scholar that the Empress of the T'ang dynasty came in person to assist him so that her name might be linked with his in this signal undertaking. He was actually Hio-hi, a native of Khotan and a Śaka by race.

The above catalogue excludes a host of lesser luminaries in the field of Buddhist scholarship such as Saṅghavarman (*c.* 252) the Sogdian monk; Dharmasatya (*c.* 254) and Dharmabhadra (*c.* 258) both Parthians; Mokshala (*c.* 291) the Serindian; Kumārabodhi (*c.* 282) of Turfan in Central Asia; Āryavarman (*c.* 638) the Korean; Śālagupta (*c.* 670) and Chintadeva (*c.* 680) both Chinese; Mokshadeva (*c.* 680) a native of Cochin China; Buddhadharma (*c.* 680) of Tokhara; Saṅghavarman (*c.* 680) of Samarkand; Meghasikha (*c.* 705) a Chinese; Mitrasena (*c.* 721) a monk of Tokhara; Dharmadhātu (*c.* 751) a Chinese; Dharmapāla (*c.* 850) who settled in Conjeeveram, a Scythian; Mitrasena (*c.* 980) a Mongolian Turk; and Dharmakīrti (*c.* 980) a Tibetan scholar of Nālandā who translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan (VI & XII).

As a result of the labours of these missionaries Mahāyāna was firmly established throughout eastern Asia, but at the same time it gradually lost ground in India. By AD 700 Buddhism was being persecuted by the brāhmins, and when the Moslems invaded the country they did not have any difficulty in extinguishing the last faintly smouldering embers of Buddhism in India. Buddhists were annihilated, their monasteries burnt and their books destroyed. Today Buddhism is almost a foreign religion in the land of its birth. It is kept alive now as a time-honoured museum-piece, having long ago lost its vitality and its inspiration.

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BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. The canon of Buddhist sacred literature may be divided into two great classes: the Hīnayāna canon written chiefly in Pāli, and hence spoken of as the Pāli canon; and the Mahāyāna canon written chiefly in Sanskrit and widely translated into Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan and other Mongolian languages.

The Pāli canonical books consist of three parts collectively known as the *Tipiṭaka* 'three Caskets', which were reduced to writing between 350 BC and 90 BC. It is said that at the first Buddhist Council held at Rājagriha (483 BC), Upāli recited the authentic text of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the first section of the *Tipiṭaka*; then Ānanda recited the text of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the second section; and that Kāśyapa recited the third and last section, the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

1. The *Vinaya*, or *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*c.* 350 BC) comprises the Buddhist canon law. It contains the *Pātimokkha* or rules of monastic discipline for bhikkus, with a commentary on the rules. Supplementing this, the *Mahāvagga*, 'great section', lays down rules for admission to the monastic order, the mode of life during the rainy season, regulations on dress, the wearing of shoes, personal hygiene, medicine, etc. The *Chullavagga*, 'smaller section', contains edifying Buddhist stories, duties for monks and nuns, methods of settling disputes among monks, expiation and penances.

2. The *Sutta*, or *Sutta Piṭaka* (*c.* 300 BC) about which Rhys Davids says, 'In depth of philosophical insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted, in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, these discourses remind the reader of the dialogues of Plato'. This *piṭaka* consists of five *nikāya* or collections, of aphorisms, precepts and discourses for the laity. They are (i) the *Dīgha-nikāya*, a collection of long sermons dealing with points of doctrine and topics such as the origin of the universe, rebirth, asceticism, miracles, nirvāṇa, heresy, condemnation of caste, and an account of Buddha's last speeches and his death and the funeral ceremonies; the first two chapters of this collection give information about the entire religious life

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and thought of ancient India (ii) the *Majjhima-nikāya*, a collection of medium-sized suttas dealing with the relation of Buddha to the Jains and other religious systems of the day, various forms of asceticism, and a long enumeration of criminal and moral offences such as theft, robbery, adultery and the consequent punishments for them, (iii) the *Saṁyutta-nikāya*, discusses Buddhist doctrine, and includes riddles and aphorisms, ballads in mixed prose and verse and many sayings of Buddha, (iv) the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (or Ekottara-nikāya), a collection of sermons arranged in ascending numerical order, enumerating doctrines and principles; and lastly (v) the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, an anthology of smaller pieces, comprising fifteen books of miscellanea which are essential for an understanding of Buddhism. It also contains the confession of faith which, according to Hīnayānists is the best and briefest form of prayer: 'I put my faith in Buddha, *Dharma, Saṅgha*' (Buddha, the Law and the Church).

The principal texts of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* are often taken to include a few of the most extensive of the Pāli canonical writings. Chief of these are (*a*) the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, 'lesser readings', a book for young neophytes when they join the Order, (*b*) the *Dhammapada* (the Law-Path), the best known of the Buddhist canonical texts; it is a collection of over four hundred aphoristic verses garnered from the sayings of Buddha, (*c*) the *Udāna*, the solemn and ecstatic utterances of Buddha, each set in the framework of a narrative. One contains the world-famous story of the blind men who having felt an elephant, each touching a different part or limb, report their findings, each giving a different version: a ploughshare (said the one who had touched the trunk), a large pot (the one who had touched the body), a winnowing fan (the ear), a besom (the tail), a pillar (the leg); the truth was thus viewed from various aspects, as all truth must be viewed by imperfect beings; (*d*) the *Itivuttaka*, or Sayings of the Blessed One; contains much material similar to the Udāna. Its one hundred and twenty sayings touch upon some of the deepest problems of human existence; (*e*) the *Sutta-nipāta*, preserves many fragments of the oldest Buddhist poetry and affords much interesting information on the social and religious conditions in Buddhist India; (*f*) the *Jātaka** or stories of Buddha's former lives, which are among the most ancient fables in world literature; (*g*) the *Buddhavaṁsa* records legends in verse about the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Gautama in earlier times; (*h*) the *Theragāthā*, the songs of the Elders and (*i*) the *Therīgāthā*, the Songs of the Lady Elders, containing religious lyrical poetry of a high order.

3. The *Abhidhamma* or *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* deals with the same subjects as the *Sutta Piṭaka* but in a more scholastic manner. It consists of supplementary philosophical dissertations and expositions of the finer points of mind-training, psychology and dogma, mostly written in the form of a catechism. Of its seven books, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (350 BC) provides a good exposition of Buddhist philosophy, psychology and ethics; and the *Kathā-vatthu* (or *Vinñānapada*), ascribed to Moggaliputta Tissa, President of the Third Council, is valuable for the light it throws on the evolution of Buddhist dogma.

The next body of Buddhist scriptures was composed some time during the Bactrian Greek and the Kushān periods of Indian history, since these

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foreign principalities favoured the Mahāyāna form of the religion that had been evolving ever since the first Buddhist schism. A work dating from this period is the *Milindapañho** (*c.* 130 BC) which relates how the sage Nāgasena converts the Bactrian Greek king Menander (Milinda) to Buddhism. Another work, the *Mahāvastu* (*c.* 75 BC), 'Great Subject', presents some Hīnayāna doctrines but with much additional metaphysics of the Mahāsaṅghika (proto-Mahāyāna) sects. Buddha's legendary life is re-told in a series of his former births, as in the Jātakas, showing how he acquired the spiritual knowledge to become a Buddha. The Blessed One is portrayed as self-begotten, possessed of superhuman powers, and his spouse remains a virgin throughout her life. The *Lalitavistara* (30 BC) is an anonymous biography of Buddha written in the Gāthā (Sanskritized Prākṛit*) form of language. It was from this book that Edwin Arnold drew much of his material for his *Light of Asia*. It contains some Hīnayāna material, but is largely Mahāyānist.

In the early centuries of the present era the monks of the Theravāda school of Ceylon started compiling the traditions concerning the promulgation of Buddhism in their country, and this was finally set down in two important Pāli works: the *Dīpavaṁsa* (AD 350), 'Island Chronicle', of unknown authorship, which tells of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon by Mahinda son of Aśoka; and the *Mahāvaṁsa* (AD 550) composed by the monk Mahānāma and based on a lost work, which tells the same story in greater detail, giving the island's history up to AD 350.

The period between the second and sixth centuries AD is that of the Mahāyāna classics and the age of the great translations. The scriptures are presented in a series of dialogues, discourses and sermons, delivered by Buddha in what is called the *sūtra* (*Pāli, sutta*) form, and generally known as the Vaipulya Sūtras or 'expanded discourses'. They were early translated into Chinese, and from Chinese into Japanese, and Tibetan, and several sūtra works exist only in these versions, the originals being lost.

The task of codifying the Mahāyāna doctrines, and much original theorizing on the subject, is associated with such scholars as Nāgārjuna* (*c.* AD 100) founder of the Mādhyamika school and compiler of several Mahāyāna works; Aśvaghosha* (*c.* AD 100) author of the *Buddhacharita*, a poetic biography of Buddha, and alleged author of the *Śraddhotpāda* (The Awakening of Faith), a Mahāyāna classic, besides other notable works; and the brothers Asaṅga* (*c.* 500) and Vasubandhu (*c.* 500) founders of the Yogāchāra school, and authors of numerous Mahāyāna texts.

Of the many hundreds of sūtra works, the principal are cited below.

Prajña-pāramitā, a class name for a number of sūtras which deal especially with the notion of *śūnya** or nothingness. One must realise that 'all composite things are like a dream, a dewdrop, a bubble, a shadow, a phantasm, or a flash of lightning'. But beyond this illusory and impermanent world is a new world of freedom, which one can attain with the aid of *prajña* or intuitive and transcendental wisdom.

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (AD 250), 'The Lotus of the Good Law', also called the Lotus Sūtra, has been described as the Bible of half-Asia. It is of unknown authorship and is the most important of all the sūtras. It is a sermon delivered by a transfigured and glorified Buddha on the Gṛidharkūṭa mountain to an

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assembly of *bhikkhus, bodhisattvas, devas,* and other celestial beings and mortals. It teaches that only *upāya* or expediency caused Buddha to preach different doctrines to different people. His true teaching is one, and there is only one *yāna* or vehicle of salvation, although it may be drawn by different animals. Though the *Tathāgata* saves mankind by the use of different expedients, it is only through the one vehicle as set forth in the *Lotus Sūtra,* that salvation can come to all creatures. The Buddha of this Sūtra has been compared to the *Logos* of St. John.

Avataṁsaka, supposed to be the teaching conveyed by Buddha three weeks after his Enlightenment. Buddha himself remained silent but his disciples received his transcendental message. The main doctrine taught in this sūtra is that of 'interpenetration'; everything in the world being interpenetrated by everything else, and mutually conditioning and being conditioned. So Buddha, Mind, the Universe, and all beings are one and the same. The twenty-fifth chapter is interesting because it expounds the doctrine of *pariṇamana,* the 'transference' of merit, whereby one's merit can be turned over for the salvation of others. Thus the bodhisattvas are able to save men through the excess merit acquired by them.

Gandha-vyūha, is actually a part of the above *Avataṁsaka Sūtra,* but is often called a sūtra in its own right. It tells how Buddha while at Śrāvastī, in the grove of Jetavana, entered into a state of profound meditation and the whole grove became so wide that it was filled with a multitude of worlds, and the bodhisattvas with him became filled with compassion for all beings. Mañjuśrī left the assembly for the human world and, among other seekers after truth, he sent out the youth Sudhana, who was keen to learn, to over fifty persons, monks, nuns, a physician, a sailor, laymen and laywomen, and several children, who each in his or her own way taught the youth. At last Sudhana went to Samanta-bhadra who taught the aspirant to understand the ten vows of the bodhisattva, by means of which Sudhana was enabled to enter the spiritual world, and so attain the supreme Reality.

Other important sūtras are: the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha,* dealing with the subject of salvation through faith in Amitābha; the fragments of various texts, some of them Hīnayāna, known as the *Sūtra of Forty-two Chapters,* to which many Taoist and Mahāyānist ideas were added, widely used by Chinese and Japanese Mahāyānists; the *Vajrachhedika* or the Diamond Sūtra, a prajña-pāramitā text, which expounds the doctrine of śūnyatā and clarifies several other concepts central to Mahāyāna; the *Mahā-pari-nirvāṇa,* delivered by Buddha just as he was about to enter nirvāṇa; it asserts that all beings have the Buddha-nature and are destined for salvation; the *Laṅkāvatāra* (*c.* AD 400) said to have been composed by Vasubandhu, teaches the ultimate reality of Mind alone; the need for spiritual regeneration and a complete turning about of the mind to achieve deliverance; the *Suraṅgama* outlines the means of attaining enlightenment by concentration, meditation, and superconscious intuition. It contains an acute psychological analysis of perception, and discusses the methods of untying the 'knots' of sense-perception and acquiring 'transcendental sense organs'. It is written partly in the form of a dialogue between Buddha and the errant Ānanda who had been lured by the harlot Chitta (Reason).

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CALENDAR. In common with other time systems the Hindu calendar employs the unit of the day, with further units of the week, month, the seasons and the year. The term *pañchāṅga*, 'five limbs', used for the calendar or almanac also covers the studies connected with the shorter periods of time, and is so named since it traditionally treats of five subjects, namely, (1) solar days, (2) lunar days, (3) *nakshatras* or lunar asterisms (see below), (4) yoga, the lucky conjunctions of the planets, and (5) *karaṇa*, a special division of the day, of which there are eleven in all.

In theory each unit of time has two wings and is made up of a 'day-and-night' separated by twilight periods in between. The solar day is called *divasa*, and night *nakta* (or *rātri*). The day is preceded and succeeded by a period when day and night meet: the morning twilight or dawn called *saṁdhyā*, and the evening twilight or dusk, *saṁdhyāṁśa*. The unit of the day-and-night is known as *ahorātra*. An earlier expression for *ahorātra* was *rātriṁdivam* which occurs in Pāṇini and which probably preserves the ancient usage when days were reckoned from sunset.

The day when considered as part of the week was called a *vāra* and it seems that some peoples among the ancient Hindus had a five-day week, measured in terms of five nights (*pañcha-rātra*). The seven-day week (*saptāha*) was introduced from the ancient Phoenician or Chaldean system by the Hellenized peoples of north-west India, not earlier than the third century AD and was universally adopted from the Gupta period.

The days of the week were named after their presiding planets (*graha*) as in the Graeco-Roman system: *Ravivāra* from Ravi, the sun, was Sunday; *Somavāra* from Soma, the moon, was Monday; *Maṅgalavāra*, from Maṅgala, Mars, was Tuesday (the word is sometimes said to be derived from *maṅgala*, 'fortunate', so called to avoid bad luck, since the day was actually inaus-

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picious); *Budhavāra* from Budha or Mercury, Wednesday; *Bṛihaspativāra* (or Guruvāra) from Bṛihaspati (or Guru), Jupiter, Thursday; *Śukravāra* from Śukra or Venus, Friday; *Śanivāra* from Śani or Saturn, Saturday (regarded as most unlucky; a month containing five Saturdays is particularly inauspicious). To these grahas two more were added, namely, Rāhu* and Ketu, the ascending and descending nodes of the moon. It was believed that in the beginning of each yuga or aeon all the planets began their revolutions in line, and that they would return to the same position at the end of it.

With the solar calendar, Western astronomy also brought to India the signs of the zodiac. The solar months are named after these signs and are literal or near literal translations of their Greek equivalents (see table below). In solar reckoning the measure is the time taken by the sun to pass through the twelve houses or signs of the zodiac called *rāśi* ('scattering' or constellation), a journey which is completed in one *vatsara* or solar year.

The entry of the sun into each new zodiacal sign is called a *saṁkrānti*, 'incoming', which corresponds to the first day of the solar month. The makara saṁkrānti (winter solstice) being regarded as especially auspicious is celebrated with a popular festival*; the mesha saṁkrānti (vernal equinox) is also widely celebrated (*see* pole ceremonies).

The progress of the sun northwards from the winter to the summer solstice, i.e. from *Pausha* (December-January) to *Āshāḍha* (June-July) when the sun's warmth and length of days are increasing is known as the *uttarāyaṇa*, and represents the 'day' of the gods. It is regarded as an auspicious time, just as the *dakshiṇāyana* is inauspicious (*see* divination). The southward progress of the sun from the summer to the winter solstice, i.e. from Āshāḍha to Pausha is known as the *dakshiṇāyana*, and represents the 'night' of the gods, and the time when the spirits of the dead are awake. Thus one year of the gods lasts 360 terrestrial years.

There are six *ṛitu* or *seasons* in the Hindu calendar, each ṛitu comprising two months: (1) *Vasanta*, Spring (March and April); (2) *Grīshma*, Summer (May and June); (3) *Varsha*, Rains (July and August); in some areas the rainy season covers the four months from *Āshāḍha-śukla* tenth to *Kārttika-śukla* tenth (June-September) also called the *chatur-māsa*, 'four months', and is regarded as inauspicious; (4) *Śarad*, Autumn (September and October); (5) *Hemanta*, Winter (November and December); (6) *Śiśira*, Cool season, (January and February).

An earlier mode of reckoning appears to have been the lunar calendar, and it is this system which still remains the Hindu reckoning for religious purposes. A lunar year has 354 to 360 days, based on the lunar months. A lunar day is called a *tithi*, and 30 lunar days (or 29 and a fraction solar days) make one lunar month. The tithi might begin at any time of the solar day, but for practical purposes it commences at sunrise and is taken as prevailing through the whole day.

Just as the ecliptic is divided into 12 solar mansions (signs of the zodiac), so it is also divided into 27 (or 28) lunar mansions or asterisms, known as *nakshatra*. The nakshatra is a small cluster of stars lying in the 'path' of he moon. They are not all equal in size, some containing one star, some as many as six. The moon's sojourn in each nakshatra is a little in excess of one

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lunar day, so there is a short interposed interval called the *abhijit*, 'balance', between the 21st and 22nd nakshatra, which collects the month's daily excesses.

The sun journeys through the heavens in one year, passing through one *rāśi* and about 2¼ nakshatras each month. The moon journeys through the heavens in one month, travelling through a little over one nakshatra every solar day, and so becoming full in a different nakshatra every month. The names of the months used today are derived from the nakshatra in which the moon was full in the year the present luni-solar year was instituted.

The discrepancy between the solar and lunar months is solved by cumbrous and lengthy calculations. Certain days are intercalated, or even expunged when the solar and lunar calculations are being reconciled. Generally lunar names for the months are in more frequent use, but the solar names (from the zodiacal signs) are sometimes used.

The *māsa* or lunar month is divided into two fortnightly halves or *paksha* (wings) each consisting of fifteen tithi. The fifteen days following the *pūrṇimā-vāsya*, 'full-night', or the night of the full moon, is the dark half called *kṛishna-paksha* (or *badī*). The dark fortnight is said to be the day of activity for the *pitṛis* and the spirits of the dead. To this day men are fearful of dying in the dark half in case they are tormented by evil spirits. Except for festivals held in honour of Śiva practically no celebrations are held at this time.

The fortnight beginning with *ama-vāsya*, 'new-moon-night' (also called *bahulā-vāsya*, or *darśa-vāsya*) or the night of the new moon, is called the bright half, *śukla-paksha* (or *śudi*). Thus the date '*Māgha-śudi* 5', is the fifth day from the new moon of the month of Māgha. The fifteen days following the new moon are the night of sleep for the pitṛis or forefathers. When the moon is on its fifteenth day it is called *Anumati* and worshipped as a goddess.

In some parts of India the lunar month begins on the day following the new moon; this is known as the *amānta* system current in South India, Bengal and Mahārāshṭra. In North India and Teliṅgana, the *pūrṇimānta* system is followed, the month starting on the day after the full moon.

The table below shows roughly the relation of solar and lunar months to the nakshatra. The year begins with the new moon of Chaitra (mid-March) which immediately precedes the sun's entry into Mesha, and which takes its name from the fourteenth nakshatra, Chitrā. (In some places in North India the year begins in Kārttika (mid-October).)

	Solar month	*Equivalent zodiacal house*	*Lunar month*	*Equivalent Western month*	*Nakshatra or Lunar asterism*
1.	Mesha (Ram)	Aries	Chaitra	Mar-Apr	14th Chitrā 15th Svāti
2.	Vrishabha (Bull)	Taurus	Vaiśākha	Apr-May	16th Viśākhā 17th Anurādhā
3.	Mithuna (Twins)	Gemini	Jyeshṭha	May-Jun	18th Jyeshṭhā 19th Mūla
4.	Karka (Crab)	Cancer	Āshāḍha	Jun-Jul	20th Pūrva Āshāḍhā 21st Uttara Āshāḍhā & Abhijit, 'Balance'

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5.	Siṁha (Lion)	Leo	Śrāvaṇa	Jul-Aug	Abhijit 22nd Śravaṇā 23rd Dhanishṭhā
6.	Kanyā (Virgin)	Virgo	Bhādrapada	Aug-Sep	24th Śatatārakā 25th Pūrvabhādrapadā 26th Uttarabhādrapadā
7.	Tulā (Balance)	Libra	Āśvina	Sep-Oct	27th Revatī 1st Aśvinī 2nd Bharaṇī
8.	Vṛiśchika (Scorpion)	Scorpio	Kārttika	Oct-Nov	3rd Kṛittikā 4th Rohiṇī
9.	Dhanu (Bow)	Sagittarius	Mārgaśīrsha	Nov-Dec	5th Mṛigaśiras 6th Ārdrā
10.	Makara (Sea-monster)	Capricorn	Pausha	Dec-Jan	7th Punarvasu 8th Pushya
11.	Kumbha (Pitcher)	Aquarius	Māgha	Jan-Feb	9th Aśleshā 10th Maghā
12.	Mīna (Fish)	Pisces	Phālguna	Feb-Mar	11th Pūrva Phalgunī 12th Uttara Phalgunī 13th Hasta

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(*See also under* Time and Mathematics.)

CANONS OF PROPORTION. The term *gaṇyamāna* (*gaṇya-māna*, 'reckoned measurement') was used originally for the proportions of an architectural structure, especially with relation to its height. Subsequently it was applied to the canons of proportion in all constructed objects, whether buildings, columns, or images. The concept of gaṇyamāna seems to have been a foreign one. The compilation of the early *śilpa śāstras* dealing with the subject dates from Kushān times; while the *Mānasāra** which gives much detailed information owes a great deal to the Western canons.

The fundamental categories to be considered in establishing the proportion to be used are (1) the five *pātra* or objectives, (2) the six *varga* or component parts of a constructed object, (3) the kind of *māna* or measure used, and (4) the *aya* or 'movement' of the constructed object, which is virtually the dynamic aspect of gaṇyamāna.

Five basic *pātra* or objectives, are recognized in gaṇyamāna, which indicate their general purpose, namely, (1) *śāntika*, 'peaceful', which creates an aesthetically graceful effect and a feeling of calm and contentment. The formula in architecture is that height should equal breadth; in sculpture the subject should suggest contemplation and repose, e.g. the buildings of Brahmā-loka, and the Buddha statues; (2) *paushṭika*, 'perfect', giving a feeling of stability and assurance. In buildings the height should be $1\frac{1}{4}$ times the breadth. In sculptures the figure should have both feet firmly on the ground; (3) *jayada*, 'joyous', giving a feeling of pleasantness. In buildings the height should equal $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the breadth, e.g. the buildings of Nāga-loka. In scultpure the figures should be with the weight on one foot more than the other; (4) *dhanada*,

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'wealth giving', creating the impression of strength and affluence. In buildings the height should be $1\frac{3}{4}$ times the breadth; in sculpture it is found in seated figures of kings and conquerors; (5) *adbhuta*, 'marvellous', creates an impression of majesty and loftiness. In buildings the height should be twice the breadth; in sculpture, the warrior.

The main components that fix the proportions of a building, a column or an idol are known as the *shaḍvarga* (*shaḍ-varga*, 'six categories'). Separate proportions were allotted to these categories, and according to the *Mānasāra* all structures had to conform to them: (1) *adhishṭhāna*, 'foundation', the base of a statue or building, the feet or ankles of an idol; (2) *stambha*, 'column', the body or height of a building, and the legs and hips of an idol; (3) *prastara*, the entablature of a building, and the chest and shoulders of an idol; (4) *karṇa*, 'ear', any side structure in a building, the arms and sex organs of an idol; (5) *śikhara* or roof of a building, and the neck and rear of the idol's head; (6) *stūpi*, the dome of a building, the face of an idol.

In measuring a man for sculpture, a house for building, or other object for reproduction, the various types of *māna* or measure to be used were also considered. These were (1) *māna*, the height of a structure, taken over its surface including any curves or depressions that come in the way of the measuring instrument; (2) *pramāṇa*, the measurement of breadth; (3) *parimāṇa*, the measurement of width or circumference; (4) *lamba-māna*, the measurement along the plumb-line, i.e. the exact height (cf. māna); (5) *unmāna*, the measurement of thickness or diameter; (6) *upamāna*, the measurement of interspace, e.g. between the two separated feet of an image, or from the top of the śikhara of a sanctuary to the top of the maṇḍapa.

In sculpture the proportions were first fixed by the *tala* system. In lineal measurement the tala is the 'flat' of the hand, i.e. the palm, which in *tala-māna*, 'tala-measurement', is said to be equivalent to the length of the face. Taking the tala or length of the face as the norm, the ideal figure in iconometry was so many times the face-length of the subject to be represented. Thus for men the *ashṭa-tala* (eight-tala) norm was used, for goddesses the *nava-tala* (nine-tala), and for the minor gods the *daśa-tala* (ten-tala). The generally accepted tala measurements for the various beings were as follows:

12 *asuras, daityas, dānavas*
11 major gods
10 minor gods
9 goddesses and ṛishis
8 men
7 women and *yakshas*
6 tigers and lions
5 Gaṇeśa
4 goblins
3 *kinnaras* (horse-headed bird beings)
2 birds, fish and rats
1 images of *kabandhas* and other ogres.

In each of the tala norms more precise proportions were worked out by a complicated system dividing the whole body into 124, 120, 116, 112, 108,

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96, 84 or other number of equal parts, and allotting the desired proportions to the figure. Thus in one variant of the nine-tala system used for minor gods, goddesses and sages, the entire length of the body was divided into 108 equal parts, and proportions given to the various parts right down to the smallest member. Thus the head might be allotted 3 parts, the neck 3, knee 3, chest 12, thigh 24, and so on.

The basic proportions were first determined from the crown of the head to the tip of the nose; from the tip of the nose to the point of the chin; from the point of the chin to the hollow of the neck; from the neck to the nipple line; from the nipple line to the navel; from navel to sex organ; from sex organ to knee; from knee to ankle; from ankle to podium.

There are various lesser systems within this system based on the measure of the aṅgula (finger), giving the exact proportions of the lesser bodily members: the length of each finger separately, when bent or extended; of the ear, ear lobe; length and breadth of the eyebrow, of upper and lower lip; length of nose and nostril; of the eye; of the depth of fat on the female abdomen; the size of the navel; of the female 'triangle'; the size of the male member; the length and breadth of the scrotum; buttocks (male and female); distance between breasts; dimensions of breast and size of nipple. Hindu sculptors did not work from life but applied such predetermined anatomical rules and formulas. It was this system of proportions that to a large extent stereotyped the iconographic figures of the various schools.

Closely associated with the shaḍvarga was the obscure concept of the *aya*, 'course', or dynamic principle, determined by a series of seven formulas which were believed to establish the 'internal' or esoteric vitality of a building, column or idol. The aya formulas actually varied considerably from authority to authority and their interpretation was also subject to the preconceived beliefs of the schools in question. One such aya scheme is given below:

āya, 'excess', for which the formula is $\frac{\text{length} \times 8}{12}$

vyaya, 'loss': $\frac{\text{breadth} \times 9}{10}$

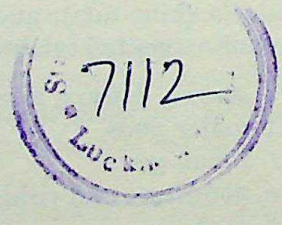
ṛiksha, 'bear' or 'monkey': $\frac{\text{length} \times 8}{27}$

yoni, 'womb': $\frac{\text{breadth} \times 3}{8}$

vāra, 'water' or 'treasure': $\frac{\text{circumference} \times 9}{7}$

tithi, 'lunar day': $\frac{\text{height} \times 9}{30}$

aṁśa, 'fragment': $\frac{\text{height} \times 4}{9}$



Other formulas were also worked out and allowed to be used if they conformed to the esoteric requirements of the given proportions. All length was tested by āya and ṛiksha; breadth by vyaya and yoni; and height by

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vāra, tithi and aṁśa. One variation of āya is: 'Take the length of the house, square it, multiply the sum by eight, divide the product by twelve, the remainder is the āya.'

The aya was endowed with certain powers and it was believed that a formula if properly worked out would bring good luck. These formulas were not easy to grasp, and were often abstract, inconsistent and fanciful. It was possible that even a correct formula might not be properly carried out in practice with the result that the building or idol would bring misfortune. A proper formula for a 'wealth-giving' house, correctly built according to that formula was supposed to bring immense and unceasing wealth to owner and occupant. Subsequent alterations or improvements might upset the proportions and bring misfortune, so lucky houses or images should not be tampered with. The texts declare that defects in the proportions of public buildings or of images cause famine and revolution; if well made they bring prosperity to the realm.

Auguries were often worked from formulas, e.g. if no remainder is left in a chosen formula of aya, religious merit is increased. All remainders or excesses after working out the formula may be compared with the other components of the formula to give information such as how long the house or image will stand, how long the owner will live; the caste for whom the building is suitable; the days of the week or hours of the day when good or evil influences will operate on the house or image. It is good if the āya be equal to the vyaya. Excesses from tithi and aṁśa cause the house to be haunted and the image to become possessed of an evil spirit. Excess from yoni and tithi cause madness.

So powerful are the esoteric effects of these calculations that a correctly worked out formula for more than two aya was believed to ensure success, even if the building was not erected or the statue not made. The correct relationship of all the seven ayas is not known even to the gods.

Books

See under Architecture.

CASTE, a term derived from the Portuguese word *casta* (breed, race, kind) and today employed to define a concept of Hinduism for which several indigenous words are current but no specific word exists. Caste is an endemic feature of Hindu life and, as it is known in India, is an exclusively Indian phenomenon. It has so effectively pervaded all strata of Indian society that it is found among Muslims (e.g. the Musali, a convert from a low-caste group who carries the taint of his origin even after embracing Islam), Sikhs (e.g. Mazhabi Sikhs who do not have full equality with other Sikhs) and even Christians (especially among Catholics, who do not admit low-caste converts to a status of equality with high-caste converts).

According to legend all the people of the world were of one caste during the first Age or Kṛita yuga (*see* aeon). This caste was called the *Haṁsa*. But through successive Ages separate castes came into existence owing to the progressive degeneration and immorality of mankind. Remnants of the original caste, belonging to the first yuga are found among the brāhmins; those of the

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second age or Treta yuga among the kshattriyas; those of the third age or Dvāpara yuga among the vaiśyas. The present age, the Kali yuga has produced the śūdras and the still lower castes.

The origin of caste according to the brāhminical theory is given in the twelfth verse of the nineteenth hymn in *Maṇḍala* X of the *Ṛig-veda*. This hymn, known as the *Purusha-sūkta*, says, 'The brāhmin was his (Purusha's) mouth, the rājanya (kshattriya) his arms, the vaiśya his thighs and the śūdra his feet'. This slight allegory was embellished by the brāhmin paṇḍits, commented upon with profound learning, and taken to the national bosom as a divine injunction for such a subordination of one class by another, as can find no parallel in the history of any other nation on earth. And this perverse interpretation of the Purusha-sūkta is rendered all the more pernicious by the fact that there is evidence to show that the verse in question is probably an interpolation and a forgery*.

The lawgiver Manu* who codified the rules governing the conduct, duties and interrelations of the various castes, perpetuated and established the notion so firmly in Hinduism that he is often regarded as the founder of the institution of the *chātur-varṇa*, or 'four castes'. That this rigid four-fold division ever existed outside the lawbooks is disputed by many authorities (VIII, p. 19).

The first three castes, brāhmins, kshattriyas and vaiśyas are known as *dvija* (*dvi-ja*, 'twice-born') because they undergo a second, spiritual birth during investiture with the sacred thread. The fourth caste, the śūdras*, and the huge class of outcastes known as the *pañchamas** are called once born and are not eligible for the thread* or other initiation ceremonies.

There are several theories concerning the origin of caste. Since one Sanskrit word for caste is *varṇa*, 'colour', it is argued that the main castes were originally distinguished on the basis of complexion. The Aryan had one obvious criterion that enabled him to differentiate himself from the native Indian, the colour of his skin. He was a white man and proud of it (VII, p. 14). Patañjali declared that blond hair was one of the essential attributes of a brāhmin. But this attribute was becoming rare. Indeed, it is doubtful if Patañjali would have found many blond brāhmins in his own day, for even the *Ṛig-veda* bemoaned the marriage of 'black' and 'white', which already by the *Mahābhārata* period had made the castes outwardly indistinguishable. Rāma and Kṛishṇa were both dark. Arjuna's colour is given as white or dark. Mādrī wife of Pāṇḍu was dark. Draupadī for all her fatal beauty was described as 'exceedingly dark'. Dark-skinned also were the sages Kaṇva, Dīrghatamas, Vyāsa, and other ṛishis without number.

A second indigenous word for caste is *jāt*, derived from the Sanskrit *jāta*, meaning race, a fact that has led some scholars to posit a racial or tribal origin for castes, according to which the Aryan priests, warriors, and traders formed the brāhmins, kshattriyas and vaiśyas; the slave components of the Aryan camps were the śūdras, while the aboriginal and uncivilized tribes constituted the outcaste pañchama classes. In fact, however, the caste scheme embraced the priests, warriors, merchants and slaves of all the various nations that entered India, and it is known that many racial components have gone into the making even of the brāhmins. Priests of all races and tribes

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were assimilated as brāhmins, and the warriors as kshattriyas. The ṛishis*, supposedly brāhmins, came from all grades and peoples, including non-Aryans, Dravidians and outcastes. Successful aboriginal or barbarian chieftains were frequently provided with suitable genealogical pedigrees and accepted as caste Hindus.

Religious belief, cult practice and sectarian traditions may also have given rise to caste division. Even when a sect is established on the basis of casteless-ness it thereby forms a separate caste within the Hindu framework. Such were the Liṅgāyat followers of Basava, the followers of Kabīr, Dādu and other reformers. Invariably, sub-castes are formed within these sects, depending on the original caste status of new converts, or on the status of older members within the sect.

Numerous castes have their own theories of their origin. Some derive their descent from legendary association with rivers, pools, hills, trees and sacred grasses. The illicit liaisons of rural deities have formed still other castes. One caste traces its origin to the droppings of a cow with whom Śiva had copulated *in ano* (*see* Gorakhnāth). The Kammālan caste claims descent from the divine artisan Viśvakarman, and is made up of from five to nine occupational sub-castes such as goldsmiths, carpenters, stonemasons, and so forth. The Kumbi, a kshattriya* cultivator caste of Gujarāt, known to anthropologists for their curious system of child-marriage*, claims to have been created from the perspiration that formed at the waist of the goddess Pārvatī; another caste, the Pokunātivaru, from the menstrual cloth discarded by the same goddess.

Many castes were formed and named after the profession or trade followed by their members. Such occupational castes provided opportunities for specialization in particular crafts or types of work. Hereditary occupations facilitated the transmission of trade secrets and techniques, at the same time ensuring the continuance of monopolies and perquisites earned by them in the past. In a few cases castes of common occupation living in a single area formed guilds (*śreṇi*) of traders, artisans or craftsmen; or corporations (*pūga*) whose members joined forces to obtain their demands from the society in which they lived. In most cases the members of different occupational classes regarded themselves as distinct from one another, forming rival groups, and did not mix socially. Some occupations were regarded as superior to others and caste observances developed amongst them. Thus the *sonār* (goldsmith) was superior to the *sutār* (carpenter); the *sutār* superior to the *goāla* (milk-man), and he to the *teli* (oil merchant). The *lohār* (ironsmith), *māli* (gardener), *dhobi* (washerman), *mūchi* (cobbler) and others formed their own separate castes.

Among these castes various adventitious sub-castes were easily formed. Thus the oil-pressers of Bengal were all of one caste until a new device for pressing oil was introduced. The innovators were condemned by the traditionalists and relegated to a lower category, with whom interdining and intermarriage were forbidden. So, identical occupational castes may differ because one group wears a pugree (turban) on the head in the usual fashion, while the other uses the turban as a cummerbund or waistband.

There are about 3,000 castes in India, and over 25,000 subcastes, some with millions of members, others with a few hundred. They emerged from the clash

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of races and cultures; were gradually built up and strengthened through the prejudices of the conquerors or the privileges assumed by the dominant race, often as a result of deliberate economic and social policy. Caste rules formulated on these grounds and drawing added strength from existing totems, taboos and traditions, now govern all aspects of a Hindu's life: birth, marriage, inheritance, possession and dispossession, eating, drinking, voiding, dressing, playing and fighting, privileges and livelihood, ceremonial and worship, rewards and punishments, death, burial, burning, after-death, karma and reincarnation.

The basic provisions governing caste relations were laid down by Manu who legislated in particular for the four principal castes. The twice-born were permitted to study the Vedas, and to perform the Vedic sacrifices and were expected to progress through the four *āśramas** or stages of the orthodox Hindu's life. The śūdras (and other lower castes) could not study the Vedas or perform sacrifices. The four castes were not allowed to associate socially or to intermarry, and had to restrict all their activities to the duties specifically allotted to each. Thus, a low-caste man could not perform a religious rite, and the story is told that the virtuous Rāma* slew the śūdra Śambūka for being over-zealous in his devotions.

Strictly speaking the castes still cannot associate socially. Commensality, or to use a popular neologism, *interdining*, is completely prohibited. If by chance an orthodox Hindu of the higher caste does eat the food prepared by or touched by a man of lower caste, or even eats in his presence, he is obliged to take a purificatory bath afterwards. *Intermarriage* in any case is out of the question for one invites immediate ostracism and social degradation.

Each caste is essentially autonomous, making its own rules and enforcing them through caste councils. The caste system is so tenacious that even the untouchables recognize untouchability amongst themselves, and one class of untouchables will not touch the class beneath them in the social scale; they resent being classified with them and will not sit with them at conferences.

Each caste or subcaste thus forms a closed system within itself, contact with other castes often being regarded as contaminating. Where the pressure of circumstances is overriding strange compromises ensue. In a village with a single well, caste Hindus may use one side and outcastes the other. Periodically cow's urine will be poured into the water to purify it. In places where contact is unavoidable a precise system of permissible association, including scales of 'distance pollution', is sometimes worked out for the various castes. In Malabār for instance, the Pulayan (pañchama* cultivator) must not come nearer than 96 paces to a brāhmin, and cannot approach close even to the Pānan (basket-weaver caste) .The Pānan must stay 40 paces away from a brāhmin and 15 from a Nāir*; he may approach but not touch a Tiyan (toddy-tapper). The Tiyan must remain 36 paces from a brāhmin and 12 from a Nāir. A Nāir may approach but not touch a Nambūdri brāhmin.

Not infrequently this works in reverse, since many lower castes do not tolerate the presence of a brāhmin. A member of one of the hunting tribes of Malabār, the Kurichchhan, ceremonially purifies his house after the departure of a brāhmin visitor since the presence of a brāhmin is believed to cause pollution. The Kanarese Holeya, outcaste field-labourers, slipper and merci-

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lessly beat any brāhmin who chances to enter their quarters. The related pañchama caste of the Paraiyan have been known to beat brāhmins for the same reason, as the presence of the brāhmin contaminates their dwellings.

Caste distinctions are made in many spheres of social observance. The brāhmin begins his religious studies at the age of eight, the kshattriya at eleven, the vaiśya at twelve. Ritual incantations, according to the lawgivers, should be prosodically fixed, with verses composed in the 8-syllable gāyatrī metre for brāhmins, the 11-syllable trishṭubh metre for kshattriyas, and the 12-syllable jagatī metre for vaiśyas. Caste initiation for the brāhmin takes place in spring, for the kshattriya in summer and for the vaiśya in autumn. The śūdra is barred from study, has no religious incantation and cannot be initiated. The sacred thread of the brāhmin is made of muñja grass, of the kshattriya of a bow-string, and of the vaiśya of hemp or wool.

The chief festival* of the brāhmin is the Śrāvaṇī Pūrṇimā, of the kshattriya the Vijaya-daśamī (the last day of Navarātri), of the vaiśya the Dīpāvalī, of the śūdra, Holi. Modes of salutation also varied: a brāhmin saluted by stretching forward his right hand on a level with his ear; a kshattriya holding it level with his breast; a vaiśya on a level with his waist; while a śūdra bows low and stretches forward his joined hands. An old text states that the brāhmin is to be addressed as *Ehi*, the kshattriya as *Adrava* and the vaiśya as *Agahi*. The śūdra may be called by any loud sound.

A brāhmin is permitted to take a wife from any of the four castes, the kshattriya from three, the vaiśya from two and the śūdra from one only, namely, his own. The colours associated with the castes are white for the brāhmin, red for the kshattriya, yellow for the vaiśya and black for the śūdra. In interior decoration and personal adornment and dress these colours should predominate for the respective castes. Caste Hindus may build houses of two stories and carry an umbrella; outcastes even if rich had no right to build a house of two stories or to use an umbrella. Brāhmins may use gold or silver ornaments; kshattriyas gold and silver of inferior quality; vaiśyas brass; and śūdras iron. Śūdras wearing prohibited ornaments could be beaten for their presumption.

Any one of the lower castes killing a brāhmin could be tortured to death and his property confiscated, and his soul was eternally damned. A brāhmin who killed anyone could only be fined and never punished with death. In the event of one brāhmin killing another brāhmin he could be fined and imprisoned and his property confiscated, but in no case could the death penalty be imposed, however heinous the crime. To expiate the sin of killing a kshattriya a brāhmin had to pay a fine of one thousand cows; for killing a vaiśya, one hundred cows; and for a śūdra, ten cows. The last was not obligatory, for the killing of a śūdra by a brāhmin entailed no sin since it was equivalent to the killing of a cat, frog, lizard, owl or crow. One text says that a śūdra could be killed at will.

The sliding scale for abuses was also significant. If a kshattriya abused a brāhmin he had to pay one hundred kārshāpaṇas; if a brāhmin abused a kshattriya he paid fifty kārshāpaṇas. The brāhmin was also to pay twenty-five kārshāpaṇas for abusing a vaiśya, but, says the Gautama Dharmasūtra, he may abuse a śūdra with impunity. It is to be noted that many of the

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distinctions listed above were valid only during the brāhminical dispensation, and are now obsolete and have been so for many years.

In spite of their rigidity, caste barriers were not regarded as absolutely insurmountable, and in certain circumstances it was possible for a man of one caste to move to a higher or lower caste by merit or defame. Legend relates that Viśvāmitra, Gṛitsamada, Dhruva and Vītahavya the Haihaya king, who were kshattriyas became brāhmins. According to the Purāṇas the two sons of the vaiśya Nābhāgarishṭa were also admitted to brāhmin status.

Even śūdras have become brāhmins, such as the Pokhar-sevaka brāhmins of Rājputāna, and the Vyāsokta brāhmins of Bengal, the latter reputed to have been raised to brāhminhood by the ṛishi Vyāsa, who was himself the son of a fisherman's daughter. According to the lawgivers a brāhmin can emerge from a kshattriya line if a kshattriya marries a brāhmin girl and his male descendants for seven generations also marry pure brāhmin wives. The descendants thereafter are to be regarded as legitimate brāhmins.

A story is told in the *Mahābhārata* how Kāyavya, the son of an outcaste Nishāda woman by a barbarian, rose to the dignity of the first caste through his virtue and piety. The legend of Mataṅga* indicates how a man, claiming to be a brāhmin was shown to be the son of a low-caste barber. The *Rāmāyaṇa* relates that the low caste woman, Śarvarī, a devotee of Rāma longed to behold him face to face. When she finally saw him during his exile in the Daṇḍaka forest she fell at his feet in reverent homage. For her devotion Rāma raised her to high caste. Her ambition thus accomplished she returned home and burnt herself on a funeral pile.

The demarcation between the castes was often overstepped when occasion offered, and sometimes one had only to move to another locality and claim a higher caste, a metamorphosis easily achieved when a villager migrated to the town. Many lower castes thus simply claim to be kshattriyas. Aboriginal kings were often given fictitious pedigrees by their brāhmin priests and placed within the Hindu caste structure as vaiśyas, kshattriyas and even brāhmins. Today the kāyasthas* are assigned by different authorities to all the four castes. A modern Hindu student of caste matters averred that if the Moghuls or the British had no organized priesthood of their own and had been prepared to accept brāhmins as their spiritual preceptors, 'they could have formed one of the kshattriya* castes'.

New castes are being constantly formed. Local rājas presiding over caste councils have the power to raise or lower castes. Muslim rulers and their British successors inherited the right to decide on Hindu caste matters and their decisions were unequivocally accepted by the persons affected, as part of the caste tradition. Castes on whom the Moghuls and British have bestowed their prestige are as proud of their status as though delivered by holy writ.

Caste status could be lost with equal facility. According to one theory the Vrātyas* were an Aryan tribe who had been degraded to non-Aryan status for the non-observance of religious rites. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of how the brāhmin Jājali, having acquired certain powers by asceticism, became arrogant and was warned in a vision that he would be degraded if he did not change his ways, and that he was in fact of lesser account than the vaiśya trader Tulādhāra, whom he despised. Humbled by this revelation

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he went to Tulādhāra and learned wisdom at his feet. Many castes have been debased because of failure to observe caste practices. Thus the Orissan caste of the Chhatarkhai is formed from the descendants of Hindus who were outcasted for having taken food at relief kitchens (*chhattra*) during the famine of 1886. Some lost their status because of association with foreigners. The Pirāli brāhmins, to which caste the Tagore family belonged, became sequestered from the Rārhi brāhmins as a consequence of having savoured Muslim meat. Gāndhi, like many other prominent Hindus, was excommunicated from his caste after his return from England for having crossed the polluting *kālāpāni*, 'black waters'.

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CASTE MARKS. The *tilaka*, 'mole', also called the *ṭīkā*, 'spot', is a mark made on the forehead, arms, or chest, with red, yellow or white pigment, with *sindūra* (red lead), sandal-wood paste or ashes, to designate one's caste. The practice of making marks on the body may have originated from the marks (*lakshaṇa*) branded on the forehead, ears, cheeks, or rump of cattle from Vedic times to distinguish ownership. The clipping or slitting of the ears* of cattle was also commonly employed for the same purpose.

Among the early cattle brands, some of which were known in Pāṇini's time and are mentioned by him, were: the *ashṭa* or 'eight' sign, and the *pañcha* or 'five' sign, usually branded on the ear. Presumably these were the ancient numerals eight and five, but what the actual signs were is not known. Other marks were descriptively spoken of as *bāṇa*, 'arrow', an upright line with a head; *mithuna*, two bāṇas side by side; *plīhā*, 'spleen', a mark resembling the figure eight lying on its side; *kuṇḍala* or ring; *svastika*, a hooked cross; *aṅgula*, a 'finger' mark, a now forgotten sign; *sruva*, 'ladle', a circle with a line projecting from it, said to have been made by heating a ladle red hot and stamping it on the hide.

Up to the early Buddhist period women were sometimes marked on the shoulders with scars made by branding, although what the purpose of such marks might have been is not known. The fact that these scars were only made on married women would suggest ownership by their husbands. Tattooing was common in Patañjali's time, and high class ladies often had a star tattooed on the chin. Some time after this period married women began to make a mark (*tilaka*) on the forehead with red pigment (said to be connected with menstruation*), in all likelihood also to indicate ownership by their

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husbands. This custom survives to this day and is thought by some scholars to be the origin of cosmetics in India (III, p. 306).

The Hindu devotee who regards himself as the property of his god, or as the sheep of his deity's pasture, marks himself with his sect mark. The marks may be horizontal or perpendicular lines, dots, rectangles, circles, oblongs or triangles. They are usually made on the forehead, but more fervent devotees may have their insignia made on their shoulders, arms, stomach, breast, private organs or buttocks. The latter can be seen on those ascetics who wear only a loin cloth or go about naked. Sometimes the caste mark is a more permanent *chhāp* or 'seal', usually made by means of a hot branding iron. In such cases the design may be that of a conchshell, discus, lotus, mace or other symbol. Such marks are especially prized if made after a pilgrimage.

Sect marks or caste marks (*puṇḍra*) vary considerably, but they are generally divided into two main classes: those of the Vaishṇavites (followers of Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa and Rāma), and those of the Śaivites (followers of Śiva), the latter including the Śāktas. Vaishṇavite caste marks are generally perpendicular and include: a single perpendicular line; two vertical strokes either open or meeting below in a curve, with a dot in the middle, denoting the footprint of Vishṇu and called the *ūrdhva-puṇḍra*; three lines, one red perpendicular and two white at an incline meeting at the base and forming a sort of trident, and called the *nāman*, 'mark'; also two perpendicular strokes meeting both above and below in an oval. Śaivite marks are generally horizontal, e.g. two or three horizontal lines with a dot below or in the centre (called the *tripuṇḍra*), made with white or grey ash and said to represent the half-moon on Śiva's head drawn three times; also a triangle or half-moon with a dot in the middle.

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CATEGORY is a concept fundamental to Hindu metaphysics, and characterizes the various systems of philosophical thought. In different contexts it may refer to the basic objects of right knowledge, to the ultimate principles of understanding, or to the chief headings under which all nameable and knowable things can be classified or discussed, or again to the chief predicables of philosophical propositions.

The concept of category is variously named, and the number and nature of these categories variously listed. Thus, Nyāya* speaks of *prameya*, and lists sixteen topics of discussion; the Sāṁkhya* speaks of twenty-five *tattva* or thatnesses; the Vaiśeshika* refers to the six *padārtha*, predicables, and these terms are freely interchanged in subsequent philosophical literature. The main heads of predicables are the following:

Brahman (or Brahma), the Ultimate Principle, and the only category of Vedānta, which holds that there is only One, Brahma, from whom all things emanate (*see* God).

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*Purusha** or Cosmic Spirit, the first principle of the Sāṁkhya system, often equated with the soul or the mind, is the directing principle behind matter or Prakṛiti.
Prakṛiti or Cosmic Substance, as manifested in nature and the material universe. It is the second principle in the Sāṁkhya system and is often identified with *dravya*.
Dravya or Substance, the first of the Vaiśeshika predicables. It is resolved into nine eternal realities, namely, earth, air, fire, water, ether, time, space, soul and mind.
Ātman or soul*, one of the categories of Nyāya. It is the only permanent substratum in the individual, sometimes identified with *jīva*, 'life'.
Mind, variously conceived in Hindu psychology*. It includes *Buddhi* or wisdom in Nyāya; *Manas* or intellect, also in Nyāya; and the *Mahat* or Cosmic Intelligence, and the *Ahaṁkāra* the individuating and identifying principle of the Sāṁkhya system.
Indriya or the senses*, of the Nyāya system, including the Jñānendriya, Karmendriya and Mahābhūtas.
Artha or the objects of the senses, also of Nyāya. They are sometimes spoken of as the *tanmātra* and include sound (*śabda*), touch (*sparśa*), form (*rūpa*), flavour (*rasa*) and odour (*gandha*).
Śarīra or body*, in Nyāya philosophy, is the mortal frame and physical vehicle of all living creatures.
Kāla or time*, the power that limits the 'duration' of eternal elements in matter, distinguishing 'then' from 'now'.
Dik or space, often said to be made up of *deśa* (locus) and *dik* (direction), or position and distance, distinguishing 'there' from 'here'.
Guṇa, 'quality'*, attribute or property. Twenty-four guṇas are listed in Vaiśeshika, and three (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) in Sāṁkhya.
*Karma** or action, of the Vaiśeshika system. Associated with it are the Nyāya categories of *pravṛitti* or activity; *dosha* or sin; *duḥkha* or pain; *phala*, 'fruit' or consequences; *pretya-bhāva* or future life and rebirth (*see* eschatology); and *apavarga* or release (*see* trance).
Parimāna, 'quantity', including all notions subsumed under size, mass, number, amount, weight*, and measure.
Sāmānya or generality, with which is associated *viśesha* or particularity; and *samavāya*, combination or inherence, all important Vaiśeshika categories.

Books

See under Philosophy.

CAVE TEMPLES. The custom of hewing chambers and cells out of the living rock originated in Ancient Egypt. From Egypt the practice passed to Persia and spread via the Achaemenian Empire to India. Rock excavating was more economical than the erection of buildings, which involved quarrying, dressing the stone, and its transport, often across long distances over bad roads. But an additional esoteric reason for the choice of this mode of architecture was that it grew naturally out of the living stuff of the earth and was sustained by the power of the rock and hill.

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The earliest rock-cut architecture in India is Buddhist, although later Jain, and still later Hindu, cave temples were also built. A typical Buddhist excavation of this kind comprises caves and chambers for purposes of meditation; a *vihāra* or residence for the monastic community consisting of a quadrangular hall or court around which the monks' cells are disposed, and most typical of all, the *chaitya*.

The term chaitya originally applied to a funeral mound or tumulus; later it came to mean a retreat or sanctuary for Buddhist monks; and finally a Buddhist rock-cut temple or hall of worship, containing a shrine that is worshipped by a ritual act of circumambulation. The origin of the chaitya rock-chamber is said to be found in the primitive barrel-roof hut of the aborigines of India, and in fact the pre-Dravidian Toda* hut has been cited as the architectural prototype of the early barrel-vaulted chaitya with its horseshoe arch.

The façade of a typical chaitya has an opening or sun-window, occupying the centre of the archway over the entrance, through which light is admitted. The arch itself may be shaped like a horseshoe, or may be semi-circular or in some cases almost circular. The plan of the chaitya bears a remarkable resemblance to the Roman basilica. A long hall with a rounded apse at the farther end is divided into a broad nave and two side aisles. Nave and aisles are separated by rows of pillars running along the entire length of the sanctuary on either side and around the apse. At the apsidal end in front of the pillars stands a rock-cut stūpa, holding the cult object, corresponding to the altar of the Christian church. Later a large statue of Buddha took the place of the stūpa.

Chaityas had wooden prototypes, and even in the construction of rock-chambers many chaityas continued to be half-timbered, in some of which the timber is still partially intact today. What is more, the original timber tradition remained so strong that early Buddhist rock-sanctuaries carried over the timber style into the stone work, imitating every detail of the wooden structure, the planks, joints and nailheads being reproduced with realism.

The most ancient examples of rock-cut architecture in India are found in the caves of the *Barābar* hills near Gaya, and the Nāgārjuni hills. These caves, dedicated by Aśoka and his successor to the Ājīvika* monks, were tunnelled out of very hard rock, and the walls were so brilliantly polished that European travellers more than two thousand years later described them as made of marble, brass or cast metal. One of the small excavations in Barābar, the Lomaśa Ṛishi Cave, has a ribbed horseshoe arch in close imitation of a wooden model, very much like the entrance to the Toda hut. The cave is unfinished, probably discontinued because of a flaw in the rock.

The next stage in the evolution of cave architecture after Barābar is seen in the excavations in various hills of the Western Ghāṭs. There were two reasons for this choice of location. Firstly, there are many rocks here of trap formation of considerable thickness and uniform texture; the edges of the strata terminate in nearly perpendicular cliffs providing an ideal surface for this type of work. Secondly, the site for these cave monasteries was selected along the line of the great trade route starting from the littoral and moving towards the heart of India and the Deccan, which was dotted with foreign

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trading centres. Evidence of foreign influences can be traced in their architectural styles, in the portrait statues of the donors, and in the many friezes.

In *Bhājā* (75 BC) near Poona, there are eighteen excavations of which vihāra No. 12 is sculpturally the most interesting. Pillars, twenty-seven in number, run down either side of the chamber and around the apse at the further end, dividing it in the traditional manner into nave and two side aisles. Parts of the chaitya were of wooden construction, now destroyed, but many unique reliefs in the stonework still exist intact. Situated near Bhājā is *Bedsā* (AD 100–200) which also has several cave structures, including a chaitya. The roof of the chaitya was once covered with paintings, now indistinct. It contains four pillars surmounted by statuary groups of horses, bulls and elephants with male and female riders, which resemble the figures found on Indo-Mithraic coins of the north. Of approximately the same style, pattern and date, are the chaitya caves at *Kondāne* near Poona, and at *Pitalkhorā* in Khāndesh. Both these are in a state of decay.

Between Poona and Bombay are the caves of *Kārle* (AD 120) or Kārlī, with the largest, finest, most complete and best preserved cave temple in India, representing the culmination of Hīnayāna chaitya architecture. In front of the entrance porch of this chaitya rises a massive stone pillar topped by a lion capital. The façade has three doorways surmounted by a gallery and an arched sun-window which allows the whole interior to be suffused with light. On either side of the doorways are vigorous sculptured figures in couples, male and female, who are believed to represent the donors. Their racial type, not quite Indian, suggest that they may have been Kushāns. Within is a lofty sculptured hall 125 feet long, 45 feet wide, and 45 feet in height.

One of the caves in *Junnar* (AD 150), fifty-six miles from Poona, has a circular chaitya hall surrounded by a ring of twelve pillars. A decadent replica of Kārle is the elaborately carved chaitya of *Kānheri* (AD 180) on the island of Salsette, near Bombay. In all there are over 120 cave excavations scattered over the area. *Nāsik** (100 BC–AD 175) with its Buddhist, Śaivite and Vaishṇavite cave temples, is very valuable both architecturally and for its many cave inscriptions. Other sites with cave temples of approximately the same period (50 BC–AD 200) are found at *Guntupalle* in the Kistna District, South India, and at Khaṇḍagiri, in Orissa.

Khaṇḍagiri a few miles from Bhuvaneśvar has 19 (mainly Jain) *gumphā* or little rock-cut halls and cells in the Khaṇḍagiri hills. There are, besides, 44 (mostly Buddhist) caves in the Udaigiri hills, and 3 caves in the Nīlagiri. They are of various dates covering several centuries, but the more important ones date from between 25 BC and AD 200. The *gumphā* generally consists of a pillared verandah with a series of cells opening out from it. The entrance arches of most of the gumphās are semicircular and not horseshoe shaped as in the early Buddhist caves. Many of the gumphās have interesting reliefs, illustrating scenes from Jain and Buddhist fable. The better caves are designated by special names such as Gaṇeśa gumphā, Mañchapuri gumphā, Ananta gumphā, and so on. The Bāgh gumphā is so called because the exterior is carved like the head of a tiger (*bāgh*); its tiny cell represents the tiger's mouth. The Hāthi gumphā is famous for an inscription of Khāravela, ruler of Kaliṅga.* The double-storied Rānī gumphā has cells arranged on

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three sides of an open courtyard; it appears to have been designed for an elaborate kind of ceremonial, and the gumphā probably served as an open-air theatre. A sculptured frieze depicting an ancient ceremony in progress confirms this.

More than three centuries separate the excavations of Khaṇḍagiri from the next important phase in rock-cut architecture. *Bādāmi* (*c.* 580) in the Bijāpur District of Bombay has four cave temples, all liṅga shrines, all on the same plan, in the style of the Early Chālukya school. The capitals of some of the columns serve as brackets for some fine, slender, almost ethereal figures of gods and goddesses. The several long sculptured friezes, however, are rather clumsy and lack artistic merit.

Although a few of the famous *Ajantā** caves date from about 150 BC, most of the excavations are dated about AD 650. The nine Mahāyāna caves of *Bāgh** probably pre-date Ajantā; their significance in the history of Indian sculpture and painting still awaits analysis.

Aurangābād (*c.* 650) not far from Ellorā contains over a dozen caves and one chaitya. It is notable for its remarkable sculpture which besides large reliefs of Buddha and the bodhisattvas, portrays voluptuous female figures of massive proportions, and male and female worshippers, realistically posed and modelled. There are many secular scenes of dancers, singers and musicians, and in one panel, a drinking party showing the successive stages of a drunkard's progress. The final period of rock architecture is typified in the work of *Ellorā**, which stands in a class by itself, and Elephanta.

Elephanta is the Portuguese name for the small island of Ghārpuri near Bombay, so named from an elephant-shaped rock, now broken, that once stood on it. It is the site of a number of Śaivite caves (*leṇa*) and temples, probably executed by the Rāshṭrakūṭa* kings about AD 750. The Great Cave is approached by steps flanked by lions, and the main hall has a wide colonnade with capitals of the 'cushion' style. Among the interesting features is a shrine containing a liṅga of Śiva three feet high which is an object of great veneration on certain occasions. Its approach is guarded by two giant dvārapālas or doorkeepers. Huge sculptured figures and reliefs decorate the various wall panels and recesses of the Great Cave. One, a representation of Ardhanārī (the androgynous Śiva) is over 16 feet high; another has two gigantic figures of Śiva and Pārvatī; a third shows the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. The reliefs include one of Śiva as Bhairava with skulls and cobra on his head, and another dancing the Tāṇḍava dance. The finest of these works, popularly known as the Trimūrti, is a colossal three-faced bust of Śiva totalling 19 feet in height with each face 5 feet long, crowned by a tall headdress. It is classed among the most unique creations of the sculptor's art.

Books

See under Architecture and Sculpture.

CHĀHAMĀNA (or Chauhān) a line of agnikula Rājputs who played a prominent role in the history of northern India during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are first heard of in the seventh and eighth centuries, when several branches of the Chāhamānas ruled in different parts of Gujarāt and

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Rājputāna. One branch were feudatories of the Pratihāras and held a small area near Ajmere.

With the decline of the Pratihāras at the beginning of the eleventh century, this Ajmere branch asserted their independence. In the twelfth century their chief rivals were the Gāhaḍavāla and Tomara Rājputs. The *Tomara* were one of the thirty recognized Rājput clans, had founded the town of Dhillikā (modern Delhi) in AD 736, and ruled the surrounding territories for several centuries. It is said that they were responsible for bringing to Mehraulī the Iron Pillar of the Śaka* prince Chandravarma, a sacrilege which, according to legend, resulted in their downfall. In 1175 the Chāhamānas occupied Delhi and established themselves there. They continued to be constantly at war with their neighbours, opposing both Hindus and Muslims with equal ferocity. This lack of unity among the Hindus, especially among the Rājput clans, in the face of the common peril was the chief reason for the downfall of the Hindu kingdoms in the period of the Muhammadan invasions.

The last of the Rājput rulers of Delhi, regarded by Rājputs as the very embodiment of chivalry, was *Pṛithvirāj III* (1162–1193) a chief of the Chāhamāna clan of Ajmere, who had defeated a number of his rivals including the Chandella* king. The romantic story of his elopement with Saṁyogitā (or Padmāvatī), daughter of the Gāhaḍavāla king, Jaichand of Kanauj*, is still told in Rājput homes. The princess, hearing of the valour and chivalry of Pṛithvirāj fell in love with him and carried on a clandestine correspondence with him. She kept the affair secret from her father since the Chāhamānas and the Gāhaḍavālas were hereditary enemies. At her *svayaṁvara* (bride's-choice ceremony), to which Pṛithvirāj was not invited, his statue was placed at the entrance as an insult to signify that he was fit only to be a doorkeeper. The princess made the round of her suitors with the garland in her hand, and then stepping outside the door garlanded the statue. Pṛithvirāj, concealed nearby, carried her off. This romantic episode cost him the lives of a number of his followers, and resulted in the loss of a powerful ally when the Muslims came battering at the gates of his kingdom.

In his first encounter with the Muslims under Muhammad of Ghor in 1191 at the battle of Tarāin, he was brilliantly victorious, and routed the enemy. But in a second battle on the same field in 1193, two years later, fought against the mounted archers of Muhammad of Ghor, a large Hindu army led by Pṛithvirāj suffered a total defeat. Pṛithvirāj was captured as he tried to escape, and put to death in cold blood. His queen, accompanied by her hand-maidens mounted the funeral pyre in the rite of *jauhar*. This battle marked the beginning of the end of Rājput power. Muhammad's general, Kutb-ud-dīn, completed the annihilation of the dynastic line a short time later, taking Ajmere, putting thousands to the sword and selling the rest of the inhabitants as slaves.

The story of the prowess and romance of Pṛithvirāj is recorded in the *Pṛithvirāj Rāso*, the great epic of Hindustan, written in an old form of the *Brāj-bhāsha* dialect of Hindi by Chand Bardai (1125–1193) of Lahore, who lived at the court of Pṛithvirāj and died with his patron in the battle of Tarāin.

The remnants of the Chāhamānas took refuge in Raṇasthambhapura,

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(modern Ranthambhor), and for almost a century thereafter the fortress was alternately taken by the Muslims and retaken by the Chāhamānas. Under the heroic leadership of the Chāhamāna chieftain *Hammīra* (1283–1301) (also known as Hamīr Deva), the Rājputs repeatedly repulsed the generals of Alā-ud-dīn, until the latter finally came in person to besiege the fort in 1301. Two of Hammīra's generals betrayed him, and Hammīra, after his wives and family had committed themselves to the flames, went out to meet the foe and died in battle. The death of Hammīra is commemorated in a Sanskrit *kāvya* (short epic) by the Jain monk Nayachandrasūri.

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CHAITANYA (1485–1534) founder of a Vaishṇava sect popular in Bengal and Orissa, was the tenth child of a brāhmin couple of Nadia, Bengal. He studied Sanskrit and early acquired a sound knowledge of the *śāstras*. At the age of fourteen, soon after the death of his father, he married the daughter of Vallabhāchārya, who was not, as is often erroneously said, the same person as the founder of the Vallabha sect. Chaitanya's wife died a few years later of snake-bite and he married again.

When he was twenty-two years old he made a trip to Gaya and was converted to the service of Kṛishṇa by a Madhva ascetic. Returning home he tied up his Sanskrit books never to open them again and completely changed his mode of life, devoting himself entirely to his god. Two years later he became a *sannyāsin* and journeyed to Jagannāth in Orissa where he taught Vaishṇavite doctrines, making converts among brāhmins, women, princes, Muslims, śūdras, untouchables and Śaivites. His further travels took him to the extreme south of India and thence north to Dvārakā and the Brāj country.

Accounts of his life are filled with miraculous legends about him, especially during this period of his life. Because of his fair complexion, but also because of his 'white' soul he was known as Gaurāṅga to his followers, who referred to him as *Mahāprabhū* (great master) and deemed him an incarnation of Vishṇu. It was largely under Chaitanya's inspiration that the sacred sites at Mathurā, Vṛindāvana and the Brāj country, the scene of Kṛishṇa's early life, were later reclaimed from ruin and decay. He elevated Vṛindāvana to the position of an earthly paradise.

According to Chaitanya, Kṛishṇa was the source, support and end of the world. All other deities, Vishṇu, Śiva, Nārāyaṇa and the rest were manifestations of Kṛishṇa. He claimed that *bhakti*, or faith and devotion to Kṛishṇa, was more efficacious than knowledge, meditation, charity and virtue. Philosophically, the school of Chaitanya expresses the relation between God and the individual soul as *bhedābheda*, dualistic non-dualism, which is in itself inconceivable (*achintya*) but is nevertheless seen all around us. As fire and sparks are neither identical nor different one from the other, so is the soul and God.

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The highest manifestation of Kṛishṇa is his power of bringing *hlādinī* or delight. Kṛishṇa is the source of delight; he savours delight himself through giving delight, and is thus the cause of the devotee's delight. The expression of this delight is found in the eternal *līlā* or divine play, the ideal of which is the *gopī-līlā*. Devotion to Rādhā and Kṛishṇa was thus central to Chaitanya's philosophy. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa are one soul in two bodies whose delight lies in experiencing each other's love. The worshipper must believe himself to be a gopī and love Kṛishṇa with the fervour of a gopī.

In its highest form hlādinī resulted in a divine ecstasy; in human relationship it was interpreted as *prema* or pure and legitimate love; it was also symbolized in conjugal love, but the concept was open to misinterpretation and often led to erotic love. The vairāgī ascetics of the Chaitanya order were associated with women who were actually their concubines and were also available to assist other devotees in the attainment of the experience of divine union. Vivekānanda deplored the unfortunate results of *Rādhā-prema* as preached by Chaitanya, since, he said, it had turned Orissa into a land of effeminate cowards and wellnigh led Bengal to lose all sense of manliness.

Emotionalism and sentimentality were indeed the hallmarks of Chaitanya and his sect. The very mention of the names of Kṛishṇa or Rādhā, the sight of their images, the sound of a flute (Kṛishṇa's favourite instrument) were sufficient to send him into mystical raptures. In one of the few verses attributed to him he says, 'I crave only to repeat your name so that my eyes shall ever overflow with tears, my mouth utter only broken syllables, and my breath be suffocated with emotion, my soul filled with joy and my body covered with horripilation'.

He insisted on the importance of singing and dancing as aids to ecstatic communion between the soul and the deity. His favourite form of worship was known as the *kīrtan* (or *saṁkīrtan*) or choral singing interspersed with the chanting of the names of Hari, Kṛishṇa and others, accompanied by simple musical instruments like the drum, cymbal, or one-stringed fiddle. The hand-clapping and chantings would grow to a rhythmic stamping of feet, bodily movements and a frenzied dance, in which Chaitanya would join with fervent abandon. All present would be carried away in a torrent of religious excitement and hysteria. Men would shout and leap about like madmen until they fell unconscious.

The kīrtans soon developed into *nagar-kīrtans*, processional worship which was carried into the towns, much to the annoyance of the brāhmins and civic authorities who looked upon these *bhagats* (devotees) as a public nuisance. Chaitanya organized, and took part in, various Kṛishṇa *yātrās* or primitive dramatic performances, and the recitation of *kathās* (stories) at sessions lasting throughout the night.

Throughout his life Chaitanya lived as if on the verge of insanity. For no apparent reason he would be thrown into fits of ecstasy, or stand transfixed with wide staring eyes, foam-flecked mouth and rigid limbs, or weep bitter tears, laugh out loud, stamp his feet, jump or dance. Often he climbed trees or ran hither and thither like one possessed, calling out incessantly the divine names. Then he would suddenly fall into a state of stupor. Chaitanya himself described his frequent trances as due to epileptic seizures.

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The latter part of his life was spent in Purī, and during his last days his mind was in a state bordering on collapse with trance-like periods alternating with outbursts of frenzied delirium. He died in a fit of religious ecstasy while bathing in the sea near Purī. His body was recovered and is said to have been buried in a temple close by.

Chaitanya's disciples organized the sect after their leader's death. From six of the original disciples were descended the Chaitanya *gosvāmi* who were responsible for the erection of the great temple at Vṛindāvana. In time this arch-priesthood of the gosvāmis became hereditary. They lived lives of ease and wealth and developed into a largely parasitic class, lacking in vision and spirituality.

Contrary to Chaitanya's teaching that all castes were equally pure, that all were equally admissible into the sect, and that the true Vaishṇava was one who abandoned the varṇāśrama creed, the sect and its leaders soon took over the prejudices of caste distinctions. Today members of the two leading gosvāmi families, descended from two of Chaitanya's chief disciples, Nityānanda and Advaitānanda, do not intermarry although both are of brāhmin caste, because their two progenitors came from different parts of India.

Chaitanya gave his sanction to idolatry and himself had a black stone which he bathed and 'fed'. His followers worship not only Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, but even Chaitanya himself and other prominent leaders of the sect. Indeed certain of their books, such as the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita* by Kṛishṇadās 'Kavirāj' (d. 1594) giving a life sketch of Chaitanya, are worshipped as relics.

Chaitanya and his followers were anti-doctrinaire and anti-Vedic. God's grace, it was said, does not follow the Vedas. They were violently opposed to the doctrine of Śaṅkara and the Vedāntists in which salvation implied loss of self. To them salvation involved personal consciousness and a real relationship between lover and beloved. They declared, 'At the mention of the word *sāyujya* (loss of identity) the *bhakta* (believer) feels fear. He prefers hell to it. At the word *mukti* (redemption) hatred arises in the mind. But at the word *bhakti* (devotion) he feels only joy.' The distinction between the sects of Vallabha and Chaitanya was that while the former developed the ceremonial side, the sect of Chaitanya devoted itself to the cultivation of the emotional side of worship.

Although Chaitanya left no written works except eight couplets known as the *Ashṭaka*, his influence played an overwhelming part in the development of Bengali literature, and so helped to place Bengali on a par with Sanskrit as a medium of works of scholarship.

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CHAKRA, a 'vortex', or centre of psychic energy in the subtle (i.e. etheric or astral) body at its point of contact with the physical body. The chakra, generally translated 'plexus', is also called the *padma* or lotus, and represents a centre for the supply and distribution to the physical body of the vital, etheric or *prāṇic* forces. At these points of contact the so-called arteries or *nāḍis* of the subtle body are conjoined with the physical nerves through which they activate the perception of the sense organs. The inner world within the body, especially the sphere of the chakras, is the subject of a unique branch of esoteric knowledge (*śrī-vidyā*) known as *laya-yoga* (*laya*, 'extinction' or 'absorption') whose goal is the merging of the mind of the practitioner with the divine object of his contemplation.

The chakras are the chief centres of Hindu occult physiology. They are mainly situated along the *brahmadaṇḍa* (rod of Brahmā), also called the *merudaṇḍa*, which is sometimes identified with the central spinal cord. Within the brahmadaṇḍa is enclosed the *sushumṇā*, the principal *nāḍi* (*see* channels of the subtle body). It consists of a single tube of subtle matter which extends upwards from the *mūlādhāra* at the base of the spine, to the medulla oblongata at the top of the spinal column, and after passing through the principal aperture called the *brahma-randhra* (fissure of Brahmā), which is sometimes identified with the sutura frontalis or the foramen of Monro, enters the *sahasrāra* situated just above the crown of the head.

There are said to be eighty-eight thousand chakras in the human body. Each one forms a focus of vital energy from which a number of nāḍis or subtle channels branch out connecting up with one or more areas of the physical body. A complete knowledge of all the chakras and their ramifications is impossible, but there are alleged to be specialists in śrī-vidyā who are able, for instance, to cure a toothache by massaging one of the ribs, or ease asthma by gently pressing a point behind the ears. Such knowledge of the chakra points is handed down as a family secret, and their efficacy has frequently been attested.

The names of about thirty chakras often occur in the texts. They are:

1. *Pādāṅgushṭha* or great toe, a chakra connected with the ear by one of the nāḍis. It governs the sense of locality.
2. *Pārshṇi* or heel, the chakra of strain, connected by a nāḍi with the vertebra behind the neck. It is the chakra of greed and acquisitiveness.
3. *Gulpha* or ankle, a circular chakra, connected with the tips of the little fingers, is the chakra of order.
4. *Jānu* or knee, the chakra of veneration, connected with the crown of the head.
5. *Guda* (or *pāyu*), the anus, connected by a nāḍi to the left side of the sahasrāra. The chakra of material success and aesthetic feeling. Its stimulation forms the basis of perverse* rites.
6. *Mūlādhāra* or the sacral plexus, a major centre of psychic experience (see below).
7. *Yonisthāna*, 'yoni-place', or perineum, corresponding to the position of the female vulva; the place where Śiva and Śakti meet.

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8. *Mushka* or testes, an outward and hence 'disclosed' mystery of the yonisthāna. The chakra of time.
9. *Meḍhra* or male organ. An obverse symbol of feminity. The chakra of quantity.
10. *Vaṅkshaṇa* or groin, connected with the lower jaw, a chakra of heat, protection and safety.
11. *Svādishṭhāna*, the prostate plexus, one of the major chakras (see below).
12. *Kandayoni*, 'bulb-nest', lies above the sex organs and below the navel. Bulb-shaped, twelve-spoked, lustrous like molten gold, it is a seat of fire. A lesser type of coiled energy than the *kuṇḍalinī*, with eight coils. The *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and a few other nāḍis take their origin here. It regulates the prāṇas and vital energies.
13. *Nābhi* or navel; the umbilical plexus, forming the great junction of the iḍā and piṅgalā with the cerebro-spinal axis. It is often confused with the *maṇipūra*.
14. *Maṇipūra*, the solar plexus, another major chakra (see below).
15. *Aṅgushṭha*, thumb, the master chakra of the physical plane, connected with the base of the neck and the crown of the head.
16. *Aratni*, elbow, the chakra of purpose, connected to points behind the ears.
17. *Kaksha*, armpit, the chakra of dependence, connected with points behind the knees and ending at the instep.
18. *Anāhata*, the heart chakra, a major plexus (see below).
19. *Jihvāgra*, the tongue tip, connected with the coccyx, the chakra of faith.
20. *Jihvamūla*, the root of the tongue, connected with the buttocks, the chakra of domesticity.
21. *Viśuddha*, a major chakra situated behind the throat (see below).
22. *Ghaṇṭika*, the soft palate, connected with the lungs. The chakra of colour.
23. *Tālu* the uvular palate, connected with the temples, the chakra of shape.
24. *Nāsāgra*, the nose-tip, connected with the upper part of the cerebrum. The chakra of solitariness.
25. *Bhrūmadhya*, 'brow middle', the point between the eyebrows, connected with the small of the back. The chakra of interiorness.
26. *Ājñā*, between the eybrows, just above bhrūmadhya. A major chakra (see below).
27. *Lalanā*, 'glittering' (also called *kalā*, 'decorative), described as above the *viśuddha*, below the ājñā and opposite the uvula. It has twelve petals, activates self-respect, pride and affection.
28. *Manas*, the 'mind' chakra, situated near the ājñā. It is linked with the world of dreams, hallucinations and illusory knowledge.
29. *Soma* or 'moon' chakra. Situated near the middle of the cerebrum. The seat of all altruistic sentiments, e.g. compassion, patience, renunciation, magnanimity, gravity, earnestness.
30. *Sahasrāra* the lotus of the thousand petals (see below).

Out of these thirty chakras, six, lying within the body and one, the sahasrāra, lying outside the body are of special importance and make up the seven major chakras. The term *brahmachakra* is used for any of the seven major chakras but especially for the mūlādhāra and the sahasrāra. Major B. D. Basu of the Indian Medical Service first identified these chakras with

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various plexuses, in an Essay published in Guy's Hospital Gazette in 1889. Each of the major chakras is associated with certain Sanskrit letters, has a certain number of petals (making fifty petals in all), has its own characteristic colour, geometrical figure, element, sense organ, vital breath, deity, female deity or demoness, animal, mystic seed syllable, and a particular reward for meditating on it. These major chakras are cited below.

Mūlādhāra, 'root-foundation', also called *ādhāra*, 'foundational' chakra, is the centre in which most of the subtle arteries are rooted, and from which they spread throughout the body. It is located in the region of the perineum, is the seat of pleasurable and aesthetic sensations, and the source of desire on the physical plane. It is identified in western terminology with the sacro-coccygeal or sacral plexus. It has four roseate petals; its Sanskrit characters are *v*, *sh*, *ś*, and *s*; its colour golden; its geometrical figure a fiery triangle containing the coiled kuṇḍalinī* inside a yellow square; its element earth; its sense that of smell; its organ of action the feet; its vital breath *apāna*; the phenomenon associated with it, accumulation; its deity Brahmā riding on a swan; its female deity the demoness Dākinī; its *bījākshara* or mystical seed-sound is *laṁ*; its animal the elephant Airāvata; its celestial being Dārduri; its realised being Dviranda; its symbol the *liṅga*.

Svādishṭhāna, 'pleasant', the chakra connected with the excitation of sexual feelings, is situated at the root of the *meḍhra* or penis and identified with the prostatic plexus. It has six vermilion coloured petals; its Sanskrit characters are *b*, *bh*, *m*, *y*, *r*, and *l*; it is colourless; the geometrical figure is the crescent; element, water; sense, taste; organ of action the hand; breath, *prāṇa*; phenomenon, contraction; deity Vishṇu; demoness Rākinī or Chākinī; seed-sound *vaṁ*; animal, *makara*; celestial being, Lord of Water; realized being, Bāṇa; reward of meditation, conquest of the watery elements.

Maṇipūra, 'gem-site', also called the *nirmāṇa* or measuring chakra, is identified with the lumbar or epigastric plexus. It governs sleep and thirst, and feelings of jealousy, shame, fear and stupefaction. Situated near the nābhi or navel; it has ten blue or 'cloud-coloured' petals; its characters are *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, *p* and *ph*; the colour red; geometrical figure a triangle with swastika on each side; element, fire; sense, sight; organ, anus; breath, *samāna*; phenomenon, expansion; deity Rudra; demoness, Lākinī; seed syllable, *raṁ*; animal, bull or ram; celestial being Lord of Tears; realized being Rudra; reward for meditating on this chakra, freedom from pain and disease.

Anāhata, 'new', the chakra situated in the *hṛidaya* or heart and identified with the cardiac plexus. It governs hope, anxiety, doubt, remorse, conceit, egoism and duty, hence also called the dharma chakra. It has twelve golden petals; its letters are *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *ṅ*, *ch*, *chh*, *j*, *jh*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*; its colour is flaming red; figure a hexagon or two interlaced triangles; element air; sense touch; organ penis; breath prāṇa; phenomenon motion; deity Îśvara; demoness Kākinī; seed sound *yaṁ*; animal black antelope; celestial being Pavana, Lord of Air; realized being Pīnaki; reward for meditation, a vision of the Lotus of the Cave of Silence.

Viśuddha, 'pure', situated at the juncture of the spinal column and medulla oblongata, behind the throat, and identified with the laryngeal or pharyn-

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geal plexus. It is also called the *saṁbhoga* chakra. It regulates the larynx and other organs of articulation. It has sixteen petals of smoky or blue colour; its letters are all the sixteen vowels, *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛi, ṛī, ḷi, ḷī, e, ai, o, ou, ṁ, ḥ*; colour gold; figure spiral or circle; element ether; symbol the *ambara* bird; sense hearing; organ mouth; breath *udāna*; phenomenon space; deity Sadāśiva; demoness Śākinī; seed sound, *haṁ*; animal white elephant with six trunks; celestial being Lord of the Dance; realized being Chhāgalāṇḍa (goat's egg).

Ājñā, 'understanding', a chakra situated between the eyebrows, which commands the world of concentration and conscious trance. It has two white petals; its letters are *h* and *ksh*; its colour white; figure the sun and moon; sense, cognition; organ yoni; deity Paramaśiva; demoness Hākinī; seed syllable *Oṁ*.

Sahasrāra (*sahasra*, 'thousand'), The Lotus of the Thousand Petals, known to Buddhists as the *ushṇīsha-kamala* (Head Lotus). It is located about four finger-breadths above the crown of the head, and thus lies outside the body and is said to be the halo or emanation of the cerebral cortex. It has a thousand petals (whence its name); its characters comprise all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet; it synchronizes all colours; encompasses all senses, all organs, all functions, and is all-pervading in its power. The sahasrāra is the vessel of the ambrosia of immortality. This, however, is constantly dripping away, materializing in the cerebrum in a liquid form. The aim of many yogic techniques is to reabsorb this nectar, re-vitalize the body and thus 'live forever'.

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(*See also under* Yoga.)

CHAKRAPŪJĀ (*chakra-pūjā*, 'circle-worship'), a rite in certain forms of tantrism in which small groups of worshippers, both male and female, come together for the purpose of participating in a ceremonial meal, climaxed by *maithuna* or sexual intercourse. The congregation may consist of any caste, since there are no caste distinctions here.

The male members of the assembly are referred to as *vīra* (heroes) and their female partners as their *śakti* (potencies); the couples are paired off either according to the choice of the men, or by lot. In most cases a man is free to caress every śakti, but may have intercourse with only one during the rite. The woman allotted to the man may be his own sister, daughter or even mother, a woman of high or low caste or a prostitute, in order to emphasize the quality of antinomianism* that marks the true adept.

The rite is performed at night at a place where security is assured, usually in the house of one of the members. Everyone squats on the floor in a circle (hence the name *chakrapūjā*), each vīra having his śakti on his left. Sometimes the leader of the group and his śakti sit in the middle of the circle,

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although it is usual to have only a woman in the middle, or a nude virgin girl, representing the goddess Śakti. Alternatively, the goddess may be represented by an image, or by a drawing of the female yoni in the centre, or of a maṇḍala composed of nine yonis.

The purpose of the chakrapūjā is to provide an experience of various grades of enlightenment by partaking of the *pañchatattva* (*pañcha-tattva*, 'five-thatnesses'), the five principles or categories which are the objects of human desire and through which perfection can be attained. These five principles are elaborated in the *Kulārṇava Tantra*. Because their names all begin with an 'm', they are also called the five *makāra*, or things that are made of five m's. Various interpretations have been given to them and substitutes are often used when the pūjā is performed today, either because opportunities for indulgence are not readily available, or because certain aspects of the rite are repugnant to the modern mind. The five makāras are:

1. *Madya*, 'intoxicant', a symbol of fire. It is represented by alcoholic drinks, narcotics and drugs, such as those obtained from hemp and the opium poppy; by the stimulants of esoteric alchemy*; and the so-called fiery draughts of internal secretion.
2. *Māṁsa*, 'flesh', symbol of air. Meat, especially beef which is so repugnant to Hindus, is served and eaten by the celebrants. In the now rare necrophilic* śavavāda rites, human flesh used to be consumed.
3. *Matsya*, 'fish', a symbol of water. This refers to the techniques of yoga and sexual occultism, since the methods of enlightenment by this means were first revealed to man (*see* Matsyendra) by Śiva in the form of a fish.
4. *Mudrā**, 'seal' or mark, a symbol of earth. It is represented in the chakrapūjā by a small dry cereal cake, specially impressed like a sacramental wafer, which is eaten by the participants. In tantrism the term is also interpreted to mean the *paramudrās*, the postures of maithuna, iconography, and the esoteric symbolism of the human, especially female, body. Chakraberty defines the mudrā of the chakrapūjā as 'excitation of the clitoris by the raised forefinger, the other fingers being closed' (p. 303).
5. *Maithuna* or sexual intercourse, a symbol of ether. This is the culmination of the chakrapūjā where each vīra after having partaken of the first four m's unites in intercourse with his śakti. In some cases the rite is not consummated, but the male by self-restraint utilises the unexpended bindu on himself.

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(*See also under* Tantras, Sex Mysticism, Strīpūjā.)

CHĀLUKYA (450–1189), a dynasty founded by the barbarian Gujar chieftain, Chulik, in the fifth century AD. A small branch settled in Gujarāt and rose to prominence as the Solaṅki* dynasty. A larger branch moved southwards and established themselves south of the Vindhyas in western India. Their brāhmin bards did not long delay in tracing their descent from the hoary dynasty of Ayodhyā.

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The **First** or **Early Chālukyas** (450–757) ruled from Aihole in Dhārwār, Bijāpur District, and later from Vātāpi (now corrupted to Bādāmi) in Hyderābād not far away. Their first ventures in territorial expansion were due to Maṅgaleśa (597–608) who destroyed the neighbouring powers such as the Kadambas of Vaijayanti and the Kalachuris of northern Mahārāshṭra and Mālwā, and annexed their territories.

Pulakeśin II (608–642) the greatest of the Chālukyas was the contemporary of Harsha* whom he defeated when the latter attempted to invade the Deccan. Hiuen-Tsang visited and described his kingdom and the people, praising their energy and industry. Pulakeśin conquered Gujarāt and Veṅgi and his empire embraced almost the whole of the Deccan. He received an embassy from Khusrau II of Persia, an historic event recorded in one of the Ajantā* frescoes, many of which were also completed by him. The Pallavas* were the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas and the two royal houses carried on a ceaseless struggle for supremacy. Pulakeśin was defeated by Narasiṁhavarman the Pallava king of Kāñchi in 642 who sacked Vātāpi and probably slew Pulakeśin.

Pulakeśin's successors ruled with varying fortunes. One of them defeated the Pallavas and took Kāñchi, and another even successfully opposed the Arabs of Sind. In 753 the First Chālukya Dynasty was brought to an end by the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

The Eastern Chālukyas (630–1070). Pulakeśin's brother, Vishṇuvardhana (*c.* 630) took over his share of the Chālukya empire, establishing the Eastern Chālukya dynasty with capital at Rājamundry in the area known as Veṅgi, on the east coast between the Godāvarī and Kistna rivers, whence they are also known as the Veṅgi kings. Their history is a chronicle of strife. One of the Veṅgi monarchs boasted that he had fought 108 battles in twelve years. In the first half of the tenth century seven kings ascended the throne in sixteen years, some reigning less than one year each. By that time, torn as they were with internal and external wars the Veṅgi were living by sufferance of the Chola kings, who set up or displaced the Veṅgi rulers at their pleasure. In 1070 the Chola king Kulottuṅga I seized the throne of the Eastern Chālukyas from the twenty-fifth reigning king and thus brought the Veṅgi kingdom to an end.

Second or **Later Chālukyas** (973–1189). In the eighth century (AD 753) as stated above, the Western branch had been taken over by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. They recovered some measure of independence some two centuries later in 973 under Taila II (973–997) who claimed descent from the Early Chālukyas of Vātāpi. They moved their capital to Kalyāṇī and gained control of the Deccan till the end of the twelfth century. They were constantly engaged in fighting with the Paramāras of Mālwā and the Cholas of Tanjore, but especially with the Pallavas who were for many troubled years a thorn in the side of the Chālukyas. The reign of Vikramāditya VI (1076–1127) was notable for the composition of the famous digest of Hindu law by Vijñāneśvara, and the works of Bilhaṇa, both under the patronage of this monarch. By the end of the twelfth century (*c.* 1190) the Chālukya empire was split up among the Hoysalas* of Mysore, the Yādavas of Devagiri, and the Kākatīyas of Warangal.

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The **Yādava** dynasty (fl 1190–1294) of Devagiri or Deogiri (modern Daulatābād) in the northern Deccan, remained for some time the foremost power in the Deccan. The age of the Yādavas saw the composition of the works of Hemādri, Bopadeva and Jñānadeva. The kingdom was brought to an end with the capture of Devagiri by Alā-ud-dīn Khilji in 1294. The then king Rāmachandradeva (1271–1309) was made to pay heavy annual tribute but his life was spared and he continued to rule as a vassal of the Delhi Sultanate. Some years later a Yādava prince attempted to restore the independence of the kingdom and was caught and flayed alive by Malik Kāfūr and his head impaled over the gate of Devagiri. These Yādavas are to be distinguished from the Epic tribe of the same name.

The **Kākatīya** dynasty (1175–1323) in the Telugu-speaking areas of the eastern Deccan had their capital in the fortress city of Warangal (Orakkal, 'solitary rock'). In 1175 they conquered the Eastern Chālukya (now Chola) territory and started building a fort in the town, later to become famous under the Muslims as Golkondā, the centre of India's diamond trade. In 1200 the Kākatīyas were defeated by the Yādavas of Deogiri but soon recovered, although their mutual hatred of each other continued. Noteworthy among the Kākatīya monarchs was Rudrammā (fl. 1293) a queen whose wise rule was highly praised by Marco Polo.

The next ruler, Pratāparudradeva (1300–1320) managed to defend himself against an expedition sent by the redoubtable Alā-ud-dīn Khilji. Alā-ud-dīn next sent an army under Malik Kāfūr who, receiving help from the Yādava king Rāmachandradeva of Deogiri (see above) forced the Kākatīya monarch to surrender. Kāfūr returned to Delhi with a fabulous booty carried on 'a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure'. Pratāparudradeva like his Yādava rival sent annual tribute to Delhi.

The Early Chālukya period was of great significance in the history of Indian architecture and sculpture. The chief sites of Chālukyan building achievements are Aihole, with nearly seventy temples and shrines, regarded as one of the 'cradles of Indian temple architecture'; also Bādāmi, and Paṭṭadakal. The Chālukyan temple style is in embryo a combination of northern and Dravidian features, the latter predominating. It is generally a long low structure, with a squat pyramid-like tower over the main shrine.

Chief among the Aihole temples are those of Lād Khān (*c.* 460), Huchchhīmallīguḍi (*c.* 510), and Durgā (520), the last a brāhminical version of the chaitya hall. At Bādāmi, besides cave-temples* and rock-cut pillared halls (*c.* 578), there is also the famous Mālegitti Śivālaya (*c.* 525) temple. The principal Puṭṭadakal temples are those of Pāpanātha (*c.* 735) and Virūpāksha (*c.* 740).

Chālukya sculpture found in the cave temples of Bādāmi and in the structural temples there and elsewhere, is seen on the pillars and in ornamental friezes. Their graceful *apsarās* and male and female couples are regarded as surpassing, in some respects, the work of the Gupta sculptors.

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CHANDELLA (800–1204), a Rājput tribe of Hunnish and Gond stock, who claimed descent from the sage Chandrātreya, born of the moon-god and a young widow. Among the heroes descended from this progenitor were Ālhā, Jujhār, Jujhoti, Jejāka and Jayaśakti; names that frequently recur in Chandella legend and history and in the topography of their country. Their kingdom was also referred to as Jejākabhukti. Their patron deity was Manīyā, an ancient tribal goddess of the aboriginals of the locality, who is depicted nude.

The first historical name in the Chandella dynastic line is that of **Nannuka** (*c.* AD 800), also called Chandravarman, who rose to power with the decline of the Pratihāras and established his sovereignty in the area of Bundelkhaṇḍ to the south-west of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom. He chose as his capital a site near a lake which was supposed to have existed from time immemorial under different names as the capital of various kingdoms through all the successive *kalpas* or aeons. On this site Nannuka performed a 'great sacrifice' (*mahā-utsava*) and named the place Mahobā. It is difficult to determine what elements of fact underlie these legends; but there is no doubt that the whole region is rich in prehistoric associations, including the architectural centre of Khajurāho. Many of the hoary traditions have unfortunately been buried under later orthodox accretions. Another important Chandella fortification was Kālañjar (or Kāliñjar), a hill sacred to Śiva and associated with the exile of Rāma and Sītā, and once dotted with ancient temples. Because of its strategic position the Chandellas converted it into a hill fortress. It was destroyed by the Muslims at the beginning of the thirteenth century (see below).

Chandella history conforms to the usual pattern of dynastic chronicles in the Indian medieval period elsewhere. Some obscure non-Aryan chieftain rises by dint of ruthless energy to leadership over a group of clans, embraces Hinduism with its traditions, doctrines, social and caste systems and ceremonies. Then, in the words of Goswami, 'the wily brāhmins graciously invest the upstart with the spurious halo of a mythical ancestry by concocting a legend tracing his alleged descent from the Solar or Lunar race'.

The most noteworthy of the Chandella rulers was **Dhaṅga** (954–1002) who built the temple of Khaṇḍāria Mahādeo (see below) at Khajurāho. It is said that when he reached the age of a hundred he immolated himself on a pyre of cowdung cakes at Prayāga. A temporary reversal of fortune occurred in 1018 during the reign of **Gāṇḍā** (1002–1018). When in that year, the ruler of neighbouring Kanauj tamely surrendered to Mahmūd of Ghazni, the princes of the adjoining states headed by Gaṇḍa, deposed and slew the cowardly king. But when Mahmūd next turned his attention to Gaṇḍa, he was stricken with panic at the mere sight of the Muslim array and fled a few hours before the battle, leaving his treasures, the troops of the Chandellas, and his allies to the mercy of the redoubtable conqueror.

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The dynasty later again rose to prominence, notably under **Kirtavarman** (1070–1098), at whose court flourished the poet and dramatist Kṛishṇa-miśra; and under **Madana** (1129–1163) who did much to beautify the lake on which the capital was situated, so that it was renamed after him Madana Sagar. Its shores and islands are graced with the picturesque ruins of many temples and sculptured monuments dating from that day.

Chandella power declined under his successors until in 1182 they were heavily defeated by Pṛithvirāj III. In 1202 they were finally crushed when the Muslims under Kutb-ud-dīn Aibak, captured their principal fortress of Kālañjar, plundered its vast wealth, enslaved its inhabitants and converted its temples into mosques. Kutb-ud-dīn then went on to sack the venerable town of Mahobā, so that 'the very name of idolatry was annihilated' in that region. Surviving scions of the Chandella line continued in small fashion to hold court until the beginning of the fourteenth century, but they had ceased to be of any consequence.

The Chandellas were notable patrons of art and architecture. The heart of their architectural endeavour, the village of **Khajurāho,** thirty-five miles from the capital of Mahobā, was an ancient centre of Maga, and later of Buddhist, worship, mentioned by the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang. The site was razed by the Chandellas and on its foundations, within the space of one century (950–1050) they erected more than eighty Śaivite, Vaishṇavite and Jain temples and shrines, of which only about twenty remain today. A relic of Maga sun worship survives in the Chitragupta temple dedicated to the sun god, which contains an image of this deity wearing heavy boots of north-western provenance.

Built of fine sandstone the Khajurāho temple is generally small, and raised on a high masonry platform, the single entrance being approached by a steep flight of steps. The successive parts of the temple are not separate but constitute one unified whole, although each part has its own roof. Unlike the pyramidal roof of the Orissan style, the Khajurāho roof is domical. The grouping of these roofs towards the *śikhara* (steeple) and the vertical lines of the structure, lead the eye upwards and suggest a miniature range of hills, soaring and sweeping aloft to the highest pinnacle. The best known of the Khajurāho group is the Śiva temple of Khaṇḍāria Mahādeo (1000) which has elaborate friezes running horizontally around the building, with an astonishing display of exquisite sculpture.

This sculpture is the most striking feature of the Khajurāho temples. The interiors are richly carved with dwarfs, gargoyles and grotesques, as well as female figures of sensual grace. But no Epic or Purāṇic scenes are presented. The exterior of the temples, notably that of Khaṇḍāria Mahādeo has two or three parallel friezes which form horizontal panels around the building. carrying a profusion of wonderfully proportioned statuary in high relief, There are over 650 nude figures, mostly female, in elegantly languorous attitudes, though there are others depicting postures of sexual union, in a few cases in groups and in unnatural attitudes. To some authorities this fact suggests that the temples were once dedicated to a sex cult, now abandoned, or were perhaps a carry-over from the ancient traditions associated with sun worship as is found in the Black Pagoda of Konārak.

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CHAṆḌIDĀS (?1350–1430?) Bengali Śākta poet. Traditions about him extend over a long period and some scholars think there may have been two or even three poets of the same name. One was certainly a friend of the Maithili poet Vidyāpati; and possibly another was the author of hymns in praise of Kṛishṇa and dozens of short Vaishṇavite songs (*pada*). These songs deal with every phase of human love and were the inspiration of the Vaishṇavite reformer Chaitanya.

Chaṇḍidās inherited from his father the position of subordinate priest at the temple of the Goddess in his birthplace in the Birbhum district. His predisposition to ecstatic states and bursts of spontaneous poetry earned him the reputation of being 'mad'. One day, while walking by the river bank he saw a beautiful girl washing clothes and was immediately struck with love for her, and he made her acquaintance and sought her company. Her name was Rāmī (or Tārā) and she was of the lowly washerman caste.

Their liaison scandalized the brāhmins and led to his discharge from his priestly office and ostracism from his caste. The brāhmins agreed to take him back only if he renounced the girl. But when Chaṇḍidās approached her to tell her of his predicament she was suddenly transfigured before him and he beheld her not as the washerwoman Rāmī but as the Mother Goddess herself in all her divinity. The goddess advised him not to forsake Rāmī for she would teach him more truths than all the paṇḍits. Taking courage from this vision he refused to give up the girl.

It is said that the wife of a nawāb of Gaur fell in love with the poet and used to follow him about. The jealous husband tried various means of putting an end to his rival's life and when all these failed he had the poet tied to the back of an elephant, paraded through the streets of the town and whipped to death.

Books

See under Bengali.

CHANDRAGUPTA II (380–413) the chief glory of the Gupta* dynasty, was the son of Samudragupta and Dattadevī. According to one account, his elder brother Rāmagupta ruled before him for a short time. On the threat of the Śakas he acquiesced in the surrender of his young and beautiful wife, Dhruvadevī, to the Śaka king of Mathurā, but this ignomy was averted by the heroic intervention of his brother Chandragupta. Finding a suitable opportunity Chandragupta entered the tent of the Śaka king disguised as Dhruvadevī and slew the licentious monarch. He then returned to the capital, assassinated his brother Rāmagupta, ascended the throne, and himself married Dhruvadevī, over whom all the trouble had started. The child of

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their union was Kumāragupta. This episode has been sung in verse, and was embodied in a contemporary play.

With the aid of his Buddhist general Āmrakārdava, Chandragupta II consolidated his many conquests, expanding the empire and considerably reducing the area of Śaka rule. He then settled down to a life of peace. He chose as his capital the city of Ujjain, once the metropolis of the Śaka king Rudradāman, and a place that had been subjected to the most varied racial and cultural influences. He next married a Nāga princess; his daughter married a Vākāṭaka prince; and his son a royal Kadamba maiden; thus adding to the genealogical complexities of the Hindu dynastic lines.

Fa-hien the Chinese pilgrim who visited India at this time left a remarkable account of Chandragupta's empire, which portrays a prosperous and contented people. It is the last detailed glimpse of Indian history we have until the time of Harsha, about two centuries later. Fa-hien described in glowing terms the impartiality, clemency and efficiency of the administration. Hospitals were opened, roads and rest-houses built, and the safety and security of the people assured.

Chandragupta is described as a patron of learning and a paragon of justice; he has in fact sometimes been identified with the Vikramāditya* of legend, whose judgment was said to be unexcelled, and whose knowledge of literature and the arts and sciences was only exceeded by his understanding of occult and hidden matters, and who, like Solomon, was able to command spirits, both good and evil, to do his bidding.

Books

See under Guptas.

CHANNELS OF THE SUBTLE BODY. The subtle body is said to be served by a network of 101 vessels called *nāḍi* (tube) which ramify from the heart, from the *kanda* and other chakras or astral centres. Each of these branches out into 100 lesser nāḍis, and these again into 72,000 still lesser nāḍis, and so on, making a total of more than 700 million nāḍis. Along this elaborate network of nāḍis great and small the vital, prāṇic and astral currents flow. The chief nāḍis are mentioned below.

The *sushumṇā* (or *avadhūtikā*) which is enclosed within the brahmadaṇḍa or spinal column corresponds to the principles of the sun, moon and fire. It proceeds from the *kandayoni chakra** just above the sex organs, to the brahmarandhra or principal aperture at the base of the skull. In general practice it may be said to correspond to the central channel of the spinal cord. Inside this enclosing channel is a finer channel called the *vajrinī*, and inside that another channel called the *chitrinī*. The latter is as thin as the thousandth part of a hair and it is on this that the chakras are based, and along it the awakened *kuṇḍalinī** proceeds.

The *iḍā* is the nāḍi situated on the left side of the sushumṇā. It is white in colour, corresponds to the lunar principle and ends in the left nostril. The iḍā stretches in the form of a bent bow from under the left nostril to below the left kidney.

The *piṅgalā* is situated on the right side of the sushumṇā. It is red in

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colour, corresponds to the solar principle and ends in the right nostril. Like the iḍā it is bow-shaped.

The sushumṇā, iḍā and piṅgalā are the three main nāḍis. The iḍā is referred to as the Ganges of the subtle body, the piṅgalā as the Yamunā, and the sushumṇā as the Sarasvatī. These three rivers meet at a certain point above the middle of the eybrows known as the *triveṇi*, 'triple braid', the triple confluence. 'The man who can by the power of yoga bathe in the triveṇi attains liberation.'

The lesser nāḍis include the *gāndhārī* and the *hasti-jihvā* which start in the kandayoni chakra and travel to the front and rear of the sushumṇā, proceeding towards the left and right eyes respectively; or, in some texts, the gāndhārī starts from below the corner of the left eye and goes to the great toe of the left foot, and the hasti-jihvā from below the corner of the right eye to the great toe of the right foot. The *pūshā* and *yaśasvinī* also start in the kandayoni chakra and reach the left and right ears respectively. The *alaṁbushā* reaches the mouth and proceeds to the arms with ramifications to the urinogenitary organs. The *śubhā* (or *kuhū*) stretches downwards towards the tip of the sex organ; it is equated with the pudic nerve of the sacral plexus to the left of the spinal cord. The *kauśikī* (or *śaṅkhinī*) starts from the kandayoni chakra and reaches the anus, and then proceeds as far as the big toes.

The so-called purification* of the nāḍis is one of the most important of yogic exercises and is performed to enable the prāṇic and psychic currents to pass freely through them. In the higher stages of the purificatory exercises the iḍā, piṅgalā and certain other nāḍis are 'blocked' so that the prāṇa is forced along the central nāḍi, the sushumṇā, in order to awaken the kuṇḍalinī*.

Books

See under Body, Chakras, Kuṇḍalinī.

CHĀRVĀKA, the greatest of the nāstika* or materialistic philosophers of India, and one of the greatest sceptics in the history of philosophy. Little is known about his life, but his doctrines are referred to in the *Manu-smṛiti* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, and a demon of this name mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* may well be a reminiscence of this non-Aryan sage. The *Mahābhārata* relates that during Yudhishṭhira's triumphal entry into Hastināpura, a *rākshasa* (demon) named Chārvāka disguised himself as a brāhmin and reviled him, reproaching him for the crimes by which he had gained the throne. The demon preached profane, atheistical and heretical doctrines, but he was soon exposed by real brāhmins and reduced to ashes by the fire of their eyes.

From this philosopher are derived the tenets of the Chārvāka school, representing the extremity of materialism and Pyrrhonism. They reject in its entirety the concept of a spiritual universe, believing that the whole world process, including thought itself is the result of the activity of matter. The ultimate principles are earth, water, fire and air (the fifth principle of Hindu philosophy, ether, is rejected), and from the fortuitous combination of these elements the world has been spontaneously formed. The combining of these four elements has produced the external world, the physical organisms, the sense organs and intelligence. Both life and consciousness originate in

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matter. All knowledge comes through sense perception, and what is not so perceived and experienced is false and non-existent. Consciousness is a function of the body, a by-product of the four non-conscious elements, just as intoxicating liquor results from the fermentation of non-intoxicating rice and molasses. All activity results from the inherent tendency in things to respond to external stimuli, just as certain flowers open in the day and close at night, and others turn their faces towards the sun.

The inherent, characteristic quality of each thing is termed *svabhāva**, 'selfness', or one's own nature, and it is this nature of a thing, and not the apparent cause-and-consequence, that determines its *niyati*, 'destiny'. The principle of causality is therefore invalidated; it is futile to attempt to discover ultimate causes, for in the final analysis one must fall back on svabhāva since it is svabhāva that guides the individual, just as it is the svabhāva of the swan's egg to produce the swan and not hatch snakes. The Chārvāka concept of svabhāva is perhaps the most important of their positive contributions to Hindu philosophy and in one way or another it has left its mark on all subsequent Hindu philosophical thought.

The Chārvāka school rejected the idea of God and regarded religion as an aberration and a disease. There is no retribution, no reward or punishment, no heaven and no hell. There is no soul and no other world, and the doctrines of transmigration and sacrifice are only suited to the intelligence of fools. The Chārvākas reserve their special scorn for the Vedas, the priests and religious ceremonial. The Vedas are the crazy rhapsodies of knaves and blackguards, are ridden with falsehood, self-contradiction and tautology, and no sensible person with the brains of a blind buffalo could possibly accept them as inspired. If it be true that a sacrificed animal goes to heaven, why does not the sacrificer sacrifice his own father? If the offering of food satisfies the hunger of departed souls why does not the supply of oil increase the flame of an extinct lamp? Sacrifices for obtaining a son can only have two results, positive and negative: if a son is born the brāhmins proudly declare that it is due to the power of their *mantras* (spells); if there is no child the scoundrels wriggle out of their predicament by declaring that the rite was vitiated by some fault of the patron.

Caste was denounced as a monstrous invention of the priesthood, and asceticism and self-mortification condemned as downright folly. People were urged not to waste their time on pilgrimages, or their money on shrines, since it merely went to swell the coffers of the brāhmins. Vedic teachers, priests and brāhmins were vilified as 'worse than cobras and scorpions', 'human parasites', and 'perfidious impostors', and the rigmarole which they taught was only useful as a means of providing them with a livelihood.

The Chārvākas advocated a life of sensible enjoyment, for which nature provided man with the reward of happiness. 'While you live,' they declared, 'live well, even if you have to borrow; for once cremated there is no return.' They encouraged good living, good eating and good drinking, and due to this doctrine some authorities believe that the name Chārvāka does not derive from a philosopher but from a school of epicures (*charva*, 'chewing') and hedonists (*charu*, 'pleasing').

The Chārvākas are the only truly optimistic school of Hindu philosophy.

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They strongly opposed the Buddhist preoccupation with suffering, holding that although pain exists, it is transitory. In the pattern of pleasure and pain that constitutes life, pleasure is more abundant and more lasting, and predominates over pain. In any case, should one throw away the rice because it is covered with husk, or refrain from eating fish because of its prickly spine?

Books

See under Nāstika.

CHIDAMBARAM, a town 150 miles south of Madras, known in ancient times as Tillai, once the capital of the Chola kingdom. Its temples are among the oldest in India and some of them are gems of Dravidian architecture, though the majority now form part of later structures. The site is honoured as the 'standing-place' of the *ākāśa-liṅga*, the ethereal, invisible liṅga* of Śiva, and a complex of temples grew up in ancient times around the hallowed spot.

The temples are erected on an alluvial plain between two rivers. There is no trace of building stone within forty miles, so that all building material had to be transported great distances. The temple enclosure contains shrines to Gaṇeśa (which has the largest image of the elephant god in India), to Vishṇu, Pārvatī, and other deities, but most of them are Śaivite.

Legend has it that many centuries ago (*c.* AD 500) a king came from Kashmīr to bathe in the sacred waters of the tank in the Śaivite temple of Chidambaram and was miraculously cured of leprosy. The monarch, whose complexion had changed from leprous white to a golden colour, endowed the temple and had it enlarged. In AD 960, Vīra a Chola rāja had a vision of Śiva dancing the cosmic dance* in the vicinity of the temple, and he had it still further enlarged, erecting the Golden Shrine in honour of the deity. The temple was finally completed in 1250, having taken several centuries to build. Its oldest structure, a tiny inner shrine, is built to represent a horse-drawn chariot.

Between 1595 and 1685 the hall of the thousand pillars (actually 984) was added. The eastern gateway of the temple commemorates the incident of the rāja's vision, and is dedicated to Śiva as Lord of the Dance (Naṭarāja or Naṭeśvara); on its panels are carved in high relief the one hundred and eight karaṇa or dance poses, illustrating the classic dance postures described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Each figure is nine inches high and stands in its own niche. Nothing like it exists anywhere else in the world.

Books

See under Towns, Architecture, Sculpture.

CHILD MARRIAGE was until recently a custom commonly practised among Hindus. With the lower castes marriages were generally deferred until the partners had reached full age, but among the higher castes the minority of the male was immaterial provided the boy had been through the *upanayana* (initiation) ceremony. The age recommended by the lawgivers as most suitable for the male varied between ten and twenty-four.

In the context of Hinduism child marriage refers more specifically to the

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custom of giving girls in marriage at an extremely early age, the maximum allowed by the lawgivers being twelve years. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that Rāma at sixteen married Sītā when she was only six; and Megasthenes (*c.* 300 BC) writing of conditions prevalent in his time records that the Hindu wife in many cases was only six years old. The *Brahmā Purāṇa* states that a girl may be given in marriage at any time after the age of four.

It was of course necessary for the girl to be a virgin, and absolutely imperative that she be married before her first menstruation*. It was extremely difficult to find a husband for a girl who had passed the 'marriageable' age, which was determined by the *ṛitu*. According to the lawgivers and sages if a man failed to arrange the marriage of his daughter after the year set by custom, 'his ancestors are cursed to drink of her menstrual flow from month to month' (VI, p. 177). To be on the safe side the girl was wedded very early, the ideal age in *strī-tantra** being between *nagnikā* ('nude', i.e. five years) and *lagnikā* ('clinging', i.e. nine years), a rule which was strictly followed in the case of most high-caste Hindu girls, although the husband might actually exercise his marital rights only when his wife reached the age of ten.

Many reasons have been advanced for the child marriage of girls: the fear that if a girl were not married before puberty she might claim the right to self-determination in the choice of her husband; the fear of parents that their daughter might enter a Buddhist nunnery (I, p. 26); the early nubility of girls in the tropical climate of India with its consequent temptations when they reached the age of desire; the prejudice of husbands who wanted to have full possession of their wives before they were fully aware of the implications of marriage; the deep distrust felt by Indians from ancient to modern times towards the mingling of the sexes. Manu advises a man not to sit in a lonely place with his own mother, sister or daughter. A modern writer points out that the members of a Women's Club in Bombay demanded the right to bring their eleven and twelve-year-old daughters with them to the afternoon meetings, since, they confessed, they were uneasy about leaving the girls at home with the men of the family (VI, p. 66), but such instances need not be given any universal validity. The Abbé Dubois writing in the beginning of the last century expressed another reason in his usual self-righteous manner thus, 'Experience has taught that young Hindu women do not possess sufficient firmness and sufficient regard for their honour to resist the ardent solicitations of a seducer. Therefore measures cannot be taken too early to place them intact in their husband's hands.'

The *reductio ad absurdum* of the injunctions laid down by the early lawgivers is seen in the progressive lowering of the marriageable age for girls until it reaches infancy and in fact even before birth. Already in the *Mahābhārata* there are passages recommending marriage at birth. In this case it was merely a betrothal, but if the husband died before consummation the girl was regarded as a widow* and could not remarry. Frequently enough the difference between a man and his child bride was very great, and it was not unusual for a man of fifty or sixty to marry a girl of five or six. In such cases she was often left a widow in her early teens and her life was miserable in the extreme. Rabindranāth Tagore in a moving passage describes the pathos of the system. 'Playing our flutes, let us bring home a bride of eight years. Let us

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snatch and tear open the bud of childhood, let us force out the sweet of youth. Pressing a weight of scriptures on the new expanding life, let us make it one with the dust of the wrinkled ages.' The more sordid realities of such unions are vividly, if at times extravagantly, set forth in *Mother India*, a much maligned book written by Katherine Mayo.

Another kind of child marriage was that in which two children were united in a regular and recognized marriage ceremony as man and wife. The custom of 'embryo marriage' was also prevalent, where a man was betrothed to an unborn child who, if it turned out to be a girl, would be his wife from birth. Another form of 'embryo marriage' was when two pregnant women underwent the formalities of a marriage ceremony, and this union by proxy was absolutely binding on their future children who were thus united as husband and wife even before they had seen the light of day. The contract was regarded as null and void only if the two infants were of the same sex. A curious form of child marriage is found among the Kumbi caste* of Gujarāt (especially the Levā and Kadavā sub-castes). With them the marriage season comes only once in twelve years and lasts for only three days. As they insist on pre-puberty marriages all marriages take place within this period so that even girls in the cradle are married.

Hindu reformers, under the inspiration of Christian missionaries, agitated for over a century before the abuses of child marriage were mitigated by the Sarda Act of 1929, which made illegal the marriage of a male below eighteen and a female below fourteen years.

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CHINA. The association between India and China probably goes far back into the remote past. Examination of skeletal remains in the Indus Valley reveals the presence of Mongoloid racial types, though there is little to indicate from the craniological structure that they were Chinese. The people of China are first mentioned in the older passages of the *Mahābhārata* and it would appear that in the pre-Buddhist period Chinese influence was already well established in India.

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Close contact between the two civilizations is believed to have occurred at some meeting-place in Central Asia, which brought in its wake a profound modification in the religious notions of Hinduism. Certain aspects of Indian philosophical enquiry in the Upanishads are to be identified with Scythia and Central Asia, if not directly with China (I, p. 13). Aiyar maintains that the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* as taught by Chinese philosophers 'played a great part in the evolution of the doctrine in India'. From China also came sundry techniques of religious meditation which date from a remote period. Nothing but very ancient association between the two peoples can account for the identity of certain meditative (*yoga*) routines that combine *āsanas* and breath control (*prāṇayāma*) as practised in India, with those practised among certain Chinese sects of pre-Taoist times, and of the ancient Tao practices (*see* tantrism) of therapeutic alchemy* and sex-magic* with the traditional Indian system which seeks to attain immortality through the same means (*see* physical culture).

Although the Himālayan passes from Tibet and Nepāl and the hilly tracts of Burma and Assam did offer a means for establishing communication between India and China, the main routes remained the prehistoric thoroughfares across the highlands of Central Asia along which much of the commerce of the ancient world was carried on to and from the Far East. Later writers spoke of these highways as the great 'silk routes', after the chief article of merchandise exported from China.

Flourishing trading stations grew up in the heart of Asia, where missionaries of many faiths propagated obscure cults, generated from as far afield as Alexandria and Korea, that have contributed in no small measure to the evolution of the religious systems of the ancient world. The diversity of language and scripts in which they were formulated, Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Syriac, Khotanese, and the variety and wealth of philosophical ideas expressed in them, Taoist, Confucian, Zoroastrian, Nestorian, Christian, Mithraic, Vaishṇavite and Śaivite, speak eloquently of the vast intellectual activity that flowed along these caravan highways.

With the growth of Buddhism the traffic that flowed along the great 'silk routes' swelled into a mighty stream that was soon to transfigure the face of the Asiatic world. The long trade* routes they traversed were dotted with cells of Buddhist teaching: Tung-huang (site of the famous Cave of the Thousand Buddhas), Miran (the site of a Buddhist shrine), Turfan, Khotan, Kucha, Karashahr, became centres of learning, focuses of hybrid civilizations whose remarkable treasures in art, literature, philosophy and religion have only recently come to light.

Both Hindu and Buddhist thought received a vitalizing impetus from this cultural miscegenation, and more than one school of philosophical and religious thought owes its inspiration to some little religious cell in a remote part of Central Asia. The Kālachakra doctrine had its origin near the river Oxus; the Mañjuśrī cult also came from Central Asia; the cult of Amitābha represents a mystery in Buddhist literature and religion; it developed in north Persia and even bears traces of Christian gnosticism.

Scholars believe that many Tantrik principles such as the use of the five M's in chakrapūjā ritual, and in fact vāmāchāra or chīnāchāra practices

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generally, as well as the worship of certain gods and goddesses were introduced to India from China (IV, p. 105). The Tantrik goddess Tārā, whose name is derived from the Persian word for star, sitāra, represented the celestial being who dwelt amongst the stars. For long she remained obscure until the bodhisattva ideal developed in Central Asia and she came into her own as the śakti or female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara. Her character underwent a transformation when her worship spread to Tibet and China where she became a saviour goddess and the Mother of Mercy.

The *Mahābhārata*, the Buddhist, Jain and early Sanskrit texts, all give occasional glimpses of the Chinese world. Literary references in the *Milindapañho* (*c.* 150 BC) and epigraphic data from the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (AD 250) speak of close intercourse between India and China in the early centuries of the pre- and post-Christian eras.

There are indications of the invigorating breezes of foreign thought blowing in from the kingdoms of Han (*c.* AD 200), Wei (*c.* AD 400) and Tang (*c.* AD 620). In the latter part of the fifth century there were three thousand Indians residing in the kingdom of Wei in northern China (VII, p. 172). Indian mathematics was deeply influenced by the labours of Chinese savants of this period. In fact, Indian theory in this field is such a close copy of Chinese mathematics that even the examples and mistakes of Chinese manuals are carried over bodily into Indian works (VI, p. 40). Further evidence seems to suggest that the idea for the zero and the place-value system in numerals* owes much to China.

This whole period was an age of fruitful cultural exchange between the two countries; the age of the great Chinese travellers who undertook arduous transcontinental journeys to live and study in the land of Buddha's birth. Eminent representatives of this body of pilgrims were the renowned Chinese Buddhists Fa-hien (*c.* AD 410), Hiuen-Tsang (AD 630) and I'tsing (AD 675). It was the age when Harsha received embassies from China, and Yaśovarman of Kanauj (d. AD 735) maintained close relations with the Chinese court; when the great trade routes were flooded with Indian pedants bearing the message of Buddha to the Chinese people, and Central Asian and Chinese travellers and scholars were bringing some of their own wisdom to India (*see* Buddhist history).

Along with the treasures of religion, philosophy and abstract thought came the more prosaic commodities of the caravan merchant. The Sanskrit names of several such items preserve their Chinese derivation and would confirm the antiquity of trade relations with the Chinese world. Brass seems to have first been introduced to north India in about 200 BC through Chinese trade (X, p. 97). Chinese pottery and silk-making 'had a very ancient and deep influence on Indian art' (I, p. 15), and silk stuffs were known in early Sanskrit literature as *chīnāṁśuka*, 'China fibre-cloth'. The slender bamboo used for making flutes is called in Sanskrit *kīchaka*, a term of Chinese origin, derived from the ancient Chinese *k'i-chok*. Chinese princes introduced the peach and pear, two fruits which came to be known respectively as *chīnāni* and *chīnarājaputra* (II, p. 58). The Sanskrit word for a kind of vermilion, *sindūra*, comes from the Chinese *ts'in-t'ung*. Woodroffe suggests that the hibiscus may have been brought from China via Nepāl.

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The impact of Chinese ideas on kingship is seen in the title *Devaputra* (Divine Son) used by many medieval princes of India. It was derived from the usage of the Kushān kings of north-west India who called themselves the 'Sons of Heaven' from a tradition ultimately Chinese in origin (IV, p. 99). Professor S. K. Chatterji discerns traces of Chinese influence in the framework of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* and in its descriptions of the garden, which appear to be derived from Chinese horticultural art.

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CHOLA (or *Choḷa*) an ancient Tamil kingdom on the lower east coast of India along the banks of the river Kāverī. The name of the Coromandel coast is derived from Chola-maṇḍala or Chola territory.

The origin of the term Chola is undecided. Some derive it from a word meaning 'black', referring to the very dark complexion of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of that region. Others say the Cholas were a predatory tribe whose habits made their name synonymous with 'thief' and who according to some etymologists gave the word *chaura* (thief) to the Sanskrit language.

The Cholas are mentioned in the Epics, the Jātakas and the Purāṇas. They displayed great military activity from the beginning of their career; a Chola prince, **Elala** (145–101 BC) (or Eḷara) conquered Ceylon but was driven out after a war that lasted fifteen years. To the author of the *Periplus* (AD 80) the Cholas were known as 'men of the sea', and as traders and fishermen to the geographer Ptolemy (AD 160). Their chief port Kāviripaṭṭanam, at the mouth of the Kāverī, was an important trading* station known to the Romans; and excavations at another Chola port further north, Arikamedu, near Pondicherry (the Podonke of Ptolemy), have confirmed that they traded with Rome as early as the first century BC. Greeks, Romans and other 'foreign traders who came from beyond the sea speaking various tongues', had considerable settlements in the south-eastern coastal towns, and were frequently mentioned in ancient texts.

The early history of the Cholas is obscure, but it is established that about the beginning of the Christian era they were the leading power of the south. For long their history revolved around their struggles against the neighbouring Cheras and Pāṇḍyas, and by the fourth century with the Pallavas who

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conquered and for a time ruled the Cholas. For the next four hundred years Chola fortunes are again shrouded in obscurity. Hiuen-Tsang who visited the Chola country in AD 640 describes it as a land of marshes and jungles, wild and deserted, with a hot and oppressive climate, and with a people as dissolute and dirty as they were fierce, cruel and savage. The country was the home of brigands who went about openly marauding.

In the ninth century the Cholas rose to prominence again, by which time they emerged as zealous Hindus intolerant of both Jains and Buddhists. Their principal towns from this period on were Chidambaram, Tanjore (Tanjavur) and Trichinopoly, all rich in old mythological associations. The last named is properly Tiru-śila-palli, 'sacred-rock-town' from the famous Rock which dominates the area, once the abode of a three-headed demon.

During the early part of the ninth century the Cholas were vassals to the Pallavas of Kāñchi, but under **Āditya I** (870–906) they succeeded in overthrowing the Pallavas and establishing themselves in Tanjore. In the reign of **Parāntaka I** (906–953) the Chola country was overrun by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, but after worsting them the Cholas launched out on a career of expansion and consolidation that went on for three centuries, ruling the Coromandel coast and large parts of the eastern Deccan.

The zenith of their power was reached under **Rājarāja I,** the Great (985–1014), whose conquests included the territories of the Cheras, Pāṇḍyas, Veṅgi, Kaliṅga, and even Ceylon and the Laccadive and Maldive Islands. He was responsible for the creation of the great Śiva temple at Tanjore.

His son was **Rājendra I** (1012–1044), surnamed Gaṅgaikoṇḍa because his sway extended to the Ganges. He defeated the Pāla king of Bengal, reaffirmed his sovereignty over recalcitrant Ceylon, sent out a naval expedition which occupied parts of Burma, Malaya and the Śailendra empire of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra, and did much to suppress the pirates on the high seas who were ever hampering Chola trade. Many of the claims made on his behalf are not substantiated by historical fact and are not generally accepted. He built a great temple at his new capital of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cholapuram in the Trichinopoly district.

The most prominent of the later Cholas was **Kulottuṅga I** (1070–1120) also known as Rājendra III. Although he annexed the territories of the Eastern Chālukyas his empire began its slow dissolution during his reign. The Cholas were expelled from Ceylon in 1075, and thereafter their power declined under the continual harassment of their neighbours, especially the Pāṇḍyas. The final downfall came in the thirteenth century when their territory was divided between the Hoysalas of Mysore and the revived Pāṇḍya dynasty of Madura.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the last remnants fled to Vijayanagar, which was founded on the ruins of Chola power. In the seventeenth century the territory was taken by the Marāṭhas and by the middle of the eighteenth century by the British.

The Chola government was amazingly efficient. Accounts of the eleventh century show a very advanced state of society. The administrative structure rested on unions of villages which each had their own assembly chosen by lot, their own treasury and their own administrative offices. Several villages

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formed districts, and these again were grouped into provinces. The village and district councils had a considerable measure of local autonomy and exercised a great influence on the larger neighbouring towns. A regular survey, a kind of *Domesday Book*, was prepared. They used metal currency consisting chiefly of gold coins; had an extensive trade, well-maintained roads, and huge irrigation works including canals, reservoirs, tanks and anicuts.

The Cholas were remarkable for the precision of their records. Royal orders, for instance, were written by scribes at the king's dictation, and attested by competent witnesses, and all copies were again attested, sometimes by as many as a dozen witnesses. These royal scribes were often important personages. The Cholas have left a number of inscriptions which testify to their splendid social and governmental organization, and the flourishing state of their economy.

They were also notable for their high artistic achievements, particularly so in the field of sculpture and architecture. The products of their schools of metal-workers are outstanding, and Chola bronzes are among the best in India, and indeed have seldom been surpassed elsewhere.

Chola achievements in architecture are likewise notable. Certain of their temples are gems of the Dravidian builder's art. They evolved a massive style of building, with highly elaborate decorative detail. Examples are to be found at Pudukottai and Chidambaram* whose celebrated temple, although completed after the Chola period, is in the early Chola style.

The masterpiece of Chola architecture remains the great Śiva temple at Tanjore (*c.* AD 1000) built by Rājarāja the Great. It consists of several structures, such as the portico, assembly hall and nandi pavilion, grouped into an impressive composite whole. Crowning the central shrine is the *vimāna* or sanctuary tower, the chief feature of Chola architecture. The 190-foot tower of the Tanjore temple is built on a square base 55 feet high, and rises in a series of diminishing zones, pyramid-wise, ending in a flat top. Upon this flat top stands a single block of stone, 25 feet high and 80 tons in weight, giving the vimāna tower a total height of 216 feet. It is said that a ramp or inclined road four miles long had to be constructed to raise the huge monolith into position. The Cholas applied their finest craftsmanship to the vimāna which was fantastically and often grotesquely sculptured and adorned. One of the subsidiary structures of the great Tanjore temple has a carving of a man's head with a European hat, believed to be that of Marco Polo the Venetian traveller who may have passed through this region on his way back from China in about AD 1293.

In 1025 Rājendra I the son of Rājarāja built the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram temple, a pretentious but inferior version of the Great Temple of Tanjore.

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CHRISTIANITY is of greater antiquity in India than in any other country in the world except Palestine—it is older in India than in Rome itself.

According to an apocryphal Ancient Syriac work of the second or third century called *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, the Apostles who were together in Jerusalem after the Ascension of Christ, cast lots to decide where each should go to preach the Gospel. India fell to the lot of Thomas who was unwilling to go. 'I have not strength enough for this, for I am weak,' he protested, adding, 'and I am a Hebrew, how can I teach the Indians?' Even when Jesus appeared to him in a vision he refused saying, 'Whithersoever Thou wilt, O Lord, send me, only to India I will not go.' As it happened, however, he was purchased as a slave by an Indian merchant and was taken to India anyway. Master and slave probably reached Taxila by the well-known sea-route from Alexandria to the mouth of the Indus, and here Thomas was sold once more, this time to Gudnaphar (Gondophernes) as a master-carpenter. Legend says that he succeeded in converting the king and his brother, and was allowed to preach the Gospel in the kingdom, where his simple life and abundant faith greatly impressed the people, many of whom were converted.

His missionary activities in the north-west were cut short by the Kushān invasion, and he retraced his steps to the mouth of the Indus and thence took boat to Malabār, landing in the year AD 52 at the port of Muziris (Cranganore), a Roman colony near Cochin. Here too he made many converts and established churches at Palur, Cranganore, Parur, Gokkamaṅgalam, Chayal, Niraṇam and Quilon. Tradition has it that he went over to the east coast of India, met with much success there and converted the local king, who was publicly baptized. He then travelled farther afield, even to China, returned to the east coast of India and was martyred by the brāhmins in AD 72. The place of his martyrdom is traditionally held to have been Mylapore, near Madras, and here he was buried. In the third century, according to one version, his remains were exhumed, carried to Edessa, and once more in the thirteenth century exhumed and taken to Ortona in Italy where they are believed to rest today. There was a shrine of St Thomas at Mylapore as late as the ninth century, to which King Alfred, ruler of the West Saxons in England, is said to have sent a pilgrim party under the Saxon Sighelm.

The tradition of St Thomas's mission and martyrdom in India is preserved not only among the Syrian (or St Thomas) Christians of Travancore, but in the writings of the early Church Fathers, among them Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre (254–313), who speaks of the Apostle Thomas preaching the gospel to the Parthians and Bactrians, and suffering martyrdom at Calamina, a town in India. St Chrysostom (347–407), St Jerome (340–420) and Gregory of Tours (540–594) also speak of his mission.

The fact that Christianity in India was no moribund creed is shown by the many references to it in early Church writings. A certain Pantaenus of Alexandria visited India in AD 189, having been sent there by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, at the request of the congregation in India. Pantaenus found a flourishing Christian community founded by St Bartholomew and a

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Gospel of St Matthew in Hebrew in use among them. Clement of Alexandria was a friend of Pantaenus and apparently obtained his information about India from him.

At the great Council of Nicaea in AD 325, representatives from all parts of the Christian world were present, among them a bishop, who subscribed himself as John, Metropolitan of India. Contact between the Christian communities of Palestine, Persia and India, and the free intercourse among them is amply confirmed from various sources, and from the discovery of ancient Persian crosses at Travancore. We also have the story of the merchant Thomas of Cana who arrived in Cranganore in AD 345 from Persia and was welcomed by the Christians of Malabār, where he settled down with a large number of followers, men, women and children. The author of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (fifth century) speaks of having visited South India and been the guest of Moses, a Nestorian prelate living there.

In AD 522 an Alexandrian merchant, who later became a monk and was better known as Cosmas Indicopleustes, voyaged across the Indian seas and wrote a book entitled *Universal Christian Topography*, in which he referred to the Indian Church established in Ceylon, with a Persian Nestorian presbyter and deacon, and of Christians in Malabār, 'where the pepper grows'. The Bishop of Kalyān (Malabār Coast) he says, was appointed from Persia.

The influence of this proselytizing and democratic religion has been a significant factor in the evolution of popular Hinduism, and its impact is clearly seen in the development of the sectarian doctrines of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. In historical times we find Śaivism motivated by fresh ideas, especially in South India. These ideas centre around the benevolence of the deity, who requires not the blood offering of animal victims, but the surrender of self, the complete and whole-hearted sacrifice of the devotee. There is also for the first time in the historical epoch, a slackening in the distinction between the castes.

Religious worship also begins to be formulated around a single deity, and the hymns that are sung in his praise are as uncompromisingly monotheistic and as intense in their hatred of idolatry as anything in the Hebrew writings. The belief in the redeeming mercy of Śiva is something new to Hinduism and bears undeniable traces of Christian inspiration. Some authorities maintain that the development of Śaivite hymns betrays the influence of Nestorian Christians. Says Dr T. M. P. Mahadevan, 'The rise of a definite religious sect, revering Śiva as a Supreme God and with a philosophy and organization all its own, cannot be traced back earlier than about the beginning of the Christian era' (VII, p. 453).

Similarly, the doctrinal basis of the worship of Vishṇu is *bhakti*, or faith in God, who is conceived of as a deity filled with compassion for humanity, who recognizes no distinctions of caste but admits all his devotees to his grace and love. Here again we find a new element evolving during the Christian period. There is no evidence that Vaishṇavism as a theistic, sectarian religion flourished in the Vedic age, nor can bhakti as a religious doctrine be found in the Vedic texts, and the theory that traces it to faith in the loving grace of Varuṇa is scrappy and far-fetched. No evidence of a regular cult of bhakti such as characterized later Vaishṇavism can be deduced from any reliable

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source at present available to us. The bhakti notion, it would appear, is a direct consequence of the impact of Christianity in the early centuries of the present era.

Some scholars believe that, except for the name, the Kṛishṇa cycle of stories has borrowed extensively from Christian sources, especially in relation to the birth, childhood and divinity of Jesus. The great orientalist, Sir William Jones, held that the spurious Gospels which abounded in the first years of Christianity found their way to India and were known to the Hindus. According to others, Kṛishṇa's victory over Kāliya is a travestied version of Christ's victory over Satan, the Serpent. The German writer, Weber, held that Kṛishṇaism was indebted to Christianity on the grounds that the worship of Kṛishṇa as the sole deity was a post-Christian phase in Hinduism, and the legend of his birth and the celebration of his birthdays, the honour paid to his mother Devakī, and his life as a herdsman, all showed Christian influence (XI, p. 131).

It is further contended that incidents like the visit of Nanda, foster-father of Kṛishṇa, with his pregnant wife Yaśodā to Mathurā to pay taxes; the birth of Kṛishṇa in a shepherd's hut; the adoration of Akrūra (like that of Simeon); the persecution by Kaṁsa; the massacre of the innocents; the flight into Brāj (like the flight into Egypt); and the various miracle stories; the anointing of Kṛishṇa's body with ointment provided by the maiden Kubjā, are actually taken from Christianity. Summing up the data Hopkins says, 'Considering how late are these Kṛishṇa legends in India there can be no doubt that the Hindus borrowed the tales, but not the name' (XI, p. 144).

The scholar Lassen held that certain brāhmins became acquainted with Christianity in some country to the north of India, and returned to India with selected Christian doctrines. This may be the journey referred to in the legend of Śvetadvīpa* (White Island) which occurs in the *Mahābhārata*. He bases his conclusions on the name of the White Island, and the colour of the inhabitants, their worship of an Unseen God (*see* Nārāyaṇa), their stress on faith and prayer.

On the other hand Dr R. G. Bhandarkar says,

'About the first century of the Christian era the boy-god of a wandering tribe of Ābhīras came to be identified with Vāsudeva. In the course of their wandering eastward from Syria or Asia Minor they brought with them, probably, traditions of the birth of Christ in a stable, the massacre of the innocents etc., and the name of Christ itself. The name became recognized as Kṛishṇa, as this word is often pronounced by some Indians as Krista or Kusta. And thus the traditional legends brought by the Ābhīras became engrafted on the story of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa of India' (XI, p. 145).

The final step is taken by Dr Lorinser. From the premise that there were several Christian communities in India at least in the third century AD, and there was also an Indian translation of the New Testament, a fact of which we have positive proof in the writings of St Chrysostom, he arrives at the conclusion that the author of the *Bhagavadgītā* knew and was inspired by the Gospels and the Christian Fathers. He produces parallel passages from the Gītā and the Gospels to support his statement. Though parts of the Gītā were

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written before the third century, a large portion of it was added after that date and some authorities believe that the work received its finishing touches at the hands of Śaṅkara the ninth century Hindu philosopher.

Inconclusive as all these separate theories may appear to be, the cumulative proof as it has been adduced by the experts in their respective fields, leaves little room for doubt that Christian influence on Hinduism during the early and medieval period was both deep and widespread. The parallels between certain aspects of the two religions, so close and exact at times, cannot be dismissed as coincidence.

Christian influence during the later medieval period is considerably obscured for a number of reasons, but the leaven that had been so bountifully added by Christian activity in the early period continued to lighten the heavy dough of Hindu thought for centuries after. Christian ideology coloured the teachings of Hindu bhagats like Kabīr, and the thought of philosophers like Madhva, and generally shaped the work of South Indian poets and mystics as seen in the masterpiece of Tiruvaḷḷuvar*.

But its greatest impact was made during the modern period. Christian missionary influence has left a permanent mark on the development of literature in all the major vernacular languages of India. It has been responsible for a new orientation in thought and a new spirit in religion. Every significant movement for social reform in Hinduism in recent times has received an impetus in some measure from the Christian religion. Evidence of this motivation is found in the lives of the great modern Hindu reformers such as Rāmmohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Dayānanda, Rāmakṛishṇa, Vivekānanda, and Gāndhi. Sometimes the reforms were carried through in imitation, open or concealed, but often they were forced upon the Hindus by the unfavourable light in which their own social and religious concepts and practices stood in contrast to the Christian ideal.

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CHYAVANA, an arch-ṛishi, the son of Bhṛigu and author of certain hymns, who controls 'quaking' diseases. When his mother Pulomā was pregnant she was carried off by the *dānava* (giant) Puloman, and in her fright she 'quaked'

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and her child fell from her womb, whence his name, which signifies 'tremulation'. Puloman left mother and child and fled. For this deed the dānava was punished and his own daughter, Śachī was ravished by Indra*, and became the wife of that god as Indrāṇi. Puloman raised his voice to curse Indra but was struck dead for his insolence.

Chyavana was noted for his terrible austerities as a result of which he grew old and shrivelled. He sat motionless on the banks of the Narmadā while white ants built their nests around his body till only his eyes remained visible. As he sat thus the sons of Śaryāta, a descendant of Manu, noticed him, pelted him with clods and poked at the anthill with a stick. The sage cursed with a terrible palsy the father of these rude children, and to appease him Śaryāta took his daughter Sukanyā ('wonderful-virgin', who had never seen a male, human or animal, including her father, in all her life) and presented her to the sage. The forefathers of the decrepit sage had repeatedly appeared to him in dreams imploring him to marry and beget offspring for the performance of *śrāddha* rites to redeem them from hell, and now in extreme old age he acceded after beholding the irresistible Sukanyā.

Some time later the resplendent twins, the Aśvins*, physicians of the gods, visited the hermitage and seeing the ravishing young woman wedded to so wizened an old man, tried to seduce her by displaying their vigour, and promising to give her every experience of supreme delight. But she refused to submit to their allurements and in turn taunted them with being imperfect, with an imperfection that only her husband could set right. She consented to tell wherein lay this deficiency provided they made her husband youthful in appearance. It was agreed that they would do so if after his rejuvenation she would be able to distinguish her husband from themselves. If not, the husband would be made to resume his decrepit form. The two youths and the old man bathed in a pool into which the Aśvins had thrown a magic stone, and all three emerged looking alike and full of radiant beauty and displaying the fullest extent of their masculine power. In the purity of her heart she easily recognized her husband.

She then told the twins that they were imperfect, since they were excluded from a sacrifice the other gods were performing. Proceeding to the scene of the sacrifice they were denied the privilege of participation because they had consorted too freely with mortals. On Chyavana's intervention all the gods except Indra agreed to admit them, so Chyavana commenced a sacrificial rite to the Aśvins and subjected Indra to a humiliating period of 'trembling', and when Indra rushed to stop him with his thunderbolt the sage uttered a *mantra* which created the dread monster Mada, 'intoxication', whose jaws embraced the three worlds so that Indra, king of all the gods, floated on his tongue like a little quivering fish in the jaws of a leviathan. In his predicament Indra was obliged to accede to the demand of Chyavana, 'who was thus the cause of the Aśvins becoming partakers of the sacred *soma* juice'.

Chyavana and Sukanyā (also called Ārushī) were the parents of the ṛishi Ūrva, father of Aurva*.

Books

See under Mythology.

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COCONUT. The Sanskrit word for coconut, *nārikera* (or *nārikela*) is of Austric origin, and the use of coconuts in Hindu ceremonial is believed to derive from prehistoric Austric practice. There is a belief in Malabār that the coconut palm was brought to India from Ceylon by the flat-nosed Tiyan (also called Izhavan or Ilavan) people, who are now an untouchable, pañchama, toddy-tapping caste.

The coconut has a special significance for the Hindu. It provides both food and drink. It is a symbol of fertility and a magnified *bindu** or drop, and is kept in shrines for presentation to women who desire to become mothers. According to legend it was created by the magic of Viśvāmitra, and is believed to be a substitute for the human head, the *buch* (the tuft of fibre at the end) representing the scalp-lock (*see* head). The coconut is therefore offered in place of the human head as a bloodless sacrifice, yet having the potency of blood. If the tuft is missing its likeness is destroyed and it is useless for sacrificial purposes. Many Hindus will not eat any part of a coconut from which this tuft has been cut off for fear that it might have been removed in the name of some god or spirit other than their sectarian deity. A coconut is never broken in the presence of a pregnant woman in order to prevent a similar occurrence to the head of her child.

It is further believed that the coconut has a face resembling a man's, and its surface is divided into three parts representing Brahmā, Visvṇu and Śiva, that the flesh is formed gradually as human flesh is formed, and that unlike other fruit it contains no seed.

The coconut is closely associated with Śiva, since its three 'eyes' symbolize the three-eyed god. In some religious rites Śiva is represented by a pot of rice and a coconut; in others a figure is made of a vessel filled with myrrh, spices, coins, flowers, rice, and grass, topped by a coconut. The figure is garlanded and worshipped.

A special day called the *Nāralī-pūrṇimā* or 'coconut full-moon', occurring during the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (July–August) is dedicated to the coconut and to the waters. The sea and the rivers are worshipped with mantras and coconuts are thrown into the water as offerings to the gods, especially to Varuṇa. From this date the south-west monsoon is supposed to abate, and coastal trade on the west coast may be resumed.

Coconuts continue to be used in literally hundreds of Hindu ceremonies, in many of which the vestige of the ancient head-sacrifice is still in evidence. In the simplest form a coconut is broken before an image and offered to the deity. Ships are now ceremonially launched by breaking a coconut on the bows instead of the Western-style champagne bottle.

Books

See under Plants.

COLUMNS. In Sanskrit the column or pillar is known as the *stambha* (Hindi, *lāṭ*). There are many theories to account for the origin of the pillar, the chief of which may be briefly cited.

Some favour the view that the prototype of the column was the tree, and

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indeed some early pillars are marked with rings as on tree trunks, and adorned with foliage. Clusters of columns as seen in Buddhist shrines are suggestive of the grove where Buddha preached.

The roofs of primitive Indian huts were supported by wooden uprights stuck into an earthen jar (*kalaśa*) to protect them from damp and white ants, the top being fashioned like a pot with a lotus flower and a cluster of leaves. The 'pot-and-foliage' motif continued to adorn the base and capital of the later stone columns for centuries after. On this analogy the column may have symbolized the invisible support holding up the vault of heaven, separating earth from sky, leaving the earth free for man's activities. It is believed that the steeple of a Hindu temple is an elaboration of the column.

The Vedic altar enclosed a symbolic pillar which pegged down the figure of a golden human effigy; around this pillar the brick altar was raised. The shaft as it were carried heavenward the aspirations of the sacrificer (IV, p. 19). This symbolism may have been retained in the evolution of the pillar.

Another theory holds that the Vedic *yūpa** or sacrificial post is the origin of the pillar. The top of the yūpa carried a wheel called the *kaṭaka*, to which some authorities trace the *āmalaka* (see below).

The column may have developed from the tall, wooden, brick or stone structure which carried a tribal symbol or totem, which subsequently became the standard of the clan or tribe. Standards crowned with figures of animals were taken in procession in Mohenjodaro (IV, p. 19). According to this view the Hindu pillar represents the flagmast (*dhvaja-stambha*) of Indra.

Again, some hold that the first columns were merely elongated pedestals for setting up images of deities or mythological guardian figures. Statues of Garuḍa and Hanumān are frequently placed on the tops of pillars. Jain temples often have 'lamp-bearing' pillars, and other temples use columns as pedestals for statuary groups.

Yet another theory is that the column is a development of the liṅga symbol, representing the deity of the ancient phallus-worshipping peoples and today the liṅga of Śiva.

The pillar may also have served to delimit a special area. The pre-Aryan pallisade marking off a sacred enclosure consisted of a series of upright posts called stambha (Pāli, thaba) on which a horizontal cross-beam was placed. This is well exemplified in the stone fence surrounding Buddhist stūpas*.

The capital of a column had a wide variety of shapes, but it seems that a very ancient motif was a large 'holed' stone known as the *amaraśilā* (*amara-śilā*, 'immortality stone'). In association with tree-worship it was called *āmalaśilā* or *āmalaka*, after the fruit of the sacred myrobalan tree. This stone capital had the shape of a flattened pumpkin with ribbed edges all around, but there were many variations. Subsequently the āmalaśilā was also used on the sides and summit of the *śikhara* or steeple of a temple and may be seen today in the temples of the Bhuvaneśvar group. Those who believe in the liṅga origin of the column hold that the āmalaka on top symbolizes the yoni. Those who hold the column to be an elaboration of the Vedic yūpa think that the āmalaka represents the *kaṭaka* or wheel which used to surmount the summit of the yūpa.

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That the column as it evolved in India did not necessarily have a structural purpose is shown by the existence of hundreds of 'free standing' columns that combined some of the functions of flagmast, 'keeper' of the gates, the liṅga, the tree, the symbol of ascent to heaven, and so forth.

Early chaityas had two upright beams or simple stone shafts in the doorway which in course of time evolved into two columns. These jambs were later released from their function at the entrance and became detached and free standing, some as high as 50 feet. In their development they acquired ornate shapes, were carved and decorated, had octagonal shafts, campaniform capitals with spreading abacus, or were topped by groups of statuary: the lion symbolizing security, the bull for prosperity, the elephant for plentiful harvests, the horse for dominion, and human couples for good luck. In South Indian Buddhist architecture there were often five free-standing columns near the stairway of the stūpa representing the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

Long rows of columns were used in Mauryan palace halls. The main hall at Pāṭaliputra had 225 such stone pillars supporting the wooden beams of the roof. The ceiling of one hall was held up by stone caryatid-like figures, probably a Greek innovation in Indian architecture.

The Buddhists first used a series of columns in their temples to suggest a forest grove, for it was among trees and in groves that the legendary Buddha lived and taught. The Buddhist chaitya halls and cave-temples* contained rows of columns separating nave from aisles, reminiscent of an open clearing in a forest.

Aśoka made use of pillars as he did of the living rock in order to carve his edicts and proclaim the main tenets of Buddhism. He had about thirty pillars erected in various parts of the empire, of which only ten survive today. Several were erected in spots associated with Buddha's life and activities. They were generally tapering monoliths of hard sandstone, with exceedingly polished surfaces almost like glass. The cylindrical shafts were circular, had no base but rose direct from the ground, often to a height of 50 or 60 feet.

The capital of the Aśoka pillar, usually campaniform in shape, suggesting their Persepolitan origin, is sometimes 7 feet high, the two parts joined together by a copper bolt. The decorative friezes, floral ornaments and other minor motifs on the capitals are almost exact replicas of Achaemenian work found in the palaces at Susa and Persepolis, and in Hellenistic architecture elsewhere in Asia. The stone figures surmounting the capital are usually animals, e.g. a huge stone bull at Rāmpūrva in Bihār (the bull capital was a typical Persepolitan feature), the elephant at Saṅkīsa, a lion at Nandangaṛh (Lauṛiyā) in Bihār, and the masterpiece, a lion capital at Sārnāth, consisting of four addorsed lions facing cardinally. The lions support a Buddhist wheel. The pillar is of highly polished sandstone and according to Vincent Smith, 'must have been wrought by a foreigner', probably by a Persian or Greek craftsman. Its bell-shaped capital is purely foreign and the treatment of the lions is reminiscent of Greek sculpture. Discovered by one Mr Oertal, it is now the national emblem of the Government of India.

The foreign inspiration and workmanship of the Aśoka pillars are now universally admitted. There is nothing in pre-Mauryan architecture to suggest an antecedent history for the accomplished workmanship of these pillars, and

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Greek and Persian influence is established beyond doubt. Apart from the Persepolitan capitals and Greek motifs, the technique of giving the distinctive high polish to the stone was quite extraordinary. It had never been used in India before the Mauryan period, and disappeared shortly after the death of Aśoka.

Among the earliest Hindu pillars still surviving are those at Besnagar (*c.* AD 150) and Sānchī, which also represent the earliest known monuments of stone erected by the Hindus. Of the several votive pillars one is still standing. This pillar, once surmounted by a Garuḍa, was raised in honour of Vāsudeva (Vishṇu) by Heliodorus (*c.* 113 BC) son of Dion, an Indo-Bactrian resident at Taxila who was sent on a mission to Bhāgabhadra, Śuṅgan king of Vidisā (Besnagar) near Bhīlsā in Gwālior State by Antialcidas, Bactrian king of Taxila. Discovered in 1909, it has a bell capital and stands 30 feet high. The remaining pillars at Besnagar, of which only a few fragments survive, had palm-leaf capitals.

Indian rulers often set up *jaya-stambha*, 'victory-pillars', to commemorate their conquests. Usually these were of stone, but sometimes they were cast in metal. The most famous of the metal columns of victory is the Iron Pillar of Meharaulī near Delhi (*see* metals). Some of the victory pillars reached enormous dimensions, such as the 'towers of fame' and 'towers of victory' at Chitor in Rājputāna, one dating from about AD 900, and another, 122 feet high, dating from 1468. The best-known tower of this kind is the Kutb Minār, commenced by the Khilji king Kutb-ud-dīn in 1206. Rising to a height of 238 feet it consists of five gradually tapering stories built mainly of red sandstone, with beautifully incised inscriptions. It is regarded as unsurpassed by any building of its type in the world.

Some attempt has been made to distinguish the various Orders of columns in Indian architecture. The **Dravidian** column is usually ornate; good examples are found in the elaboration of South Indian columns in the form of furiously rearing animals, such as are to be seen in the Pāṇḍyan Horse Court of Śrirańgam, and the rampant hippogryphs and other grotesques of Dravidian temple architecture. The constricted neck and the cushion capital at Ellorā are Dravidian features. The **Gupta** Order is characterized by: a plain square pedestal, descended from the Vishṇu column at Besnagar; a short, many-sided shaft; a capital resembling a broad conventional vase; a massive abacus surmounted by a device of lions. The **Northern** style is merely an elaboration of the Gupta Order, with further emphasis on the vase and foliage capital.

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(*See also under* Architecture.)

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COMMUNITY. Family and communal relationships in Hindu society are extremely complex, and the terminology employed to express these relationships is confused and at times arbitrary. A rudimentary outline describing the basic features is given below.

In ancient India the nucleus of the social order was the *gṛiha* or household. The term is derived from the root *grah* (hold), signifying a holding or possession. The household centred around the *gṛihya* or domestic hearth, and was ruled over by the *gṛihin* or *gṛiha-pati*, 'house-lord', the paterfamilias. In matriarchal* societies the oldest lady conducted the family affairs, which were decided largely in the interests of women.

A group of related families or a community living homogeneously in a given locality was known as a *kula*, 'flock', and was ruled over by the *kulapati* or patriarch, who exercised wide powers. A group of related kulas formed a sept or *grāma* (also called a *viś* or settlement) presided over by a *grāmaṇī* or *viśpati*. The terms grāma and viś originally denoted a group of kinsfolk related by blood, but later came to mean village or canton, and embraced all the castes and families of the village population, whether related or not.

A number of grāma formed the *jana* or tribe, sometimes also called a *gaṇa*, i.e. class, multitude or clan, whose leader was the *janapati*. Early social organization was thus tribal, and in the course of time the territory in which a group of related tribes settled came to be known as a *janapada*, which term was later used to connote a nation. Larger aggregates of such tribal nations were known as *mahā-janapada**.

Family relationships based on consanguinity or religious adoption were differently graded. Here the circle of relationships was bounded by the *gotra* (lit. 'cowshed'), a term said to be derived from the time when the cattle shared the family dwelling, or, by analogy, from the common household shared by a student and his preceptor during his apprenticeship. Blood kinship was not at first the underlying principle of a gotra, which originally sprang from a common sacrificial and traditional usage, and the members of a gotra were not necessarily related by blood. Both Pāṇini and Patañjali define the gotra as a community relationship of those who followed the sacrificial custom of a particular ṛishi, who was chosen to be the spiritual patriarch of that gotra.

In later times the term came to mean a strictly physical relationship which, in a fusion of blood lineage and religious patriarchy, denoted an exogamous sept descended in an unbroken male line from a single male ancestor. In theory all families belong to specific gotras, but since the tradition of 'remembering' one's ancestors is observed among brāhmins only it is the brāhmin to whom the gotra system is specifically applicable.

All brāhmin families are said to be descended from seven (or eight) *gotra-kāra*, 'family-making', ṛishis who established their status by composing Vedic, and especially Ṛig-vedic hymns, and hence were referred to as *mantra-kṛit*, 'hymn-makers'. The names of these founder-ṛishis are discrepantly given in the Brāhmaṇas and Purāṇas but they are generally taken from among the following: (1) Agastya, (2) Aṅgiras, (3) Atri, (4) Bharadvāja, (5) Bhṛigu, (6) Gotama, (7) Jamadagni, (8) Kaṇva, (9) Kaśyapa, (10) Kratu, (11) Marīchi, (12) Pulaha, (13) Pulastya, (14) Vasishṭha, and (15) Viśvāmitra. The majority

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of these ancestral ṛishis were non-Aryan both in name and appearance, being of aboriginal stock, and served as priests to outcaste non-Aryan tribes. Some (like Pulaha and Pulastya) were not regarded as having produced true brāhmin stock; others (like Kratu) were celibates and produced no stock at all, which confirms the non-consanguineous basis of the early gotra system.

The seven (or eight) traditional gotras descended from these ṛishis are subdivided into forty-nine gotras, not necessarily founded by hymn-writing ṛishis, which again branch out into a still larger number of clans or *gaṇas*. All those who are descended from one ṛishi in a direct line constitute a *vaṁśa*, or dynastic family, e.g. the Lunar and Solar vaṁśas. A branch of the vaṁśa is a *varga*, each forming a separate homogeneous class. Any offshoot of this class constitutes a *paksha*, 'wing'.

A brāhmin is expected to know to which of the forty-nine gotras his family belongs, and in consecrating his own household fire he must invoke the ancestors who established his particular gotra. This is done in orthodox brāhminical worship by invoking the names of the *ārsha* (ṛishis or quasi-deified ancestors) up to about five in number who stem from the first founder-ṛishi. This recitation, known as a *pravara* (or *ārsheya*) constitutes an invitation to them and forms part of the religious formula of the domestic rite. In reciting the pravara the sacrificer prays to the gods and presents himself as the descendant of that ṛishi who sang their praises in his hymns in the *Ṛig-veda*.

Nowadays a distinction is made between the pravara ṛishi who is the actual ancestral mantra-kṛit, and the later gotra ṛishis. A gotra ṛishi is not necessarily a mantra-kṛit or composer of hymns, he may be any famous descendant of the pravara ṛishi who gave his name or a fresh impetus to the particular branch that sprang from him. Gotras are innumerable but the number of pravaras is fixed, for the composers of Vedic hymns must be fixed in number. Every gaṇa thus has at least one pravara ṛishi after whom the gotra is generally named, one gotra ṛishi, and at least three later prominent ancestors.

The gotra system is hopelessly involved and the texts on the subject so vast, contradictory, inconsistent and amorphous that it is an impossible task to reduce it to order. Each authority can only write of a particular system as it existed at a particular time and in given conditions. The system is not amenable to any generalization as the traditions of origin, descent, taboos, observances, rules of marriage, and so on, vary considerably in each case.

The social prestige of the brāhmins led to the kshattriyas and vaiśyas adopting a gotra system of their own. They took the same gotra names as the brāhmins, though based not on blood descent but on the gotra of the brāhmin who traditionally performed their family rituals, thus reverting to the non-consanguineous lineage originally employed by brāhmins themselves. The gotras of the kshattriyas and vaiśyas are regarded as secular (*laukika*), founded by eponymous ancestors.

The upper caste Hindu family still aspires to be a unit tracing its antecedents through a direct line to a common ancestor, and living today in the small units of the joint-family* system. The relationship of families is periodically reaffirmed during the *śrāddha** or post-funeral ceremonies, the

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degree of kinship being graded as follows: *sapiṇḍa*, the near, agnate (male) relative whose relationship to the deceased is established by his right to the acceptance of the whole *piṇḍa* or rice cake; *sakulya*, belonging to the same kula or family branch, a remoter agnatic relation to whom only a portion of the piṇḍa is offered; *samānodaka*, a still further removed agnate relation to whom the udaka or libation of water and cinnamon is offered; *sagotra*, an agnate descended from a common male ancestor in the male line and belonging to the same gotra; *bandhu*, a cognate (male or female, but especially female) relation. It generally presupposes maternal kinship.

Wider spheres of relationship do not necessarily embrace related families, and the obligations of such relationship are confined to the specific circumstances which bring them about. Thus a religious relationship in cults and sects often transcends blood ties. In Sanskrit the notion of 'civilization' is equivalent to sabhyatā, i.e. fitness to live in a society (*sabhā*), but the term society refers to the community or more specifically the caste to which one belongs. Caste* in fact cuts across many stratifications of the community idea and its rationalization has been the aim of many Hindu reformers.

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COMPASSION or *karuṇā* is counted among the ethical obligations of Hinduism and represents a cardinal principle of Buddhism. Its associated virtues are charity (*dāna*), mercy (*daya* or *kṛipā*), friendliness (*maitrī*), and kindness or 'humanity' (*manushya*). In social life karuṇā may be said to be reflected in hospitality (*ātitheya*), and to some extent in non-injury (*ahiṁsā**).

In Hinduism, however, the absence of compassion, mercy or loving-kindness has never been regarded as an obstacle to the devout life, and a perusal of the Hindu scriptures and lawbooks would not give the impression that these qualities were very highly esteemed among Hindus. 'Of sympathy for the poor', remarks Professor B. K. Ghosh, 'there is not much evidence in the *Ṛig-veda*' (II, p. 324). Legends of the great *ṛishis*, or Hindu saints, abound in examples of malice, vengeance, hatred and spite, only seldom relieved by the virtues named above.

In Buddhism, *mahā-karuṇā* is one of the distinguishing marks of the *bodhisattvas* or saviour Buddhas who stand out as shining exemplars of this virtue. But in the practical Buddhism of everyday life we find that a man need not have compassion in order to be a good Buddhist. Says Albert Schweitzer, 'The Buddhist lay ethics disappoint us, in so far as they omit to promote action due to the compelling force of compassion and love'.

The related virtues of hospitality and charity were ceremonial or religious

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duties rather than social qualities and the prevalence of itinerant holy men, Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, placed hospitality high in the scale of Indian virtues, but in reality meant little more than the free feeding of these mendicants. The eleemosynary virtue was wholly channelled to flow straight to their support, based as it were on the hope that one might be entertaining a 'ṛishi unawares'. The curse of a ṛishi inhospitably received is a recurrent theme in Hindu mythology. One of the chief merits accruing to a pilgrim is the giving of gifts to sādhus and religious institutions.

The quality of friendliness (*maitrī* or *maitrya*) was to a great extent inhibited in Hinduism by considerations of caste. Families could display this quality in dealings with their own kin, and of course earned special merit by being generously disposed to priests, but no friendship was conceivable between people of different caste or between those belonging to unrelated groups. In a higher metaphysical interpretation, friendship was regarded as a form of contamination. Even Gāndhi regarded close friendship as dangerous because friends influence each other, and through loyalty to a friend one could do wrong. The lack of the friendly spirit amongst Hindus themselves was noted by foreign observers from earliest times, a plaint subsequently echoed by the Muslims and Europeans when they in turn entered on the scene.

It was extremely rare for a Hindu to make friends with a non-Hindu. In an oft-quoted passage the Moghul king Bābur complained that the Hindus 'have no idea of the pleasures of society'. Writing in the eighteenth century, three hundred years later, the choleric Abbé Dubois said, 'If a European were to tell me that he had found among the Hindus a really disinterested friend, I should without hesitation predict, while pitying his simplicity and excess of confidence, that sooner or later his pretended friend would deceive and betray him'.

Such opinions must be regarded as purely personal and biased. The Abbé who had spent eighteen years in India was an embittered man, and much of what he says may be interpreted in the light of his personal disillusionment. But it is remarkable that in the whole range of Hindu literature—Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic—evidence of the genuine, spontaneous outpouring of love, sympathy, charity, even friendship of man for man, irrespective of birth, breeding and caste, is conspicuous by its rarity.

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CONSUMMATION, called *samāpana* in Sanskrit, is the concluding phase of the marriage* rites, for which the *gṛihya-sūtras* (texts on domestic rules) supply precise if occasionally lascivious details. In olden times, and even now among certain orthodox families the marriage is not consummated on the night of the wedding, but the preliminary courtship is prolonged so as to give confidence to the bridegroom.

Owing to the dangers concomitant with defloration, a rod of *udumbara*

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wood anointed with perfumes and clothed in a garment or tied with thread, is placed in position between the bride's and bridegroom's place on the marriage bed. The rod is said to represent the *gandharva** Viśvāvasu, who claims the right of congress with a virgin immediately after marriage.

On the first three nights the newly-wed couple should sleep on the floor, and partake of food which is free from jaggery, rock-salt and black-salt. They should engage in light conversation while making each other's acquaintance and getting used to each other's company. Most of the lawbooks recommend consummation on the fourth day after the wedding, hence the rite attending this ceremonial defloration of the bride is spoken of as *chaturthī-karma*, 'fourth-day action', when the husband has first intercourse with his bride. Some writers on erotics recommend a further seven days continence, so that intercourse takes place only on the tenth day. More positive overtures however should start on the fourth day in any case so as to ensure a ripeness in the girl for receiving the seed when the act is consummated and to secure the birth of a vigorous son. Other authorities state that if the couple living together, refrain from intercourse for a year the birth of a son blessed with the gift of second sight is assured.

On the morning of the day fixed for consummation the husband lights the fire in the domestic hearth, performs sacrifices, and prepares special food which he offers to his wife with the words, 'I add breath to thy breath, bone to thy bone, and flesh to thy flesh'. In the evening the couple enter the bridal chamber, and the gandharva is requested to depart with the words, 'Rise up Viśvāvasu. Seek another maiden with large hips. Leave this bride to me, her husband'. The udumbara rod is then put reverently away. The marriage bed is sprinkled with the extract of sweet-smelling plants, and a few stalks of *dūrvā* grass laid on the pillow.

The bridegroom is advised to be gentle and considerate. He must not be rash but at the same time not timid. 'Remember, do not do exactly as she wishes or desist when she desires, or she will despise you; nor go too much against her inclinations and force your will on her or she will detest you.' For her part the girl should show maidenly modesty and be careful never to be too ardent in her advances. She should permit his caresses only gradually, at each step feigning ignorance of his intentions and the purpose of all this play. She should not allow too much of her body to be exposed, and certainly not permit the complete removal of her lower garments, or let herself be too easily taken. Vātsyāyana warns that she should only very reluctantly touch the member of her husband if he asks.

The approach to intimacy is one that must be undertaken with tenderness. The best way is to make the bride sit near the window and show her the stars outside, promising to show her the Pole Star. Originally, it was not the Pole Star but the star Alkor (Arundhatī) situated in the constellation of the Great Bear. This star is very faint and writers compare it to the still unawakened desire of the bride. The groom therefore follows what is called the *Arundhatī-darśana-nyāya*, the 'Arundhatī spotting method', to overcome the girl's shyness by gradual stages, a love lesson aided by his teaching her to find the star. He first shows her an easily visible star not far from Arundhatī, caresses her arms, shoulders and neck, but then says that that is not the star but

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another near it; he thus progresses to stars closer and closer to Arundhatī, interspersing each stage with further caresses on the breasts, waist, navel, each time approaching nearer and nearer to the pubic zone, each time saying that that is not the star but another near to it. This progression towards the star is repeated till the bridegroom reaches *the* star and introduces his bride to the mysteries of marriage.

Books

See under Marriage and Kāmaśāstra.

CONTINENCE or chastity, in Sanskrit *brahmacharya*, is one of the major virtues of the Hindu ethical* code. The term is said to derive either from the notion of wandering (*chara*) in the eternal, i.e. with mind directed to God and not to worldly objects; or from conduct (*chāra*) leading to the Absolute.

Continence is a strict requirement in the life of the Hindu *chela* (see *āśrama*), and the student of the Vedas is referred to as a celibate (*brahmachāri*). It is believed that desire is easily 'localized' in the sex organs, and any preoccupation with sex in the formative age of youth will lead to a diversion of power that is required to feed the brain during study.

In later life brahmacharya can be an indispensable means to the realization of one's aims, since the psychic force generated by continence is said to have in irresistible potency that nothing can withstand (*see* bindu). Hindu legend is filled with instances of *ṛishis* who made the gods tremble because of the powers they acquired through the observance of strict continence. Says Manu, 'Irresistible power comes from chastity'.

Brahmacharya implies that one must resist and avoid all thought or activity that might arouse and arm the deadly enemy, namely sexual desire. One must not dwell on subjects like intercourse and women; should not contemplate pictures or statues of nudes; one must not discuss the subject nor joke about it; nor even mention it. For the word germinates the seed lying dormant in all minds, and once the seed sprouts, sexual activity in some form is inevitable and brahmacharya is rendered ineffective.

Books

See under Ethics.

COSMOLOGY, the study of the universe as a whole includes both cosmogony the theory of the origin of the universe, and cosmography a description of the universe.

In Hinduism there are several theories, mostly with sectarian tendencies, regarding the creation of the world. The more popularly accepted one is a combination of Vedic and Purāṇic cosmogony. 'In the beginning', says the *Ṛig-veda*, 'there was neither existence nor non-existence; neither the worlds, nor the sky, nor the beyond. Death was not, nor immortality; nor night nor day. Darkness was in darkness enfolded. All was indistinguishable water'. The eternal First Cause formed the *Hiraṇya-garbha* or 'golden womb', a golden cosmic egg, which floated upon the surface of the primeval waters.

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In early Hindu philosophy this egg is often equated with the Cosmic Intelligence or Soul, and in later myth with Brahmā.

The egg then divided itself into two parts, the two shells forming the heavens and the earth, and the twenty-one regions of the cosmos. The golden top half of the shell became the heavens; the silver lower half formed the earth; the outer membrane became the mountains; the inner the clouds and mists; the veins became the rivers, and the fluid the oceans. Savitṛi made fast the earth with bonds, Vishṇu with pegs, and Bṛihaspati held up the ends. Other divine beings who participated in the creation of the universe, often helping Brahmā, were Viśvakarman, Manu, Prajāpati, Purusha, Yama and Yamī. Some schools of Hindu philosophy (e.g. Sāṁkhya) postulated the existence of primeval matter (*prakṛiti*) from which the world was made or evolved.

The *brahmāṇḍa* or 'egg of Brahmā' comprised the whole cosmos and contained the twenty-one zones called *loka*, 'locality' arranged in three principal strata known as the *tri-loka*, 'three worlds', consisting of paradise* high above the earth, *tala* the subterranean regions, and hell* far below the earth. Each division of the tri-loka traditionally has seven further sub-divisions, although these again are discrepantly listed and named, making twenty-one lokas in the universe. Descriptions of these regions vary considerably in the Vedic, Epic, Vedāntic, Sāṁkhya and Purāṇic texts, but a simplified version may be given as follows:

Loka, the general term for the entire system, is also applied specifically to the first of the tri-loka. It contains the paradises* of the gods (hence is also called Anandloka), as well as the atmospheric and terrestrial spheres. Its seven subdivisions are: (1) Brahmā-loka the abode of Brahmā, (2) Tapo-loka, the abode of Virāj, (3) Janar-loka the abode of certain of Brahmā's sons, (4) Mahar-loka, the abode of certain Prajāpitis, (5) Svar-loka, extending from the sun to the Pole Star, is the paradise of sectarian deities like Vishṇu, Śiva, Indra and Kṛishṇa, (6) Bhuvar-loka, the atmospheric sphere, extending from the earth to the sun, is the abode of the *pitṛis*; it includes the regions of the sun and moon, (7) Bhūr-loka, the earth, though traditionally included in the lokas is always considered in a class by itself.

Tala, 'place', designates the subterranean regions, the abode of chthonian beings, often mistranslated as 'hell'. It includes (1) Pātāla the serpent kingdom of the Nāgas*, (2) Atala the kingdom of the Yakshas, evil spirits, (3) Rasātala or Nitala the abode of the *asuras* (giants), *daityas* (demons) and *dānavas* (titans). An asura-fire burns here constantly, and from this point will burst forth the conflagration that will consume the universe at the end of time, (4) Gabhastala the kingdom of the *rākshasas* (ogres), (5) Vitala the kingdom of the Hāṭaka a chthonian people ruled by Śiva, (6) Sutala ruled by Bali*, (7) Mahātala the kingdom of spectres (*preta*) and the Kumbhāṇḍa (pot-testicled) demons.

Naraka or hell*, whose divisons are (1) Put, for the childless, (2) Avīchi for those awaiting reincarnation, (3) Saṁhāta for the generality of evildoers, (4) Tāmisra where the gloom of hell begins, (5) Ṛijīsha where torments attack, (6) Kuḍmala the worst hell for those who are going to be reincar-

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nated, (7) Kākola the bottomless pit, the eternal hell of indescribable tortures and pain, for those who have no hope of reincarnation.

In the centre of the whole cosmographical scheme stands Mount Meru, dominating the celestial region of Ilāvṛita, wherein are situated all the paradises* of the gods. Beneath the celestial regions the rest of the world is arranged in seven concentric rings of *dvīpa* or island continents. Directly below Ilāvṛita lies the earth called Jambu or Jambu-dvīpa (*see* Geography), the innermost of the island continents. It is flat and circular like a dish. A one-footed goat, Aja-ekapād, holds apart the earth and sky. The earth rests on the head of Śesha the cosmic Nāga*, who himself rests on Akūpāra, a tortoise, whose four feet are supported by elephants standing on the shell of the brahmāṇḍa in the abyss of abysses. Here again the order and position of these cosmological creatures varies in different accounts. Jambu is surrounded by a sea of salt water called Lavaṇa.

Around Jambu is the second ring-shaped continent called Plaksha (or Gomedaka), itself encircled by a sea of sugar-cane juice or treacle called Ikshu. The third island continent-ring around Plaksha is called Śālmala, girded by a sea of wine called Surā. The fourth ring is Kuśa, encircled by a sea of ghṛita or clarified butter called Sarpis. The fifth continent is Krauncha, surrounded by a sea of curds called Dadhi. The sixth continent is Śvetadvīpa* whose shores are washed by a sea of milk called Kshīra (or Dugdha). The seventh continent, Pushkara, is encompassed by a huge circular sea of fresh water called Jala.

Bordering this outermost sea is the fabulous land of Lokāloka ('world no-world') which separates the visible world from the region of darkness. It consists of a range of mountains ten thousand *yojanas* high (one yojana equals 7 to 9 miles) and ten thousand yojanas broad behind which lies the realm of perpetual night. Beyond this darkness is the outer surface of the cosmic egg which cradles the entire cosmos, the shell of brahmāṇḍa.

This fanciful cosmography of oceans of treacle and milk was one of the things that aroused the scorn of Lord Macaulay, who for this among other reasons dismissed Hindu claims to scientific competence in the field of geography. The fact is that Greek astronomy had already penetrated into India by the time the ring-continent scheme had been evolved, and Indian astronomers (notably Brahmagupta) were aware that the earth was spherical, and compiled fairly accurate longitudes of important places in India, and Indian seamen who travelled across the seas knew full well that there were no oceans of ghee or curds to be seen anywhere. But this knowledge did not appear to influence Indian philosophers and geographers who for long stubbornly clung to these fancies in their concept of the universe.

Another basic cosmological principle that underlies much of Hindu metaphysics is that of the *kalpa* or day of Brahmā. According to this notion the world passes through endless cycles of creation, fruition and destruction, each cycle constituting a 'day' of Brahmā and ending with a total cataclysm in which the universe is destroyed, to be reborn again after a period of quiescence which is the 'night' of Brahmā. The Jains have a similar theory but the universe in their view does not end, but moving from a golden age reaches a

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point of degeneration, and then starts its ascent again till the age of perfection is reached, and thus moves back and forth without cessation (*see* aeon).

Books

See under Mythology.

COW. Of all animals, the bovine species occupies the place of greatest prominence in Hinduism. The cult of the bull was one of the chief religions of Indus Valley India, and representations of the bull are found among the steatite seals and terracotta statuettes of that period. The two breeds depicted in the seals are the now extinct aurochs, and the humped Brahma bull or *bos indicus*, which are often shown in profile with only one horn visible, and mistakenly termed 'unicorn'.

In these seals there is frequently depicted below the bull's muzzle a basket-like object fixed on a slim post, of which the exact significance is not known. Polished stone liṅgas and pierced stone yoni symbols found in the vicinity may have possibly been placed in such receptacles, like the phallus in the baskets of the Mysteries of Greece.

Worship of the cow itself is less marked in the Indus Valley civilization and appears to be linked with the worship of the Mother Goddess, similar to that of the cow-goddess Hathor of Egypt. Many aboriginal tribes of India revered and offered homage to the cow and other bovines and in fact still continue to do so today. In many rural places the cowshed is the temple. The Todas* of the Nīlgiris worship the buffalo, with an elaborate dairy ceremony and a ritual buffalo sacrifice. The Kāllan tribe of the Tamil country (also called the Kāllar, Kullar or Maravar tribe) who are mainly an agricultural and pastoral people, but often classed with the Criminal Castes, use a sort of boomerang and practice a bull-cult reminiscent of ancient Mycenae. To show their prowess young men leap on the back of an infuriated bull and recover a scarf tied to its horn.

By the Vedic period the bull takes a subordinate place to the cow. It is still the symbol of virility and a source of power, and the epithet 'Bull' is applied to several deities like Parañjaya, Dyaus, Indra, Agni and Rudra. The bull was used for pulling the vehicles of the nomadic Aryans, and the ox for ploughing their fields when they settled down. But for the Vedic Aryans, an essentially pastoral people it was the cow that was held in special esteem, for she gave milk and produced more bulls for the labour of the fields. Cattle represented wealth and were therefore treated with care, and were regarded as the best of all domesticated beasts. The cow is spoken of in the *Ṛig-Veda* as *aghnyā*, 'not-slayable', but this prohibition was chiefly directed against the killing of the milch-cow, and did not preclude the slaughter of bulls and cows for a variety of religious and communal reasons. From the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we learn of the Aryan custom of sacrificing oxen to the gods. Among them Indra in particular had a great fondness for beef, and bulls were sacrificed to him in herds of one hundred, or hecatombs.

Several other Vedic sacrifices demanded the slaughter of bulls, after which a piece of the flesh was eaten by the sacrificer. Beef in those days formed part of the regular diet* of the Hindu, *ṛishis* and brāhmins not excluded. In the

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gṛihyasūtras the sacrifice of cows is mentioned in the following ceremonies: ashṭaka (*see* śrāddha), śūlagava (*see* animal sacrifice), vājapeya*, arghya (*see* marriage), and antyeshṭi. During the antyeshṭi (obsequial*) ceremony, a cow known as the *anustaraṇī* (*anu-staraṇi*, 'overspreading') was slain and dismembered, and the internal organs laid on the body of the deceased.

There was never any reluctance to use the hide of cows for profane purposes. Thus when a disputed boundary was under settlement a cow-skin was placed over the head and shoulders of the arbitrator who was then believed to be imbued with wisdom and justice. The battle-drum of ancient days was covered with animal skin, usually the hide of a cow.

The fertility of the cow was the measure of future prosperity, and if cattle bred plentifully it augured well for the kingdom. In the ancient ceremony of *vṛishotsarga* (*vṛisha-utsarga*, 'bull-freeing') a bull, stamped with some auspicious sign, like the trident of Śiva, was let loose on the Kārttikeya full moon to ensure good breeding and the fertility of cattle.

A wide nomenclature existed in Sanskrit for bulls of various ages and stages of life. Thus there were separate names for bulls used for work, for stud purposes, as draught animals and so on. For cows a much richer vocabulary was evolved covering every important phase of a cow's existence, thus: *atṛiṇāda* was a new-born calf; *śakṛit-kari*, a very young calf; *vatsa*, a young calf; *prāsaṅgya*, a calf let out to graze with a wooden club hanging from its neck to restrain it; *dityavāh*, a calf two years old; *dvidan*, a heifer a little over two years old which has its first pair of permanent teeth; *chaturdan*, with two pairs of permanent teeth, at the age of three; *upasaryā*, a heifer attaining puberty; *starī*, a barren cow; *upasara*, a heifer after her first mating; *vehat*, a cow that has miscarried; *adyaśvīnā*, a cow on the eve of delivery; *gṛishṭi*, a cow after calving; *bashkayaṇī*, a cow with a young calf; *strīvatsā*, a cow that has given birth to a heifer; *dhenu*, a milch cow; *mahāgṛishṭi* a cow whose milking continues up to the next calving; *samāṁsamīnā*, a cow calving every year.

In Hindu mythology also the bovine species occupies a prominent place. As one Hindu writer puts it, 'In India the bovine and the divine have never been far removed from each other'. Kāmadhenu and her daughter Surabhī were sacred cows. Śiva's vehicle Nandi received worship independently in his own right. Kṛishṇa is associated with a pastoral background and with cows and *gopīs* (milkmaids) and his paradise is called Goloka, 'cow-place'. Bulls and cows figure widely in Indian art and sculpture, and bull-capitals were a common feature of Indian architecture from Mauryan times.

It was, however, only in the brāhminical period in the early centuries of the present era that the worship of the cow took on the aspects of a weighty credo in the Hindu religion. This was further reinforced with fanatical zeal during the 'Purāṇic' period. It was believed that cows were created on the same day as Brahmā and that the sin of killing a cow was equal to that of brāhminicide. Every part of the cow's body was the abode of some deity, from the nostrils, where the Aśvins dwelt, to the bushy end of the tail where Yama was hidden. By the fourth century cow-killing was made a capital offence by the Guptas, and it is related that a Chola king ordered the execution of his own son for the accidental killing of a cow. Till fairly recently cow-killing was punishable

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with death in Kashmīr. The killing of cows in the present century even by Muslims who eat beef regularly has resulted in frenzied communal riots.

In the train of such credulity came a whole spate of beliefs about the divine animal that still evoke the deepest response from orthodox Hindus. Many Hindu organizations exist in India today which agitate for the total ban on cow slaughter. Gāndhi who had the gift of expressing in unmistakable terms the deepest sentiments of the Hindu people declared,

'I yield to none in my worship of the cow. Cow-protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world and is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her when we grow up. Mother cow expects from us nothing but grass and grain. Our mother often falls ill and expects service from us. Mother cow rarely falls ill. Our mother when she dies means expenses of burial or cremation. Mother cow is as useful dead as when alive.'

The Purāṇas enjoin cow-worship on the seventh (bright half) and twelfth (dark half) days of *Āśvina* (September–October), and in the twelfth (bright half) day of *Kārttika* (October–November).

Another common Hindu belief is that all that comes out of the cow is sacred. This includes not only dairy produce, but the urine and dung of the cow as well. An important nostrum in Hindu purification* rites is a mixture known as *pañcha-gavya*, 'five-cow' ingredients, consisting of the five products of the cow, namely, milk, *ghee* (clarified butter), curds, cow-dung and cow-urine.

The drinking of *go-mūtra*, 'cow-urine', is still practised by the devout and by women before and after delivery, and pious Hindus may still be seen cupping their hands and drinking straight from the flow of a urinating cow(*see* scatology). Washing in cow's urine is a form of purificatory snāna or bath*. A bright yellow pigment known as *gorochanā*, prepared from the gallstone of a cow (but also from cow-urine or from the bile regurgitated up by her), is used for making sectarian marks on the body; mixed with cowdung it is taken as a tonic and applied to the genitals. In the villages the floors and hearth of mud huts are daubed with freshly-mixed cow-dung and earth to purify them and keep them clean.

Dust that is found in the hoof-mark of a cow (go-pada, 'cow-print') is a very powerful component of indigenous medicines. Hence also the dust stirred up by a herd of cows is sprinkled over the body as a beneficial dust bath*. There is a *go-prachāra*, 'cow-pasture', or sacred spot in many places of pilgrimage, where hoofprints, representing the hoofprints of Kṛishṇa's cows, are worshipped. In the ante-mortem ceremonies (*see* obsequies) the dying man's hand is tied to the tail of a cow so that it might lead him to heaven. If a child's horoscope forebodes evil he is made to be born again by being passed under the belly of a cow (*see* pregnancy).

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DĀDŪ (1544–1603), mystic, saint and ascetic, the best known of Kabīr's followers, was born in Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, of parents who were Muslim converts from Hinduism. All the members of Dādū's family bear Muhammadan names and his own name appears to be a form of Dāūd (David), or an affectionate diminutive of Allāhdād. According to tradition he was found by Lodi his adoptive father, in a basket floating on a river. He was taken care of and brought up in his new home and followed his father's profession of cotton-carder. When only eleven years old he was miraculously initiated by an aged mendicant, and an illustration depicting this episode is hung in nearly all shrines dedicated to him.

Dādū married early and had four children, but at the age of twenty-five he renounced the world and spent the remainder of his life wandering and preaching in and about Rājputāna. Of himself he liked to say that he was 'neither Hindu nor Muslim, but only a devotee of the Merciful God'. He dreamed of a unification of all faiths and it was with this object that he founded the 'Brahma-saṁpradāya' (the sect of Brahma) for the worship of God without ritual or orthodox forms. For a time he lived in Sambhar where his sandals and clothes are still worshipped, but towards the end of his life he retired to Naraini near Jaipur where he died. His followers carried his body to the top of a hill and from here it was miraculously transported from their sight. This legend however is contradicted by the belief that his bones lie buried beneath the *khejṛa* tree under whose shade he spent his last days.

Dādū, like his great contemporary Akbar (with whom he is said to have had a memorable interview at Fatehpur Sikri) was formally illiterate, but his verses and sayings possessed striking beauty, force and charm. Besides his own tongue he had a smattering of Gujarāti, Panjābi, Sindhi, Marāṭhi, Persian and Arabic. His doctrines are embodied in the *Bānī* or 'Oracles', which comprise 5,000 Hindi verses, hymns, short poems, and aphorisms, dealing in separate chapters with subjects like Mind, Goodness, Truth, Faith, and so on. Some of them are set to music and used in sectarian worship. Apart from the *Bānī* the sect has produced a considerable literature both in Hindi and the vernaculars.

Dādū is popularly said to have left 152 disciples out of whom 52 founded what are known as *Dādū-dvāra* or 'Doors of Dādū' in special settlements called *thāmba*, many of which still survive. The sect, known as the Dādū-panthi follow a simple religious pattern. Like the Parsees they have the custom of exposing their dead.

Dādū did not require the abandonment of secular pursuits, nor did he forbid marriage. People were free to marry or remain celibate; to withdraw from the world or engage in its affairs. He prohibited the eating of flesh, and sought to avoid giving pain to any living creature. He laid great emphasis on

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japa or repetition of the name of God. According to him, 'Those are true sādhus who call upon the name of Nirañjana', i.e. God. This term is translated both as *ni-rañjana*, 'void of passion', or *nir-añjana*, 'free from stain, and unsullied'. He had little patience with the pretentions of orthodoxy either Hindu or Muslim. 'The brāhmins expound the scriptures while evil demons dance within them,' he declared; and to Muslims he said, 'Slay not the innocent; cut rather the throat of anger and slay your own self-esteem'.

Among the many aphorisms and sayings attributed to him are the following: 'Disciplining the mind is more needed than studying the Vedas'. 'Worldliness and not the world is evil'. 'Where self is, God is not. Where God is, self is not. The abode is small, there is no place for two'. 'As the opium-eater longs for opium, so does the soul yearn for God'.

Dādū preached against all temples, but temples have been built in his name. He forbade images, but his pictures are accorded divine reverence. Relics were disdained by him, but his *Bānī* is worshipped with idolatrous rites and homage is paid to his sandals and clothes. He rejected the need for pilgrimages, but his devotees make pilgrimages to places associated with his name. He denounced caste but today only the twice-born can read the *Bānī* and the sect has nothing to do with outcastes. He preached the unity of mankind but there was an early split among his followers and rivalry and intrigue among his own disciples. He advocated peace and tolerance and condemned warfare, but one group of his followers developed into one of the most militant of ascetic warrior sects (*see* sādhus). He disapproved of the homage paid to heroes and saints, but water used for washing the feet of the gurus of the Dādū-panth today, is drunk by their followers. He did away with caste marks and cult uniforms but his followers use a peculiar white cap with four corners and a flap hanging down behind, which each person has to make for himself as a badge of distinctiveness from the common herd.

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DAKSHA, 'dexterous', a primordial creative *ṛishi* of uncertain provenance who in different texts is referred to as a *prajāpati*, a *viśvadeva*, an *āditya* and a *manu*. There is also said to be a daksha, like a manu, for every age. His name in the form of Dakash occurs in the records of the Kassites and Mitanni of the Middle East.

Daksha is variously described as a son of Brahmā springing from the right thumb of the god; as emerging from the all-encompassing Aditi and himself creating Aditi; as the father and offspring of the moon; and, in a second incarnation, as the son of the ṛishi Prachetas by Mārishā; or as an incarnation of Vishṇu (a later legend to account for his enmity towards Śiva).

One myth has it that Daksha, the first of all males, himself took on the form of a beautiful woman, by whom he had many daughters. Another states that he married *Prasūti* (daughter of Priyavrata and granddaughter of Manu

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Svāyambhuva*) by whom he had, according to different accounts, twenty-five, fifty or sixty daughters. In his second incarnation he had seven sons, the allegorical Krodha (Wrath), Tamas (Gloom), Dama (Punishment), Vikṛita (Hostility), Aṅgiras (Subjection), Kardama (Impurity) and Aśva (Gluttony). Kardama is sometimes said to be the son of the ṛishi Pulaha.

Daksha's many daughters play a prominent part in Hindu mythology. One of them, Satī*, married Śiva and in consequence of a quarrel between her husband and her father, committed suicide. The germ of this well-known story is found in the early legend that tells of the wrath of Rudra at not being invited to a sacrifice given by the gods. A later legend relates that Brahmā once invited the gods and great ṛishis to a feast. Daksha arrived late and all the gods rose respectfully to greet him, except Śiva. Seething with rage Daksha left the hall planning vengeance. He arranged a great sacrifice (for Vishṇu, according to the Purāṇas), to which he asked all the gods except Śiva. The sage Dadhīcha informed Śiva and his wife Satī about this, and the latter mortified beyond endurance at her own father's treatment of her husband threw herself into the flames of the sacrificial fire.

Infuriated by the presumption of Daksha Śiva determined to stop the sacrificial festivities. For this purpose he created a dreadful being from his mouth, the thousand-headed, thousand-armed *Vīrabhadra*, who held the dread weapons of destruction, the discus, the mace, the bow, the battle-axe and the trident. This monster caused consternation among the assembled guests, while Śiva wreaked his vengeance amongst them. Śiva pierced the sacrificial offering with an arrow, and such was his surpassing ire that both gods and asuras trembled, the mountains tottered, the depths of the sea were troubled, and the whole universe quaked.

The ṛishis tried to appease Śiva but in vain. He decapitated the insolent Daksha with his blazing trident, then with a blow put out the eyes of Bhaga (Mitra); he attacked Pūshan as the latter was eating the offering and kicked his teeth in; he struck down and trampled upon Indra, broke the staff of Yama, cut off the noses of the goddesses Sarasvatī and Mātṛi, smote the face of Chandra the moon, cut off the hands of Vahni (Agni), and the beard of Bhṛigu, slew Yajña, stoned the brāhmins and beat the Prajāpatis, and generally caused consternation in the twenty-one worlds. The gods and ṛishis humbly propitiated the offended deity, apportioned to him the choicest share of the sacrifice, and restored the damage he had done. Daksha's severed head could not be found so it was replaced by that of a goat or ram.

In the *Harivaṁśa*, which glorifies Vishṇu, the story goes that while Śiva was still raging, Vishṇu appeared, seized Śiva by the throat, compelled him to desist from his folly and acknowledge him master. The name Daksha is borne by several personages, including the author of a dharma-śāstra.

Chief among the various gods and ṛishis who married the daughters are: Śiva, who married Satī; Kāma god of love who married Ratī; Aṅgiras the sage, married Svadhā; Vasishṭha married Ūrjā; Atri the sage married Anasūyā; Bhṛigu married Khyāti and they became the parents of Lakshmī; Viprachitti married Siṁhikā and they became the parents of Rāhu; Soma married twenty-seven of Daksha's daughters and became the father of the twenty-seven *nakshatras* or lunar mansions (*see* calendar); Dharma married

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ten (or thirteen) daughters of Daksha, through one of whom (Śraddhā) he became the father of Kāma, and through another (Sādhyā) the father of the godling* Sādhya.

The sage Kaśyapa married thirteen daughters of Daksha, namely, Aditi, the mother of the Ādityas; Arishṭā mother of the gandharvas; Danu mother of the Dānavas; Diti mother of the Daityas; Kadrū mother of the Nāgas; Kālakā mother of the ferocious Kālakañja; Kāmadhenu* the miraculous cow; Khaśā mother of the Yakshas and Rākshasas, called after her Khaśātmaja; Krodhā (or Krodhavasā) the mother of the Piśāchas and other flesh-eating monsters; Munī mother of the Mauneya (*see* Māndhātṛi); Pulomā mother of the fierce Pauloma; Somatī the mother of Sumatī who married Sagara*; Vinatā mother of Garuḍa.

Books

See under Mythology.

DANCE. In Indian art theory there is much confusion about the precise definition of the dance, since the medium overlaps into art forms that include all staged movement (*nāṭya*), the drama (*nāṭaka*), the mime-ballet (*nṛitya*), and the dance (*nṛitta*). The last is employed today only for abstract dance demonstrating pure bodily rhythm, in a series of rhythmic postures, gestures and movements to the accompaniment of music, expressing neither mood, sentiment nor story.

By tradition the dance was invented by Śiva who first danced the cosmic *tāṇḍava* (see below). His spouse Pārvatī contributed the seductive *lāsya*. These became the prototypes of the male and female dances respectively. Historians of the dance believe that Indian dancing evolved from the ritual steps taken by priests and acolytes while executing certain tasks that involved going from one part of the ceremonial area to another. The sequence of hand movements in early religious ritual is correspondingly believed to be the origin of the hand *mudrās*.

The rules of the classic dance were first codified by the sage Bharata* in his treatise the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. Like the other arts, the dance was closely linked with the emotions (*see* empathy) and the whole purpose of dancing was to create a certain mood in the spectator. Classical dancing was required to conform to the rules governing the postures, stances, facial expressions and hand movements collectively known as *aṅgika*. These to a large degree have stereotyped the dances of the Indian classical tradition and a good knowledge of the significance of the aṅgika symbols is necessary for a proper appreciation of the Hindu dance. Under the impact of modern trends Indian classical dancing has been simplified and has consequently lost much of its pedantry. The mudrās have been made comprehensible, the facial expressions more natural, the orchestration more popular, and a great deal of attention is paid to stage effects, make-up and costume.

All Indian dancing is performed barefoot, but sometimes tiny bells, called *gejjai*, are worn by the female dancers around the ankles. The investiture with the bells is a solemn rite, in which a red thread is tied to the dancer's right arm and she is ceremonially presented with a pair of anklets. It is a

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symbol of the profession and its acceptance means that the person has chosen dancing as a career and has been formally welcomed into the company of dance exponents.

The dancing profession has, however, been regarded with disfavour by the orthodox, and in the past those who followed this avocation always came from the lower castes. The dancer was regarded as no better than a pimp and his wife a harlot. Even those who danced in religious worship were classed with public women. Dancing girls were employed in all the greater temples and certain sacred dances such as the *kuttu* could not be performed at ordinary places of entertainment but only in temples. Classic dance forms like the Bharata-nāṭyam* were traditionally associated with the *devadāsīs* ('God's slaves') as professional temple prostitutes* were euphemistically known and whose function it was to sing and dance before the deity. In the middle period of Hinduism with the rise of the sects, dancing was used as a devotional aid, but was largely confined to men. The Vaishṇavite mystics Chaitanya and Tukārām both danced in ecstasy before idols.

With the advent of the Muslims the professional bayadère specializing in the erotic nautch (Ang. for Hindi *nāch*, 'dance'), unattached to temples, became very popular. Nautch girls were the secular counterparts of the devadāsīs and were often employed at the courts of nobles. Their main object being to arouse the baser instincts of the male audience, their notoriety led to a further debasement of the dance and a deeper stigma being attached to the profession from which it has hardly recovered to this day.

It was largely owing to the tireless advocacy of a young lawyer and dance student E. Kṛishṇa Iyer that the prestige of Indian dancing was to some extent restored during the twenties of this century. He explained the beauties of the classical style in practical public demonstrations in which he dressed up as a woman and performed the temple dances. When he felt he had sufficiently prepared the ground he brought forward a young danseuse named Bālāsarasvatī whose performances won great acclaim from Indian and European critics.

The dance is in essence a harmony between music and bodily movement. The latter, known as aṅgika* then becomes a form of communication through the reciprocal arrangement of the parts of the body in stances (*sthāna*), bends (*bhaṅga*), sitting positions (*āsanas*) and, more rarely, recumbent postures (*śayana*), with accompanying hand gestures (*mudrās*), facial expressions (*abhinaya*), footwork (*gati*) and the acted composition (*karaṇa*). Here the several elements of aṅgika may be regarded as letters of the alphabet so that the gestures, movements and facial expressions are 'read' like the ślokas or verses of poetry. Theoretically they can be combined to produce any desired text, which has lead to a highly complex 'vocabulary' of the dance movement. Texts on the subject do not always clearly show how a gesture or expression is to be done, but give long lists of them, and these are interpreted freely by the exponent.

Manuals on the dance list: five movements of the chest (fully expanded to indicate heroism, rapidly inflated and deflated to show passion, and so on), five movements of the shoulders, sixteen of the arms, several hundred of the hands (*see* mudrā), four of the adbomen, five of the waist, three of the

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buttocks, three of the thigh, two of the knee, two of the calves, four of the ankle, and thirteen of the feet.

The term **abhinaya,** 'performance', was at first used synonymously for aṅgika and covered all the classical bodily movements and postures, but is now generally confined to the head movements and to 'facial mime'. Hindu theorists enumerate: twenty-four head positions, nineteen head movements, six eyebrow movements, three eyelid movements, eight eye movements (natural, circular, diagonal, vertical, horizontal, fluttering, sidelong, and down), thirty-six kinds of suggestive glances, four cheek movements, six nose movements (dilating the nostrils, turning up the nose, and so on), ten lip movements (smiling, sneering, snarling, etc.), six teeth movements (baring the teeth, gnashing, etc.), six tongue movements, eight chin movements, and six neck movements. Best known of the neck movements is the *rechaka* (also called *sundarī*, 'beautiful') which is the gliding of the head from side to side, with shoulders immobile, a characteristic feature of many kinds of Indian, and also Central Asian, dancing).

The **mudrās*** or hand gestures fall into a separate category, and there are literally hundreds, some taken from conventional poses of meditative practice and some from the ritual gestures of ancient sacrificial ceremonies. A few are fixed symbolic poses formed by the position of hand and fingers, but the majority of dance mudrās are fluid and changing. In some cases as in the *tirmanam* of Bharata-nāṭyam and other dances, the hands are rapidly flourished in a complicated series of movements.

The **gati** (or gat), 'gait', is a generic term for all movements of the feet, from the intricate footwork executed in one spot, to the rhythmic progression of the dancer across the floor. The gati is usually a single phrase or sequence of the dance, which as a whole may be said to consists of a series of such gati. The nimble footwork in some of the Indian dances is quite extraordinary, done with great skill and a remarkable sense of timing. Thus the nautch-girls who dance the lāsya parts of the Kathak dance often intersperse the regular dance movement with a gati, in this case a succession of decorative gliding steps in a lyrical sequence. The best exponents are said to practise these extremely short gliding steps on gauze without wrinkling it. The *adavu* of Bharata-nāṭyam, and the virile *tatkar* of the male dancer in the Kathak* are also types of gati. Variations of gati steps are the *rechita*, or 'stepping', a term originally applied to a particular kind of pace in a trained horse; the *chāri*, 'prance', stepping up with rather exaggerated footwork; *utplavana*, 'leaping', so that both feet are well off the floor; *chakra*, 'wheel', the whirling movement where the dancer spins about in one spot.

An interesting feature of Indian dancing practice is its accompaniment of certain meaningless syllables with whose inflections the dancer keeps time. Such a beat as, *tai tai dhidhi tai*, or, *tai tai tam*, or *tai tuṅga taka tuṅga, tikadhet taka, diga diga thai, ta tai tuṅga tai*, and similar syllabic patterns lend their strange rhythms to the dance. The instructor-musician of Bharata-nāṭyam who calls out this onomatopoeic accompaniment interspersed with brief comments and technical directions is called the *nāṭuvan*, who often accompanies himself with a pair of metal cymbals called *talam*. This mode of practice is used in the Bharata-nāṭyam, Kathak, and various other dances.

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These syllabes are known by different names such as *sollukattu, bol, tat, that, toṛah, tukṛa, paraṇa,* and these terms are frequently used for the accompanying footwork as well.

The acted sequence in a dance is known as a *karaṇa,* 'doing', where the movement conveys a particular action, object or attribute. It is said to be a perfectly conceived composition of hands, body and limbs. The 108 classic karaṇas have been sculptured in stone in the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram in South India. Elementary karaṇas are called *gātha* and express simple actions such as carrying a pitcher on the head, donning bangles, weaving a garment, washing the face, milking a cow, a swaying tree, a creeping serpent. A more complicated variety of the karaṇa is the *aṅgahāra* which portrays a condition or emotion e.g. drunkenness, bewilderment, lust, meditation. There are traditionally 32 aṅgahāras and the distinction between them and the karaṇas is not clear. A composite figure formed by a group of dancers performing a series of related karaṇas is called the *piṇḍī.* In theory there are only 4 piṇḍī, but in practice there is no limit to their number. Descriptions of the piṇḍī vary and the term is now virtually obsolete.

All the classic postures of the four great dance styles have been standardized, and will be found in articles on the mudrās, aṅgika and āsanas. They are regarded as 'typical' of the Indian dance and in recent times a few characteristic attitudes assumed by the dancer, such as the various 'bends' of the body, particularly the semi-knee bend with feet apart, the gliding neck movements from side to side, the rolling motion of the eyes, have been sufficient to label the dance as 'classic', often without justification.

A typical stance is the *saṁdhyā* or 'juncture', a pose of balance symbolizing the balance of Creation. Here the dancer stands with the weight of his body on the left leg, with left knee slightly bent; the right leg is stretched out resting on the heel, toes pointing up, sole of foot turned towards spectator; the torso and head inclined backward forming a straight line with the right leg. The right arm is held up sideways parallel to the ground with hand hanging down; the left arm is bent with outfaced palm, fingertips touching the head. The pose of Kṛishṇa is also typical. The dancer assumes an upright position, with his weight resting on the right leg. The left leg is crossed over the right leg in front, resting on the toes. Both arms are raised parallel to the ground, left hand near the right cheek, right hand raised a little distance before it as though holding or playing a flute. The Naṭarāja pose has been made familiar by the sculptural masterpiece called Śiva Naṭarāja, or Śiva the Dance-Lord. In this the weight of the body rests on the bended right leg while the other is raised and crossed over the knee. It is also called *bhujaṅgatrāsa* (snake-fright) since the dancer 'suddenly lifts up his leg as though he had discovered a snake very near him and appears to be of unsteady gait (VII, p. 209).

As has been mentioned above the prototypes of the two basic forms of dance are the tāṇḍava for men and the lāsya for women. The *tāṇḍava,* a violent dance expressing raging and fierce emotion is said to have been Śiva's contribution to the dramatic arts (*see* Bharata). The term is applied to any vigorous portion of a dance sequence executed by a male dancer. It was first performed by the victorious Śiva at Chidambaram over the slain body of the

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demon Mauyalka (*see* Śiva); or, in another legend, when he grieved for the immolated Satī; as he danced his sweat fell to the earth and caused grains of rice (taṇḍa) to sprout from the ground, whence its name. Alternatively, the name is said to derive from Taṇḍu, Śiva's drummer who improvised the music for the dance.

There are many variations of the tāṇḍava. One is a sort of Devil Dance originally danced by Śiva and his ghostly crew. Another is a Dance of Death, in which Śiva is accompanied by Bhṛiṅgi, a skeleton attendant who performs a travesty of Śiva's dance. A third form is known as the Nadanta, in which the dancer represents a toothless old man trying desperately to dance the vigorous dance of Śiva. In yet another form called Tāṇḍava-tālika, Siva's mount Nandi keeps the time and the dance causes all earthly creatures to spring into existence.

The *Lāsya* (from *lasa*, 'lively') is a tender yet voluptuous dance invented by Pārvatī as the prototype of all feminine dancing. It is danced in many forms most of which are characterized by small seductive movements of the feet. One, the so-called 'nautch-girl's walk', is a sudden succession of tiny steps which is almost a glide, and is considered to be extremely erotic. The feet are kept parallel and close together, one foot advancing only a few inches and the other following it with remarkable delicacy and exactness of time. The *laghu*, another form of lāsya, is performed by raising the heels slightly and alternately beating them on the floor. A typical lāsya dance is the *Mohinī-attam*, which was popular in Malabār till the beginning of the present century.

Four great Hindu dance styles each with its distinct features have been evolved in India. These are the *Bharata-nāṭyam** of Tanjore; the *Kathak** of Uttar Pradesh; the *Kathākali** of Malabār; and the *Manipuri* of the hill people of Manipur state in Assam. The Manipuri is danced by men and women, either accompanied by a chorus of singers or providing their own vocal accompaniment. The dancers' costumes are extremely rich and colourful, with the girls wearing long wide skirts with a hooped box-like flounce which stands out stiff around the hem. The dance is soft and graceful and powerful withal. There is much swaying and sinuous motion, though the performers' faces remain immobile. It is notable as being the source of inspiration for the 'lyrical ballet' style taught at Śāntiniketan.

Most of the Manipuri dance themes centre around Kṛishṇa and the *gopīs*, but one dance, the *Laiharoba* ('merrymaking of the gods') is of very remote origin. It begins with an offering of fruit and flowers to the lai or gods, by gaily dressed girls led by a priestess. The young men form a circle around them, select partners and dance the story of the love of a poor but noble youth for a princess.

Many minor classical dances are also found in various corners of India. Some have come down from early times and still retain their unique charm and traditional flavour. Such are the Kuchipudi of Āndhra and the Chhau of Orissa. The *Kuchipudi* is named after a small village in Āndhra, the centre of a dance-drama performed by certain brāhmin families and passed down from generation to generation. The roles of both men and women are taken by male actors. Each actor introduces himself with a *daru*, an eleborate entrance motif of postures, gestures and dance patterns. The themes of the

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dance-dramas are varied, but all are religious. A popular subject is Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda*.

The *Chhau* is danced in spring usually in honour of Śiva. The traditional patrons of this dance are the rulers of Seraikhela state in Orissa, who themselves take part in its performance. It is danced only by males, the female parts being taken by boys. Many of the performers wear masks (chhau) whence the name. Among the Chhau dances are variations on the tāṇḍava (see above); the *Mayūra* or 'peacock', in imitation of the play of the peacock at the approach of spring; and the *Śabara* or hunter's dance, all of which have been popularized by well-known Indian dance exponents.

In addition to the four chief dance styles and the lesser classical forms already considered, there are hundreds of other regional dances performed on special occasions, such as the war dance, devil dance, rain dance, harvest dance, marriage dance, which are characteristic of various groups, tribes, castes and rural communities all over India. These are roughly classed as *Folk Dances*. As a rule all folk dances are devoid of mime, facial expression, and stylized mudrās. The steps are natural and the beat is usually provided by a single drum. The costumes are colourful.

All warlike tribal peoples, like the Bhīls and the Nāgas, have a war dance. The Nāgas of Assam have very striking costumes, including a skull headdress and buffalo horns. Spears are fiercely brandished and there is much frenzied movement. Other primitive tribes, especially in south and central India have devil dances, which are performed at night. There is a monotonous beating of drums and a great deal of high-pitched yelling. Hand mudrās of a rather free type often accompany these dances.

Ritual dances during marriage, harvest, sowing and the rains are also very common. Such are the *Gagariva*, the water-pot dance of the women of Brāj, the earthly abode of Kṛishṇa; and the *Garba* (or Garva) of the women of Gujarāt. The leader of the group sings the first line of the garba song, the rest repeat it in chorus, the whole being accompanied by the dancers clapping hands and bending gracefully from side to side at every clap as they progress round in a circle.

Among the dances that have aroused the particular interest of anthropologists, besides the war dances of the Assamese tribes, are the various fertility dances of tribal India, of which the rain dance of the Rājbansi tribe of Cooch Bihār is often described. It is performed in the nude* by women, usually young girls, who strip naked and dance before an earthen image of their deity in a jungle clearing. The dance is accompanied by a song pleading for rain, interspersed with ribald words and gestures. Gradually the pace is increased; the movements get wilder and wilder and they start hurling curses at the idol and spitting upon it. Both song and dance become obscene in the extreme until the girls fall on the idol and smash it to pieces, thus marking the end of the dance.

Very popular throughout the country is the folk dance known as the *rās-līlā* (or rāsa-līlā, 'passion-sport') of which many variants are known. They are generally circular dances, with a circle of women, or men and women, dancing around a male and female couple. One form, which first became popular in Mathurā, represents Rādhā and Kṛishṇa surrounded by their

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youthful companions, the cowgirls and cowherds of Vṛindāvana. Such dances are also called *rāsa-maṇḍala*, 'passion circle'; or *maṇḍala-nṛitya*, 'circle-dance'. A similar dance is the *Rāma-līlā*, which is performed to commemorate the victory of Rāma over the demon king Rāvaṇa.

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DAṆḌA, 'rod', signifies chastisement, coercion, and the rule of force, and symbolizes the fearsome majesty of sovereign power. In Hindu polity it is held to be one of the chief principles of state management. Manu and the lawgivers declared that the whole world was governed by the daṇḍa. Agni burns through fear, Sūrya sends forth his beams through fear; through fear Vāyu blows, Mṛityu slays, and the stars stay in their courses.

Among the precepts of the *Mahābhārata* there is one which states, 'Right leans on might (daṇḍa) as a creeper on a tree. As smoke follows the wind, so right follows might'. The Purāṇas declare, 'As the reins check the steed, as the yoke controls the bull, as the iron hook restrains the elephant, so daṇḍa controls the world'. Daṇḍa moves the universe, piercing, cutting, wounding, maiming, afflicting, causing consternation and panic in the hearts of all. It is daṇḍa and daṇḍa alone, irresistible and terror-striking, that makes the earth prosper, that brings about morality and makes virtue possible.

Daṇḍa restrains the ungovernable and punishes the wicked. It creates a fierce dread, makes men tremble for their fields, their possessions, their cattle, their families and themselves, and through this fear renders them docile and subservient and thus maintains peace and order in the state. Without daṇḍa men will never obey the law or tread the path of righteousness. Without daṇḍa no maiden would marry the man selected for her by her parents but would give herself to any plausible rogue. Without daṇḍa no one would milk the cows, no warrior would go forth to battle, no brāhmin study the Vedas, no śūdra remain servile.

The king is warned that if he is not prepared to use the daṇḍa, to be stern and ruthless, to crush and to kill, as the large fish kill the little fish, he should abandon every hope of success, for if men think him soft they will despise him. Three things are to be avoided: a priest who does not know the Vedas; a woman with a wagging tongue; and a kingdom whose king hesitates to use the daṇḍa.

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Daṇḍa is depicted as a great eunuch deity, black of visage, having four great fangs, four arms, eight legs and many large, bloodshot and unblinking eyes. His ears are pointed, his hair stands erect, and his tongue is forked. He is called the First Legislator, the Elder Manu, the Affectionless, the Father of Morality, the Sword of Dharma, the Fury of Virtue, the Dread Preventer, the Terrible Avenger, the Parent of Prosperity, the Purifier, the Merciless Judge, the Refuge of Kings.

Books

See under Politics.

DAṆḌIN (*c.* AD 600) Sanskrit writer of probably South Indian origin. He is the author of *Kāvyādarśa* (*kāvya-ādarśa*, 'poetry-mirror') an important contribution to poetics*, and a *gadya* (prose) romance called *Daśa-kumāra-charita* ('Ten Princes' Adventures') written in elegant and polished but involved Sanskrit. Daṇḍin resorts to frequent verbal tricks and grammatical devices to display his mastery of language. For example, a lover who has been severely bitten on the lip by his ardent mistress is made to say his part without the use of labials, since he is now unable to pronounce them. The story of the novel is long and rambling, full of curious episodes of magic and wonder, like the adventures of medieval princes in Western fairy tales. But through it all one obtains a vivid glimpse of the luxury and depravity of that age. Love is at its most sordid and unrefined, an affair wholly of the senses, of violent and unrestrained lusts which arise suddenly and demand fulfilment without delay, disregarding all obstacles. These weaknesses along with the vulgar puns and suggestive innuendos, the graphic details of seduction, and the general departure from good taste have earned for it the censure of critics both Indian and European.

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(*See also under* Sanskrit.)

DAYĀNANDA (1824–83), originally known as Mūlaśaṅkar, was born of a rich Śaivite brāhmin family of the Sārasvata class of Kāṭhiāwār, and invested with the sacred thread at the age of eight. At thirteen he suffered the first setback in his belief in popular Hinduism when, keeping vigil at the feast of Śivarātri he observed that the sacrificial food prepared and presented to the image of Śiva was being consumed by a number of rats that emerged at midnight from the temple crevices. His doubts about the omnipotence of a deity who permitted unclean rodents to eat sacrificial offerings intended for him alone, were deepened by subsequent experiences.

In his eighteenth year the death of his sister and, sometime later of his uncle, both of whom he loved dearly, set him thinking earnestly on the problems of life, death and the after-life. This early evidence of a contemplative and critical mind led his parents to decide to get him married as soon

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as possible, but while preparations for the marriage were being made he quietly left home. He was twenty years old at the time.

From then on the young man associated and discoursed with *sannyāsins*, improving his knowledge of the Vedas and Hindu philosophy, and in fact becoming a sannyāsin himself, assuming the religious name of Dayānanda. He travelled widely throughout India, acquiring varied experiences, on one occasion nearly drowning in the chill waters of a Himālayan stream.

His study of Tantrik philosophy confirmed his view that much popular Hinduism was corrupt and perverted. He writes, 'My astonishment knew no bounds when I read with my own eyes in Tantrik books of the sexual intercourse of mother and son, of the worship of a naked woman, of the taking of meat, wine and drugs, and that salvation was expected through all this'. He pulled out a dead body from the river and dissected it to find out whether he could discover the *nāḍis* and *chakras* that the tantriks spoke about so much. Failing to find these he pitched his Tantrik books into the river along with the corpse.

After years of searching Dayānanda at last found his true preceptor in a blind guru, Swāmi Virājānanda of Mathurā, a great Vedic scholar and grammarian who for four years from 1860 to 1863 taught him the scriptures in their purest form, and before parting enjoined Dayānanda to devote himself to the mission of uplifting the country, of rescuing the sacred texts, and of promulgating the Vedic faith.

From 1863, Swāmi Dayānanda Sarasvatī as he now came to be called, began his travels again to teach the new Vedic philosophy, and fearlessly condemned idolatry in Banāras and Mathurā. On the advice of Keshab Chandra Sen he gave up delivering his lectures in Sanskrit in favour of the simple Hindi of the masses. He met the other leaders of the Brahmo Samāj in Calcutta and for a time thought of co-operating with them but owing to differences he eventually decided to start a society of his own. In 1874 he was in Bombay, in close touch with the Prārthanā Samāj, and it was here that he founded in 1875 the **Ārya Samāj** (Noble Society). But its initial success was greatest in the Panjāb, and Lahore soon became the society's headquarters. His book, entitled *Satyārtha Prakāśa*, 'Truth Manifest', written in Hindi in 1874 sets forth most of the guiding principles of the movement.

Dayānanda's end at Ajmer was mysterious. He had publicly rebuked the Mahārāja of Jodhpur for being under the influence of a courtesan, and he died in circumstances that gave rise to the suspicion that he had been poisoned. There was however no clear proof. About ten years after his death a split occurred in the samāj between a progressive party led by Lājpat Rāi that advocated modern education, freedom in diet, and the universality of the Ārya creed, and the conservatives who favoured vegetarianism, the ancient *gurukula* system of education* and the propagation of their teachings for the benefit of Hindus only.

Whereas Rāmmohan Roy had been attracted by the Upanishads and Vivekānanda by the Vedānta, Dayānanda went straight to the source of both these systems, the Vedas. He regarded the Vedas as the eternal, infallible, perfect and complete revelation of God, given to the world one hundred billion years ago. His watchword was 'Back to the Vedas', and his purpose

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was to revive Vedic religion as based on the exegesis of the texts in Yāska's *Nirukta* (*see* etymology), although his own interpretation was largely fanciful and often forcibly adapted to suit his preconceptions. As he knew no English his inspiration was derived mainly from indigenous sources.

Dayānanda held that India was the fountainhead of all culture, both material and spiritual, and that Sanskrit was the parent of all languages. His followers went further in asserting that the Europeans, Persians, Chinese, Aztecs and Mayas, received their culture and wisdom from prehistoric invaders from India who had conquered their lands. All the religions of the world, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam were garbled versions of the primal Vedic revelation, and all these religions were destined to succumb before the triumphant march of the eternal Vedic faith.

He further held that all knowledge, secular as well as religious emanated from the Vedas, and that many of the scientific principles and discoveries which were unknown to Europe till a century or two ago were referred to in the Vedas. He was the most vocal of those modern Indian scholars who seek to read into the elementary concepts of the ancient texts the results of the most recent scientific advances (*see* sanatva). His followers believe that a careful reading of the sacred scriptures would reveal that the steam engine, the aeroplane and radio, the latest discoveries in medicine, the chemical composition of water, the microbic origin of disease, and as other inventions and discoveries came into view, that television, the atom bomb, radar and so on were all known to the ancient ṛishis, and that an infinite number more are still available to those who have the wisdom to interpret the hidden meanings embodied in the Vedic texts.

In his metaphysics Dayānanda evolved a synthesis of the Advaita and Sāṁkhya systems. To the dual principles of Sāṁkhya he added a third, positing Purusha (Universal Soul), Prakṛiti (Primordial Substance), and God. As a monist, however, he insisted on a non-dualistic version of this metaphysical trinity. Again, though accepting the doctrine of *karma* (a pre-Aryan notion) and transmigration (which is not found in the *Ṛig-veda*), he did not believe like the Vedāntins (whose pantheism he vigorously denounced) that emancipation results in a loss of individuality. The soul, he taught, enjoys happiness in emancipation and consequently cannot be lost in the Absolute. The soul is a free agent, separate from God, and salvation is attained by continued well-doing.

He maintained that the religion of the Vedas was monotheistic and in his *Satyārtha Prakāśa*, which opens with a chapter on the names of God, he explains that these names merely describe God's nature, qualities and activities, which are in fact infinite. Though thirty-three gods are mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda* they are but forces of nature. He further endeavoured to establish the fact that the Vedas did not sanction idolatry as there was not a single word in the sacred writings to support the worship of idols.

Dayānanda called the Hinduism that was being practised around him, 'Purāṇic religion'. The Purāṇas he dismissed as fairy tales, and the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as merely literary treasures and nothing more. He sought to purge popular Hinduism of its gross and vulgar elements.

A brief summary of the other teachings of Dayānanda and his followers

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may be cited here. He was opposed to polytheism, idolatry and animal sacrifices. In the first edition of *Satyārtha Prakāśa* he subscribed to beef-eating under certain circumstances, but in later editions he condemned it unequivocally. He subsequently formed a society for the protection of cows, and wrote a book on the subject. Today all members of the Ārya Samāj are obliged to protect cattle and are absolutely forbidden to slaughter cows or eat their flesh.

Dayānanda also opposed *śrāddha* ceremonies, caste based on birth, untouchability, long pilgrimages, and ritual ablutions. He condemned child-marriage, *purdah* and female backwardness. He did not permit the remarriage of widows, but adopted a variation of *niyoga* (*see* levirate) which permitted cohabitation with widows apart from marriage, for the procreation of offspring.

He vigorously denounced Christianity because many Hindu outcastes were turning to that religion. By means of *śuddhi* (purification*) rites Dayānanda made every effort to bring them back to the Hindu fold, and even tried to convert non-Hindus to the Ārya dharma. He was sufficiently enamoured of the scientific achievements of the West to be more than zealous in claiming them as belonging to India. He borrowed many ideas from the Western world and Christianity and most of his social reforms were undertaken as a result of European influence. The foundation of such organizations as the Ārya Tract Society, Women's Ārya Samāj, Young Men's Ārya Samāj, the Vedic Salvation Army, and his schools, colleges, orphanages, widows' homes and relief centres, were due to direct Christian inspiration.

The Ārya Samāj rites include Sunday worship, the reading, preaching and teaching of the Vedas. The society lays emphasis on *dīkshā* (initiation), the daily observance of the homa, saṁdhyā and other devotions, and the recital of the Gāyatrī *mantra*. The *Agni*-concept is prominent in Ārya Samāj ritual but there are no regular priests and the organization is run on democratic lines. Members of the Samāj have to pay one per cent of their income and to subscribe to the ten *niyama* or principles. Besides, every Ārya must cultivate *brahmacharya* (continence) if unmarried, *tapas* (austerity), *satya* (truth) and *Brahmā* (devotion to God).

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DESIGNS. There is still much uncertainty about the origins and sources of Indian designs, such as are seen in indigenous pottery, jewellery, metal and ivory work, wood carving, furniture, papiermâché work, domestic interiors,

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raṅgoli floor designs and ritual *maṇḍalas*, dolls and toys, weapons, book-covers, pen-boxes, manuscript borders, textile goods (sāṛīs, bed-covers, pillow-cases, kerchiefs, shawls), and a hundred and one other common objects of the craftsman's art. Scholars at first believed that the basic patterns were of 'immemorial antiquity' in India, but a more detailed analysis based on historical research and comparative study has shown that many of what today are termed 'Indian' designs are derivative.

Very little positive data can be gleaned in this respect from references in the Vedas, Epics and Purāṇas. There are fabulous descriptions of the resplendent costumes and eye-dazzling apparel of the monarchs and princes of yore, of their gorgeous and multi-coloured robes shot with gold and silver and studded with precious gems whose brilliance darkened the sun, but the information given suggests only a strong predilection for bright ornaments* and shiny trinkets, and a great love of personal adornment, but provides few specific details of any traditional motifs.

It is to be remembered that in most ancient communities design had a primarily magical significance. It was not just a casual product of the artists' fancy or the result of some sudden inspiration. It was a sacred inheritance which it was his duty to preserve. Even as late as the Moghul period the *naqqāsh* or professional pattern-designer decided which of several established motifs was to decorate a particular object. Many an ancient design thus had religious and symbolic significance that made its perpetuation a matter of necessity. Those who transmitted the heritage were obliged to observe every serif and curlicue as ordained by the tradition of the tribe.

The earliest extant specimens of ancient patterns point to a close assimilation of foreign influences. The trefoil pattern on the shawl of the bearded limestone figure of Mohenjodaro (*c.* 2000 BC) has been traced to Sumeria. The foliate ornaments and minor motifs on Aśoka's columns* (*c.* 250 BC), centuries later, are Achaemenian and Hellenistic in derivation. The 'diaper' pattern, a small recurrent floral design within a geometrical shape, and many varieties of sculptural motifs are first found in Sirkap, Jandial and other Hellenistic centres in Gandhāra. Certain costumes in the Ajantā frescoes are direct replicas of Sasanian styles in their decorative designs.

The influence of the northern 'barbarian' nomads on the minor arts such as those of the jeweller, metal-worker and textile designer is also accepted as beyond dispute. The 'barbarians' excelled in this line and the geometrical designs, intricate floral patterns and animal forms used by them are now held to be characteristically Indian. Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray says, 'Quite a good many forms, patterns and designs of the Indian goldsmith's art today can directly be traced to northern nomadic forms of Scythic art which were brought into India by West-Asiatic people and the Śakas and Kushāns' (III, p. 541). Much of this heritage has been preserved in the present-day costumes of the women of Gurjara ancestry in Gujerāt and Kāṭhiāwār, and of Hun ancestry in Rājputāna, whose richly hued skirts, exquisitely embroidered bodices, and gorgeous jewellery display motifs still reminiscent of Central Asia.

In the early medieval period the Muslims were responsible for introducing a wide variety of beautiful designs. Since the reproduction of human or

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animal figures was forbidden by Koranic interdiction, a profusion of geometrical and floral arabesques of exquisite delicacy was evolved in Muslim countries, and many of them have passed into Indian art. One of the most typical motifs of India, that of a leaf with a curled end, variously said to represent the footprint of the goddess Gaurī, or the leaf of the *pān*, or of the sacred pīpal tree, is an old Sasanian motif which was brought to India along with the fluid classical 'line of beauty' and the popular 'tree of life' patterns some time after the Muhammadan invasion.

Scholars hold the view that a number of designs now in use preserve ancient indigenous motifs. These are to be found in some kinds of pottery, in rustic dolls and toys, in ivory work and also in the form of 'pure' designs known as *rañgoli*, 'coloured', where the pattern is traced directly on the floor. The latter is executed throughout India, chiefly by women, the designs of Bombay, Tamilnād, Āndhra, Mahārāshṭra and Bengal being particularly good. The skill is known variously as *kolam*, *muggu*, *ālpanā* or *alipāna*. The patterns may be drawn by means of a small piece of cloth wrapped around the finger soaked in a thin ground of rice-powder, or by sprinkling coloured powders between thumb and finger on the ground, or by allowing it to pour gently through a perforated cardboard box.

Rañgoli designs are used to decorate thresholds, courtyards, living-room floors on festive occasions and are intended as auspicious and sacred areas to welcome the deities. Some trace their relationship to the maṇḍala*. It is thought that certain rañgoli designs have come down unchanged through the centuries, and students have traced the ālipāna of Bengal to the ancient outlines used in the Indus Valley. But it is too fluid a medium to have survived unchanged for very long, and the art has in fact reflected many varying trends in designs, such as trees, arabesques, human and animal figures, landscapes, historical events and even historical and political personages.

The last phase in the development of Indian designs is seen with the coming of the Europeans. The foreign merchandise distributed to markets throughout India by way of Diu, Goa, Pondicherry, Hugli and other European trading centres included commodities from Portugal, England, Holland and France, and the designs of many of these wares were soon copied by the Indian craftsmen. The extraordinary imitative faculty of the Indian has been consistently noted by foreigners from the time of the Greeks (*see* Art), so much so that in the early seventeenth century Sir Thomas Roe counselled the East India Company against sending certain kinds of embroidered goods, since Indian craftsmen had copied them and were using the motifs themselves.

Today many decorative designs are borrowed from the West. A number are artfully contrived variations on Indian designs, adapted to suit the taste of the European customer. But unfortunately many of the designs produced for export, especially in textiles, show little trace of traditional Indian designs and motifs.

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DEŚIKA (fl. AD 1230), also known as Vedānta-deśika or Veṅkaṭanātha, a native of Kāñchipuram who spent most of his life at Śriraṅgam in South India. As one of the greatest of Rāmānuja's successors, he is a prominent figure in the history of Vaishṇavism*. A voluminous writer in Tamil and Sanskrit he was practically deified after his death, and came to be regarded as an incarnation of the bell of Vishṇu. He was the founder of the Vaḍagalai (*vaḍa-kalai*) or northern sect of Vaishṇavism which accepts both the Tamil Prabandham and the Sanskrit writings as canonical.

The central teaching of Deśika's philosophy as further elaborated by his followers upholds Vishṇu as the only Lord, uncreated, all-powerful, everliving. Their concept of Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu, has elements of Śākta theology, and the worship of both is greatly stressed. The grace of God is the chief hope of mankind, but man must make an effort himself to attain to this grace. God's grace is *sahetu*, 'with cause', as opposed to Lokāchārya's belief that it is spontaneous. Bhakti or faith should be of the *markaṭa* (monkey) type, as opposed to Lokāchārya's* view that it should be of the cat type. In other words man must cling to god by his own exertion, just as a baby-monkey clings to its mother. Only by maintaining his 'monkey-hold' on the divine can man share in God's grace.

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(*See also under* Philosophy and Vaishṇavism.)

DHANVANTARI (dhanvan-tari, 'arrow-moving'), a deity of probably aboriginal Indian antiquity. His name suggests the parabolic flight of an arrow and he was early identified with the sun, since the sun also 'moved in an arc'. In popular mythology he was the son of the sage Dīrghatamas and physician of the gods, who appeared during the Churning of the Ocean carrying the life-giving *amṛita* or nectar* in a milk-white chalice. According to tradition, Āyurveda or the science of health and medicine is attributed to him.

In some myths he is referred to as part of Vishṇu himself, in others as a disciple of Śiva, and in still others as a pupil of the eagle-god Garuḍa, and the conqueror of the malignant power of the serpent people. The name or title of Dhanvantari was also borne by a semi-legendary teacher of medicine and author of numerous treatises on Āyurveda, and by one of the 'nine gems' at the court of King Vikramāditya*. This latter Dhanvantari was said to be the son of the ṛishi Gālava and a śūdra maiden named Vīrabhadrā. More than one historical physician was given the title of Dhanvantari.

Books

See under Āyurveda History, and Mythology.

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DHARMA, a term of very wide connotation. In its broadest sense it is used for the universal laws of nature that uphold the cosmos. This aspect of dharma is usually termed *ṛita*, signifying the cosmic order or the regularity of the cosmic processes: the rising and setting of the sun, the cycle of the seasons; springtime and harvest; even concepts like the intrinsic justice and rightness underlying all things. Ṛita thus also came to mean the moral law, and the value of the moral order. Says the *Ṛig-veda* in a well-known hymn, 'Sweet are the winds to him who desires moral order'. In the *Ṛig-veda*, Varuṇa is the guardian of ṛita.

The term dharma also signifies the code of conduct of the individual or group; the precepts of social behaviour, as found in the Dharma-śāstras, 'Law-Scriptures'; the practice of the virtues enjoined by ethics, leading to proper behaviour and moral conduct. Hindu ethics* evolved a scheme of four human ends, or *purushārtha*, of which dharma was the third.

Again, dharma implies justice, virtue, morality, religious merit and righteousness, law, duty, the Good, the True, the Norm, the Ideal, the Way. Basic to dharma in practical life is the notion of karma* or willed activity, which determines a man's future incarnation. Closely connected with this concept of dharma is the observance of caste* rules for it is only within the caste framework that the obligations of dharma may be best observed.

The loftiest form of dharma is one's duty performed for its own sake. Yudhishṭhira says in the *Mahābhārata*, 'If I do not look for the reward for my conduct it is because I do not trade in virtue, or greedily seek the fruits of my righteousness. I follow the paths of those who have lived wise and holy lives because I consider it my duty to do so'. Kṛishṇa in a well-known passage in the *Bhagavadgītā* teaches 'Service without reward'.

The opposite of dharma is *nirdharma* or antinomianism*; *anṛita* or untruth; *dosha* or sin*; and *adharma*, vice or unrighteousness, often personified as Adharma, son of Brahmā and husband of the godling* Nirṛiti.

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DHRUVA, a kshattriya *ṛishi*, whose father Uttānapāda was the second son of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. Uttānapāda had two wives, the proud and arrogant favourite Suruchi, who was the mother of a son named Uttama, and a second wife Sunīti (or Sūnṛitā) who was humble and gentle, and had four sons named Dhruva, Kīrtimān (or Kīrtivat), Āyushmān and Vasu.

Even as a child Dhruva was contemptuously treated by Suruchi who declared that only her son Uttama was fit to ascend the throne. Sunīti and Dhruva accepted the claim, the boy saying that he desired nothing more than what could be acquired by his own merit. Although a kshattriya, the youth joined a society of ṛishis and studied under their guidance. He became a ṛishi himself and went through a rigorous course of austerities from which all the efforts of Indra and the gods to distract him were of no avail. At the

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end of his long probation he secured boons from Vishṇu and was raised to the firmament as the Pole Star.

Druva's son Prāchīna-garbha, was the father of Chākshusha who became the sixth Manu*. Chākshusha's grandson Veṇa* became the first of all consecrated kings on earth. Sixth in descent from Veṇa was the arch-sage Daksha, and the grandson of one of Daksha's daughters was Vaivasvata the seventh Manu, the Manu of the present age and the progenitor of mankind after the Flood.

Dhruva was also called by his patronymic Auttānapādi; and Grāha-dhāra or pivot of the planets.

Books

See under Mythology.

DIAGNOSIS. The Sanskrit term *nidāna* (ni-dāna, 'through-knowing') is an almost literal equivalent of the Greek dia-gnosis, and covers that branch of Āyurveda*, Hindu medical science, which examines the cause (*hetu*) of a disease (*roga*) with a view to understanding its nature and prescribing a cure. In theory the study of diagnosis is extremely complicated since it takes into account the interaction or combination (*saṁyoga*) of all aspects of a patient's life. The importance of these aspects has been variously stressed and widely different theories of their nature and sphere of operation abound in Āyurvedic literature. To be clearly grasped in all its ramifications, a comprehensive chart is to be drawn up in which a place is found for each likely detail that might have contributed to the disease. Their permutations and combinations are infinite, so this type of diagnosis often has little bearing on the disease in question, and few if indeed any physicians today trouble to take more than a few of these theoretical factors into account. Often, the tabulation is ignored and the doctor just proceeds along the paths dictated by common sense.

Among the causes of disease, several are 'hidden'. These include a man's *karma**, or his actions in a past and in the present life, which have a cumulative reaction, manifesting itself as the disease. Then there is the diabolic theory, accounting for all sickness as due to the operation of malignant demons who plague men, either out of malice or at the bidding of sorcerers. Diseases also occur as a result of spells, curses, divine wrath and the evil eye. Much of this lore is to be found in the *Atharva-veda*.

Planetary factors likewise play an important part in diagnosis, and the influences of the heavenly spheres on the physical and subtle bodies of men, is worked out on astrological principles. Related to this are the diseases caused by disturbances of the astral body, when the *nāḍis*, *chakras*, *prāṇas* and other subtle centres known to esoteric physiology are said to be affected.

The *Atharva-veda* classifies diseases as those produced by fire, water and wind, corresponding to the three humours* of the body. Diseases are also produced by worms (sometimes translated 'germs' by Hindus today) and insects. Suśruta (fourth century AD) and others classify causes as extraneous (e.g. astrological influence), bodily (rheumatism), mental (insanity), natural (old age, hunger, thirst), accidental (fractures), seasonal (boils and prickly heat) and hereditary. One of the chief causes of hereditary diseases is said to

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be diseased semen or menstrual fluid, which results in leprosy (*kushṭhā*) cancer (*vraṇa*) and venereal disease (*rājayakshma*). Suśruta says, 'Men die in spite of the best treatment, for when life has to end then spirits, ghosts and infernal imps prevent the action of medicine'.

The physician Charaka* (second century AD) laid stress on omens for diagnostic purposes which had to be read from the moment the messenger came to summon the physician to the patient's house, and continued thereafter. Suśruta interpreted the dreams of the patient, giving them either a literal, opposite or symbolical meaning. Thus, he who dreams that a bamboo tree grows out of his body, or is being swallowed by a fish, or has intercourse with his mother, or grows bald, or is overcome and bound by crows, or climbs an anthill—if he is healthy he will fall sick, and if he is sick he will die. It is auspicious to dream of gods, brāhmins, mountains, elephants and brightly burning fires.

Finally, diagnosis took into account the patient's own condition, his family background, heredity, caste, the 'soil factor', i.e. the climate, food and water of the country of his origin; his birth and upbringing, his character, temperament and physical constitution; whether his disease was 'hot'* or 'cold', and a complete physical examination. This physical examination included the general appearance (*rūpa*) of the patient; sparśa ('touch') or the feel of his skin to ascertain his temperature; the examination of his eyes (*netra*), tongue (*jihvā*), faeces (*purīsha*) and urine (*mūtra*). In certain cases it also meant tasting the secretions of the patient, which was one of the reasons why the profession of physician was held in disrepute.

Perhaps the most important diagnostic method was by counting the pulse (nāḍi) which was known as *nāḍi-parīksha*, 'pulse-examination'. It was introduced to India from Persia and certain physicians specialized in diagnosis by this means alone. The various pulses—those on the nose, neck, armpit, wrist, genitals, ankles, etc.—were checked according to the strength or feebleness of the beat, the number of beats during a given time, and the nature of the beat, and classified as serpent-like, leech-like, crow-like, quail-like, and frog-like. All these allegedly gave different indications relating to the disease.

Books

See under Āyurveda.

DIET. Many of the staple items in the diet of the Hindus date from prehistoric times and certain preparations have remained virtually unchanged to this day. From the Negritos, Austrics and other aborigines came the Hindi word for rice (*chāwal*, from the Kolarian root *jom*, 'eat'); cultivation of the pumpkin, brinjal, banana, coconut, water melon, turmeric, ginger, lemon groundnut, sugar cane; the chewing of betel*, and the drying and salting of small fish ('Bombay duck' and bummalo), were all well established before the Aryans arrived. Milk and curd products remained another constant factor in the diet of Indians through the ages.

The Indo-Aryans who migrated from the Iranian steppe seem to have been unfamiliar with many of these indigenous staples, and the word rice, for

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instance, never occurs in the *Ṛig-veda* (*see* Plants). But the Aryans had a wide dietary range of their own and set great store on good eating, as may be seen reflected in the verse from the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* which says, 'Through food comes the end of all ignorance and bondage'. The *Taittirīya Upanishad* identifies food with Brahma.

The long-standing controversy in regard to the diet of the Indo-Aryans has now been sufficiently settled to admit of no doubt that the Hindus of the Vedic Age were extremely liberal in the foods they ate. They drank intoxicating liquor, and freely ate fish and meat of all kinds including the flesh of sheep and horses. In time of necessity it was permissible to eat even the entrails of a dog (IV, p. 29).

Although the average Hindu today will never touch beef, there is no doubt that the Vedic Aryans, including brāhmins, did eat the flesh of buffaloes, oxen, bulls, calves and cows. In the Vedas a guest was called *goghna*, i.e. one for whom a cow is killed, and no ceremony for welcoming a guest was complete without offering him meat. The Vedic god Indra is shown as having a great fondness for beef. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* instructions are given for celebrating the visit of a king by preparing beef for him to eat. One of the greatest Indo-Aryan *ṛishis*, Yājñavalkya, says in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in connection with beef-eating, 'I for one eat it provided it is tender'. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* recommends that if a man desire a son learned in the Vedas he should prepare a pilau of beef, rice and ghee (clarified butter) and both he and his wife should partake of it before intercourse.

The *Mahābhārata* also speaks of the custom in Epic days when cooks served the heroes great joints of meat, like sirloin of buffalo, and haunches of venison, roasted on spits and dressed by dropping ghee thereon, or spiced as curries. Elsewhere the *Mahābhārata* states that in the palace of Rantideva (*see* Bharata) two thousand animals were killed every day and the meat distributed to brāhmins and mendicants. Among the foods cooked at Draupadī's wedding mention is made of viands of several kinds, including buffalo, goat, deer and fowl. Whenever they entertained brāhmins the Pāṇḍavas offered them meat and this was eaten by the priests with immense relish. Again, the *Rāmāyaṇa* in describing the dietary preferences of the household of Daśaratha, includes a variety of meats. The favourite course of Rāma, we find, was the flesh of birds and animals 'variously dressed'; and meat cooked with rice was the preferred dish of Sītā.

Manu's dictates on the subject are contradictory, and evidently preserve the views of more than one school. Condemned without qualification is the person who permits the slaughter of an animal, as well as he who actually slaughters it, and he who carves it. Also he who stocks, sells, buys, cooks, serves, or eats it. All are slayers of animals. In the same chapter, however, Manu makes beef-eating obligatory on certain occasions, declaring that there is no sin in eating meat and drinking spirituous liquor. As though this were not enough, he goes on to say that the man who, being duly engaged to officiate or dine at a sacred rite, refuses to eat meat, becomes an animal after death for twenty-one existences. 'He who honouring the gods eats meat whether he himself has bought it, or himself killed it, commits no sin', he adds. A verse in one of the later dharmaśāstras says, 'The cow and bull are

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sacred animals and therefore should be eaten', and another lawbook recommends the serving of beef to learned brāhmins and guests.

During the Maurya period there was an official Superintendent of Slaughterhouses, and the sale of meat was regulated by the state. In the time of Kauṭilya oxen were bred and fattened for the market, high standards being maintained for the purity of the meat. The daily killing of cattle for the royal table took on the character of a hecatomb in Aśoka's reign, and before his acceptance of Buddhism thousands of animals were slaughtered daily for his kitchen; but after his conversion he restricted the number to two peacocks and one deer.

Hindu writers on Āyurveda or medicine were also catholic in matters of diet, and recommended flesh, roasted or fried, or prepared in soups and broths, although the diet prescribed was largely determined by such factors as the *guṇas* or qualities* believed to be inherent in all eatables. The physician Charaka (*c.* AD 180) advocates the eating of meat and writes that human tissues are best nourished by similar animal tissues; animal flesh improves man's flesh; bone nourishes bone; blood nourishes blood, and brain sustains brain. Suśruta (*c.* AD 350) speaks of beef as 'pure'. Later Āyurveda prescribes the meat of the lion and tiger as particularly energizing since these animals themselves subsist on flesh.

Authors on *kāmaśāstra* (erotics) go even further in their recommendations, and the flesh of asses, vultures, snakes, lizards, snails and slugs is suggested for specific sexual afflictions. The meat of the rhinoceros (*see* animals) when available was regarded as the supreme aphrodisiac. Bull's testicles, preferably not too well cooked, were a sovereign remedy for loss of masculinity. The eating of these exotic meats did not imply that they should constitute one's diet in normal circumstances. Says Vātsyāyana, 'Dog's meat is recommended for strength in medical treatises, but that does not mean that wise men should eat it'.

A number of left-hand Hindu sects like the Kāpālikas*, and certain orders of *sādhus**, are notorious for their unorthodox diet which includes snails, snakes, scorpions and ordure. Cannibalism is not unknown among them.

The Purāṇas repeatedly advocate the eating of meat, and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* states that serving brāhmins with beef during the *śrāddha* rites satisfies the soul of deceased parents for eleven months. Even as late as AD 800, Bhavabhūti the dramatist refers to meat-eating by the populace.

But by this time the change-over in the dietary habits of the Hindus had already been well established. Vegetarianism, a practice of pre-Aryan antiquity, had been reinforced by the 'non-injury' religions, and it is generally held that it became universal in India as a result of Buddhist and to a lesser extent Jain influence. Buddhist literature frequently speaks with contempt of the flesh-eating and bibulous habits of Hindus, and indulgence in these 'vices' was for long regarded as the chief distinguishing mark between the followers of the Buddhist Law, and the Hindu Dharma. Here again the *Mahābhārata*, which incorporates layers of belief stretching over a period of more than ten centuries, declares that all who eat the flesh or permit the slaughter of cows rot in hell for as many years as there are hairs on the body of the cow.

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The pressure of indigenous custom and the influence of Buddhism and Jainism gradually began to have an effect on the eating habits of the Aryan peoples. Although at first Hindus of the higher castes deemed it heretical to refrain from eating beef since it was a mark of the Buddhist, subsequent references to meat-eating were mitigated by apologies that it was practised only during sacrifices, or to serve guests, or for recovery of strength during convalescence. The ban on the eating of meat was thus imposed in order to make Hinduism compare more favourably with Buddhism as a religion of kindness and *ahiṁsā*. Already by the time of Fa-hien's visit (early fifth century AD) meat-eating had been abandoned by the upper classes.

For the past millennium and a half the habit of abstention from meat and wine had been growing (though this is now again steadily on the decline) and despite the varied dietetic prohibitions of the Hindus it may be taken as a general rule that Hindus do not eat beef. At any rate from the beginning of the present era the killing of cows* began to assume the proportions of a major crime, and the eating of cow's flesh an unspeakable outrage against god and man. The practice of eating other meats is common in certain parts but not widespread in India. Meat-eating is obligatory in several sects and still remains one of the five stages of the *chakrapūjā* ritual. Dasgupta points out that during the Hindu marriage ceremony a *mantra* is still recited to the effect that a cow has been brought for the bridal feast, but the groom today replies that the cow need not be butchered for his gratification. Brāhmins from Kashmīr eat mutton, and brāhmins of Bengal eat fish, while Kshattriyas generally eat all meats except beef. Strict brāhmins of South India do not eat anything that has life, especially 'visibly moving life', i.e. animal flesh. Some vegetarians do not eat anything but vegetables, and are precluded even from having milk products like butter and cheese, and eggs.

In Sanskrit literature cookery was known by a diversity of names; *pāka-vidyā*, 'cooking knowledge'; *sūpa-śāstra*, 'soup-scripture', an indication that the Indians delighted in broths; *anna-vidhi*, 'food-rule'. No ancient textbooks on the subject survive, but it appears to have been a highly cultivated art. The position of cook in the royal household was the preserve of brāhmins who were considered the best cooks and were employed even by barbarians and śūdras, although there were many prohibitions circumscribing the manner in which the lower-caste employer was to receive the food cooked by his brāhmin *sūpa-kṛit*, 'soup-maker', or cook. Kshattriyas too did not disdain to acquaint themselves with the refinements of the culinary art, and princes like Nala and Bhīma were expert cooks. The fame of Indian cooks spread beyond India, and it is said that the emperor Justinian employed an Indian chef in his palace.

Many new ways of preparing food were adopted from the Muslims. References in the ancient texts to the methods of cooking meat and vegetables are few and scattered, and cooking in the ancient tradition is today preserved mainly in the South, and is best represented in European cuisine in the highly seasoned 'curry-soup' known as Mulligatawny (Tamil, *milagu-tannīr*, 'pepper-water'). The whole of northern India, on the other hand, has been overwhelmingly influenced by Muslim cuisine and the many rare dishes introduced by the Arabs, Turks and Persians. Seasonings like *hiṅg* (asafoetida)

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and spices like cummin (Sk. *jīraka* from Persian *zīra*), and sour-pungent relishes like chutney (Hindi, *chaṭnī*) came from the Muslim countries. The aromatic kedgeree (Hindi *khichṛī*), the rich pilaus, (Persian pilaw) and succulent kabobs (Persian *kabāb*), the delicious roasts and *tanduris*, are all a heritage from that age.

Indian cooking owes little to the Europeans, but it is worthy of note that maize is not mentioned before the advent of the Portuguese. And it is to them that India owes the ingredients which completely revolutionized Indian cookery: the 'hot' curries, sharp with spices that are a typical feature of the present-day Indian menu are given their characteristic tang by the now ubiquitous red chilli pepper, which was brought to India by the Portuguese.

There were several more or less generally observed rules governing eating practice among the Hindus, of which the principal may be briefly given here. Āyurveda prescribes two meals a day for good health, one meal in the morning and one in the evening. Food must be prepared in the prescribed way and in special utensils. The best cooks are brāhmin males. Food must never be prepared by a woman in her monthly periods, or by a man of a lower caste than the person who eats the food. One should not eat in a boat, or on a wooden platform (tables are therefore not in order), but on a patch of ground previously purified by the application of cowdung. While eating a specific direction should be faced: if one is not in mourning, or otherwise impure the best direction to face is the east, although facing south is also permitted provided one's mother is not alive. The prescribed manner of sitting at meals is to squat on the ground; the knees should not be raised, nor should the dish touch the legs. The upper garments and the sacred thread should be worn during meals (there is no unanimity about this). One should rinse one's mouth before and after eating (*see* purification) in order to wash away all effects of impure thoughts that are generated in the mouth.

It is auspicious to eat with a Vedic scholar, with a student, a liberal donor, or with one who has attained the age of one hundred years; but not with lepers, bald persons, adulterers, acrobats, actors, goldsmiths, wrestlers, athletes, a woman with a second husband, or with musicians.

Food which has stood overnight, food which has been cooked twice, or left over from an earlier meal is taboo. Food touched by the foot, by the hem of one's garment, or by a dog, cannot be eaten. Likewise, any food in which one finds a hair, an insect, or the limb of a mouse, or which has been smelt by an animal or even a human being is unfit for consumption. Food brought into the house from the back door is also proscribed. Leavings are not to be touched except in dire need; but a wife may eat what is left of her husband's food; indeed, it is meritorious for her to do so. It is improper for a wife to eat with her husband. When food is prepared in large quantities, e.g. for marriages, and it is uneconomical to throw it away, it may be eaten after removing the defiled part, and sprinkling water over the remainder to the recitation of mantras.

Rules are laid down for the manner of eating, the sequence of dishes, the quantities to be consumed. Food should be eaten off leaves which are then thrown away, or metal dishes which must be thoroughly scoured after meals. Liquids are to be poured straight into the upturned mouth or drunk from

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earthen cups which are broken after use to avoid any possible contamination. The house-holder should eat thirty-two mouthfuls, chewing carefully and thinking of pleasant things. Drinking before meals delays digestion and leads to thinness, while drinking after meals promotes stoutness.

There is a convention regarding belching (one loud prolonged belch after the meal is better than frequent belching during the meal) and a rule regarding crepitation (to be avoided while seated for meals, but permitted after one has risen from the floor and left the room to rinse one's mouth). It is considered harmful to have a bath after a meal because the internal fires are being fed by the fuel of the food and cold water on the body quenches the fires, causing indigestion and various other diseases.

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DIRECTION or the position of an object with reference to the worshipper is determined by the course of the sun through the heavens. When praying or meditating the worshipper generally faces east, the direction of sunrise, and in a few cases north. When making an offering to his forefathers he always faces south. Movement around a shrine, an idol or a guru is as a rule clockwise (*see* wheel), and in rare cases anti-clockwise.

The cardinal points are named starting from the east, the direction in which the worshipper normally faces. This direction is therefore called *para*, 'opposite', or front; behind him lies the west or *apara*, i.e. the rear; to the south is the auspicious *dakshiṇa*, 'right' side; and to the north is the *vāma*, the left or sinister side. The *Atharva-veda* speaks of six quarters, namely, eastern, southern, western, northern, fixed and upward. The Purāṇas define 'fixed' as the spot on which the worshipper stands, and further refer to 'centre', 'around', 'above' and 'below'.

The four cardinal points and four intermediate points of the compass are protected by divine regents known as *loka-pāla*, 'place-guards', or guardian deities; these however, being busy performing other duties have appointed as helpers and substitutes eight pairs of male and female elephants known as *dig-gaja*, 'region-elephants'. Associated with them are certain guardian *nāgas** called *dik-pāla*, 'region-wardens'. Each direction is further allotted a weapon, colour, caste, number, quality and so forth. All these vary considerably in different texts.

The **East** is regarded as the zone of the gods. Its guardian deity is Indra; its elephant guardians Airāvata and his female mate Abhramū; its nāga guardian Ananta; its weapon the *vajra* or thunderbolt; its colour red; its caste kshattriya.

The **South-East** is guarded by Agni; the elephant guardians are Puṇḍarīka

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and his mate Kapilā, and the nāga Abhoga. Its weapon is the *śakti* (spear), its colour red, its caste also kshattriya.

The **South** or dakshiṇa is the right or auspicious side of the oriented worshipper, hence the right-hand sects of Hinduism are known as *dakshiṇ-āchāri*. It is guarded by Yama; has Vāmana and his mate Piṅgalā for its elephant guardians, and Padmaka for its nāga. Its weapon is the *daṇḍa* or rod, its colour orange and its caste vaiśya. It is sometimes regarded as the zone of the demons.

The **South-West** is guarded by Sūrya or Nirṛiti; its guardian elephants are Kumuda and his mate Anupamā; its nāga Śaṅkhapāla; its weapon the *kunta* or lance; colour yellow; caste vaiśya.

The **West** or *apara*, 'behind' the oriented worshipper. Guardian deity Varuṇa; elephants Añjana and his female Añjanā; guardian nāga Varuṇa; weapon the *pāśa* or noose; colour black; caste śūdra.

The **North-West** guarded by Vāyu; elephants Pushpadanta and his mate Subhadantī; nāga guardian Kulika; weapon the *dhvaja* or pole; colour blue; caste śūdra.

The **North,** *vāma*, the sinister or left side of the oriented worshipper. It is the wrong or antinomian direction and is often equated with the zone of the 'people' or mobile vulgus. The left-hand sects of Hinduism are therefore known as *vāmachāri*. Guardian deity Kubera; elephant guardians Sārva-bhauma and his mate Tāmrakarṇi; nāga Vāsuki; weapon the *khaḍga* or broad dagger; colour pink; caste brāhmin.

The **North-East,** ruled by Pṛithivī, Soma, or Śiva (in his Īśāna form); elephant guardians Supratīka and his mate Añjanāvatī; nāga ruler Mahā-padma; weapon the *triśūla* or trident; colour grey or white; caste brāhmin.

The regents of the fixed, centre, around, above and below directions are very discrepantly named, and do not figure prominently in Hindu mythology.

Books

See under Hinduism and Mythology.

DITI, Vedic goddess often referred to in association with the goddess Aditi*, and seemingly conceived as an antithesis or complement to her. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Purāṇas, Diti (who is also known as Pṛiśnī) is the daughter of the sage Daksha, the wife of Kaśyapa, and the mother of the *daityas* (demons). The Purāṇas relate that all her children died at the hands of the gods and she begged Kaśyapa to give her an immortal son. The boon was promised provided she agreed to carry the child in her womb observing all ritual purities for a hundred years. This she did until the last year of the century arrived when Indra, who was watching her performance with growing trepidation, noticed that she retired to bed one night without washing her feet. Seeing her thus in an 'imperfect' state he was able with a stroke of his thunderbolt to split the embryo into seven portions. The fragments began crying out and Indra angered at being unable to silence them, further split each portion into seven, ordering them to be quiet with the words, *mā-rodīḥ* 'weep not'. Another legend states that Śiva in response to the plea of his wife Pārvatī transformed the pieces of flesh into boys.

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These children of Diti were the **Marut,** the storm gods, who figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni of the ancient Middle East as Marut-tash, and are thus long anterior to the Purāṇic legend. They are in fact given a different origin in the Vedas, where they held a very prominent place as the sons of Rudra and the brothers of Indra, children of the heavens, the ocean and the earth. Their number is variously cited as 'thrice sixty', 'seven times seven', 'three nines', or 'seven'. They were armed with lightnings and thunder-bolts, and personified the fiery atmospheric turbulences, cyclones, storms and thunder. They were the attendants of Indra.

In other legends Śiva in the form of a bull begat the Maruts on Pṛithivī the earth-goddess in the form of a cow. The term Marut is also applied to a wind-god who is regent of the north-west quarter. The world of the Maruts, called Māruta, is the paradise* of the vaiśya (merchant) caste.

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(*See also under* Mythology.)

DIVINATION, the art of telling the future by means of signs and portents has been practised in India from time immemorial. Known as *gaṇakatā,* 'reckoning', or *pratibhā,* 'imaging', it has a rich specialized vocabulary derived from the objects viewed or examined for divinatory purposes.

These objects, the raw material of divination so to speak, cover a very wide range. Prognostications were made by observing the omens in nature, including all atmospheric phenomena, particularly lightning and rain. Omens were also read during sacrificial ceremonies from the direction of the rising altar smoke (*see* prabhāva) or the behaviour of the victim (*see* human sacrifice). Augury (śākuna), which consisted of reading the future from the flight and cries of birds especially crows and mynas was popularly practiced in all parts of the country, as was the art of divining coming events from the behaviour and sounds of the house-lizard.

The custom of interpreting the significance of moles, wrinkles and other marks of the body (*see* stigmata) to determine the destiny of a person is of extreme antiquity. In certain, though more rare, instances, scatalogical substances also received scrutiny for mantic ends (*see* sterility). Dreams of course present an inexhaustible field for divinatory interpretations, and there was much fanciful speculation concerning their meaning, with reference to the subject's caste, social status, domestic life and so on. A well-known handbook on dream interpretation was the *Svapna-chintāmaṇi* (Dream Thought-Gem) by Jagaddeva (*c.* 1780). Telling fortunes from shadows, fire, numbers and so forth are of medieval origin, and both palmistry and phrenology are comparatively recent.

But unquestionably the most widespread method of divination was and still remains astrology, generally placed in a class by itself. Indian astronomy (*jyotisha*) was in effect largely astrology, the basic precepts of which were taken from the Chaldeans (*see* Mesopotamia) and Magas*, although later much was added to the science from Greece. From these foreign sources came

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the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven-day week, the division of the day into twenty-four hours, and several other significant notions.

Astrology is based on the belief that human destiny is influenced by the heavenly bodies acting both singly, as in the case of the sun, moon and planets, and conjointly in groups as in constellations. From the disposition of the planets at the time of one's birth the future is calculated in a personal horoscope. An analogous method is used for determining the outcome of any enterprise. This science of horoscopy was first known in Sanskrit as *horā-śāstra*, the word horā being derived from the Greek hora, 'hour', and numerous Sanskrit works on horā-śāstra are extant. Later, horoscopy came to be called *jātaka* or 'nativity'.

In India the 'stars' are consulted in all important undertakings, from setting an auspicious time for weddings, business transactions, travel, building houses and bridges or digging wells and tanks, to sowing and harvesting, and declaring war. Buddhists however, believe that preoccupation with astrology causes psychic impurity, and Buddhist monks are forbidden to have anything to do with astrology, soothsaying and similar superstitions.

Great stress is laid on favourable and unfavourable times for holding ceremonies, performing rites, and in the daily round of one's work. In general the following periods are regarded as auspicious: (1) the *uttarāyaṇa*, the period between the winter and the summer solstice (*see* calendar). The *Mahābhārata* relates that the hero Bhīshma, mortally wounded during the inauspicious *dakshiṇāyana* (see below) deliberately willed to live until the sun had turned northward, so that he would die at an auspicious moment; (2) the light half of each month, from the new to the full moon; (3) the month of *Vaiśākha* (April-May), which is especially sacred and devoted to Kṛishṇa; (4) the *saṁkrānti* days, when the sun enters into a new zodiacal sign each month, but especially the solstices and equinoxes; (5) Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays (certain hours on these days are inauspicious); (6) the time of the *Dassarā*, *Dīpāvalī* and *Nāga-pañchamī* festivals. The inauspicious times are: (1) *dakshiṇāyana*, lasting from the summer to the winter solstice, when the sun journeys southward; (2) the dark half of each month, from the full to the new moon; (3) Sundays, Tuesdays and Saturdays; (4) the *chatur-māsa* or 'four months' of the rainy season; (5) every day between 12 noon and 1.30 p.m.; 4-30 p.m. to 6 p.m.; 9 p.m. to 9-30 p.m.; (6) the first day of the month. It is said that the sage Agastya left for his mission in the South at the beginning of a certain month and never returned. Hence the first day of the month is inauspicious for starting a journey.

In calculating 'times' several factors are to be taken into account, among them: the conjunction of the planets; the lunar mansion; the fortnight (i.e. whether the bright or dark fortnight of the month); the season; the half of the year (i.e. whether the sun is on its outward or return journey); the day of the month; the hour of the day.

There is a minimum and maximum period for which the stars can possibly influence a person or an event. The minimum period is known as the *muhūrta* lasting 48 minutes. The influence of a planet for good or ill is at its intensest for 48 minutes, and in the event of danger it is this period that is to be guarded against at all costs. Conversely in the planning of an important

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occasion or business deal, the undertaking should be completed within that time for the maximum benefit to be obtained. Journeys, business transactions and other important events should be planned so as to start within that time else the auspicious moment passes and the influences are weakened.

The maximum span of a planet's influence is also rigidly determined according to astrological laws. The full extent of all planetary influences over a man is said to last 108 years. Out of this any man may be influenced by each planet for not more than a fixed number of years as follows:

Sūrya, the Sun, for wealth, fame, success:	6 years
Chandra, the Moon, for religion, philosophy, mysticism, writing, asceticism, madness	15 years
Maṅgala, Mars, for warfare, strife, litigation, quarrels	8 years
Budha, Mercury, for travels, business, agriculture, wealth	17 years
Śani, Saturn, for worries, troubles, death, mourning, tragedy	10 years
Bṛihaspati, Jupiter, for dominion, power, authority, rule, justice	19 years
Rāhu & Ketu, the ascending and descending nodes of the moon, for greed, anger, jealousy, defeat, setbacks	12 years
Śukra, Venus, for pleasure, love, women, lust, and voluptuary delights	21 years

In theory the maximum bad luck period possible for a man to have would be a succession of the worst aspects of Mars, Saturn and Rāhu, i.e. 30 years, but no one is influenced by the heavenly bodies in this 'pure' manner since they do not operate alone but always in conjunction with others.

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DIVODĀSA (*divo-dāsa*, 'heavenly-slave'), a great king mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda*, whose 'dāsa' name* suggests a native ancestry. The early record also provides some indication that he was not an Aryan, although it is said that Indra helped him to demolish the hundred stone cities of Śambara. An ancient hymn describes Divodāsa as a gift to his father Vadhryaśva (*vadhri-aśva*, 'castrant horse') from a river goddess, another allusion to his birth from an indigenous mother. He is sometimes called a brāhmin and spoken of variously as descended from the ṛishi Mudgala, or as the twin brother of the fair Ahalyā, and at times identified with the divine physician Dhanvantari. The lavishness of his sacrifices was well-received in heaven, and his generosity and hospitality earned him the epithet of Atithi-gva, 'he to whom guests should go'.

His descendants became rulers of Kāśī (Banāras) and some married into the Pañchāla royal line. One of them, also named Divodāsa, the son of

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Bhīmaratha, had a prolonged conflict for supremacy with the Haihaya* warrior tribe, in the course of which his whole family was exterminated by the sons of the Haihaya king Vītahavya. The afflicted Divodāsa went to Bhṛigu (or Bharadvāja) for succour, and the latter performed a sacrifice for him as a result of which Divodāsa obtained a son, Pratardana, who became a mighty warrior and defeated Vītahavya, forcing him to flee.

Sixth in descent from the second Divodāsa was *Sudāsa* or Sudās (also known as Paijavana), but in this case too the accounts of his ancestry are conflicting. In some legends his father is Pījavana, a king of the Tṛitsu (Bharata*) tribe; in others he is the descendant of the above Divodāsa, and a śūdra or member of the servile caste. He figures frequently in the *Ṛig-veda* and in many subsequent legends. Sudāsa's son was Kalmāshapāda.

The family priest of Sudāsa was the celebrated sage Viśvāmitra* who helped Sudāsa to victory in various battles against tribes dwelling on the banks of the Vipāśa and the Śutudrī. For some reason Viśvāmitra was dismissed by Sudāsa who appointed his rival Vasishṭha* as royal priest in his place. Viśvāmitra eventually led a confederacy of ten kings against the Bharatas, comprising the *Pañcha-janāḥ*, 'five peoples', and five other tribes, namely, the Puru, Yadu, Turvaśa, Anu and Druhyu, and the Aliṇa (of what is now Kafiristan), Pakhta (modern Paṭhāns), Bhalānasa, Śiva and Vishāṇin. The Bharatas, like their ten enemy kings had many non-Aryan allies. The bloody and decisive *Dāśa-rājña*, or Battle of the 'Ten Kings' was fought on the banks of the Parushṇī (Rāvi) and is alluded to several times in the *Ṛig-veda*. The Anu and Druhyu kings were drowned, Purukutsa of the Purus also met his death, and the Bharatas emerged victorious.

Shortly after, three non-Aryan tribes, the Aja, Śigru and Yakshu, joined forces against the Bharatas but were defeated on the banks of the Jamnā. Certain scholars have pointed out that the names of some of these tribes, such as Śigru, Yakshu and Turvaśa are mentioned in Egyptian documents of about 1200 BC, and identify them with the Sikeloi or Sicilians, the Akhawoi or Achaeans (Greeks) and the Tyrrhenoi or Tuscans, thus possibly indicating early struggles with people from the Mediterranean and Near East (II, p. xli).

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(*See also* Mahābhārata, Mythology, Vedas.)

DIVORCE has always been an extremely rare proceeding in India and, notwithstanding the more liberal provisions of modern legislation culminating in the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act of 1955, continues so to remain. The inexorable orthodox Hindu rule was that a man and a woman duly married by prescribed rites were united forever, in this world and in the next and, according to some, in all the succeeding lives to come.

The option to break the marriage partnership rested heavily in favour of the husband who if he wished for any reason to sever the marital bond was allowed the rite of *nirākaraṇa*, 'expulsion', by which he formally repudiated the woman as his spouse and ceased to have relations with her. The fate of

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such women was often pitiable since they were driven from the husband's home and could not find a home with their parents. They had no choice but to turn to prostitution. On the other hand, the wife had no recourse to the privilege of separation from her husband in any circumstances and she was obliged to bear her suffering in silence. Manu had declared that in spite of deformity, disease, drunkenness, infidelity, the husband is still 'a great deity'.

Some lawgivers did give a woman the right to leave her husband if he was impotent, insane, suffering from an incurable or contagious disease, and to remarry if the marriage had not been consummated. But in general the first prohibition was observed, and few were the women thus divorced from their first husbands who could find a man willing to marry them. Later dharmaśāstras allow a woman whose husband departs on a long journey and does not return for five years, formally to abjure the marriage bond and to remarry if she wished.

Brāhminical literature has few records of divorce, but Buddhist records do speak of them, although not in large measure. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya permits divorce on grounds of mutual enmity and with the consent of both parties. If a woman divorced her husband she forfeited her proprietary rights in her father's family. If a man divorced his wife he had to return to her whatever presents he may have received at the time of his marriage.

The recently promulgated Hindu divorce laws permit divorce to all Hindus all over India, on grounds of cruelty; change of religion by either partner; lunacy for five years; venereal disease or leprosy for five years; adultery (in some cases); desertion for five years; idiocy or impotence at the time of marriage; the husband having a concubine. No divorce is allowed under any circumstances if the couple have lived together for twenty years as husband and wife.

Books

See under Sociology.

DOGS. The Hindu today regards the dog as an unclean animal, and it plays little or no part in the mythology of medieval and Purāṇic Hinduism. Ancient Hindu legend however accords the dog a prominent place.

In a Ṛig-vedic hymn the sun-god Sūrya is spoken of as the 'hound of heaven'. Also in the *Ṛig-veda* we hear of *Saramā*, the dog of Indra, though other myths make her the daughter of the sage Daksha, or again a fierce dog-like being with whom the sage mated. A well-known legend tells how the evil-speaking, godless *dasyu*, Paṇi, with the 'envious demons' stole the cows of the gods and took shelter in their mountain caves. Indra went in pursuit taking with him his favourite bitch, Saramā, to track down their hiding-place. They broke through the demons' defence and confronted them. The ensuing dialogue between Saramā and the thieving Paṇis is often quoted as containing the seed of early Sanskrit drama. Indra slew the Paṇis and recovered the cows. This ancient legend is thought to be the origin of the story of Kṛishṇa's raising of Mount Govardhana for the protection of cows.

The two offspring of Saramā were the four-eyed *Sārameya* who became the watchdogs of Yama god of the underworld. In some places in India the dogs

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of Yama are worshipped with offerings of *piṇḍa* (rice-balls) so that they might not bark at or molest those who convey the sacrifice to the *pitṛi* in the other world. The association of dogs with this post-mortem rite may have arisen from an ancient practice when dogs were trained to devour the dead, and in certain districts the bodies of the deceased are still first shown to dogs before they are taken away for disposal by burial or burning. The sage Vasishṭha* once addressed a hymn to a watchdog of Varuṇa to appease the animal so that he might enter the god's dwelling.

Several ancient tribes were totemically associated with the dog. One whole chapter of the *Harivaṁśa* is devoted to the genealogy of a highly respected family called 'Dogs'. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of a branch of the Yādavas bearing the cognomen, and Kauṭilya mentions a people of that name. The *Kukkura*, 'dog', were said to be a tribe related to the Vṛishṇis along the Yamunā.

Many individual sages also bore canine names. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* contains what has been called 'The Liturgy of the Dog' in which a white dog appears before the philosopher Bakadalbhya for whose benefit the dog, with several others, enacted a strange processional dance to beg for food and drink. Śaṅkara in his commentary on this passage states that the white dog was either a god or a ṛishi. Another sage mentioned in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* who imparts secret knowledge to a student is named Śunaka-kapeya, 'dog-monkey'. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to three famous brothers, namely, Śunaḥ-puchchha, 'dog-anus', Śunaḥ-śephas*, 'dog-penis', and Śuno-lāṅgūla, 'dog-tail'. The Hindu Prometheus who first brought fire from heaven for the use of mankind was Mātari-śvan, 'mothered by a dog'. The renowned ṛishi Gṛitsamada was the son of Śuna-hotra, 'dog-priest', and the father of Śunaka, 'dogling'; and Śunaka himself was the father of Śaunaka, author of some of the most famous works on Vedic grammar, law and ritual.

In the moving episode that brings the great events of the *Mahābhārata* to a close, Yudhishṭhira refuses to enter heaven if his faithful dog cannot go with him. The dog turns out to be none other than Dharmarāja or Yama, god of the underworld who was merely putting the great soul through a final test. Having passed it successfully Yudhishṭhira enters heaven.

In spite of the almost universal abhorrence with which the dog is generally regarded in India today, there are a few places where it is held in great reverence. In some parts of Bombay the dog as the animal of Bhairavi (Śiva) receives homage and even worship. In Banāras there is a well-known temple of Bhairanāth (or Bhairava) which contains an idol of the guardian *koṭwāl* or magistrate of the city who is said to make nightly rounds riding about on an invisible dog. An image of the dog stands close to the idol. Confectioners near by make and sell sugar images of dogs which are offered to it. Dogs are also the attendants of the god Khaṇḍobā*, and their human descendants are even today ceremonially fed and honoured at the deity's annual festival. Similarly, the four dogs who attend the god Dattātreya are held in great reverence and are said to represent the four Vedas.

Books

See under Animals.

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DOWRY in Sanskrit texts is referred to as *yautaka*, or the material gifts of money or goods that confirm the union of those who are '*yuta*' or joined together in matrimony.

In one form of marriage* in ancient India a girl was given away on her father receiving a 'bride price' called *śulka*, which was a form of compensation to the girl's parents for the loss of their daughter. In another form the bride's father received a pair of kine. The custom fell into disuse by about the early middle ages, when it came to be regarded as disreputable, but it is still practised clandestinely where, for example, a wealthy old man who desires a young bride will pay her father a large sum of money as a settlement for his daughter.

In course of time a gradual reversal of roles took place, and today it is the bridegroom and not the bride who commands the price. Some trace the origin of the modern Hindu dowry system to ancient times when a bride given to a brāhmin was 'decked with ornaments' at her marriage and the jewels and adornments passed to her husband. Today the groom's party often demands a complete inventory of ornaments, clothing, cash, bonds, utensils and other property that will 'accompany' the bride, before the marriage proposal is accepted. This is regarded as the daughter's share in her family inheritance, and settles all claims. Henceforth her husband must accept all responsibility for her economic needs. The wife will therefore not hear from her husband at any time in future the odious words that she 'came to him like a beggar'.

There is a widespread notion in India that the marriage of a man to a girl makes that man superior to the girl's family. P. Thomas remarks, 'Where their women are concerned the Hindus suffer from an inferiority complex. A man who marries a girl is considered, by virtue of his marriage, superior to all the girl's male relatives'; and he points out that the word *sāla* (brother of one's wife) is a term of abuse in India. To call a man sāla would seem to imply that one has taken the man's sister to his own house (albeit as a wife), used her sexually (always degrading for the woman), and as a result she, as well as her family, are beneath one.

The transactions of the dowry system have therefore not been evolved in order to provide security for the newly-married couple and set them on the way, but are based entirely on the fact that in the marriage relationship the woman is always at a discount, and a monetary compensation is deemed essential for the unprofitable deal. This is one of the reasons why Hindus have ever dreaded the birth of daughters. They are a heavy financial liability when they are to be married, and a blot on the family if they remain unmarried.

It is of vital interest to the Hindu to get his daughter married literally 'at all costs', and he is prepared to pay as much as he can possibly afford (or even borrow) in order to obtain a suitable husband for her. The demand for bridegrooms makes them a much sought-after commodity, and a 'price' is placed on grooms even in the most respectable and opulent families. Apologists plead that it is a compensation sought by the groom for the money spent on his education (II, p. 156).

The dowry system has come in for scathing criticism from Hindu liberals. The institution, they declare, undoubtedly ensures that the Hindu girl will

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have the best husband that money can buy. According to the critics, the legislation passed in 1961 to restrict the operation of the dowry system has so far done little to stop the custom, and has merely substituted for the previous public sale, the disposal of eligible bachelors by private auction.

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DRAMA HISTORY. In Hindu tradition the first drama was enacted in heaven by the gods and nymphs (*see* pole ceremonies) for the benefit of the sage Bharata* who after witnessing its performance composed his classic treatise called *Nāṭya-śāstra* on dramaturgy*, music and the dance. More mundane critics trace the origin of Indian drama to three sources, namely, (*a*) pre-Aryan, (*b*) Vedic, and (*c*) Greek.

The aboriginal or pre-Aryan source gave rise to such age-old entertainments as the *pāñchālī-nāṭaka* or puppet-play, the *chhāya-nāṭaka* or shadow-play, and the *yātrā* or religious processional (*see* theatre). Also derived from native sources were the village shows of the kind that are still popular today, which combined song, dance, poetical recital, farce, social satire, and later included dramatized episodes from the Epics. They have of course always been performed in the local languages, the Prākṛits or regional vernaculars which the common man understood rather than in the more hieratic Sanskrit. The strange appearance of many of the technical terms in Indian dramaturgy, and the frequency of the cerebral sounds occurring in them have lead scholars to believe that their origin was basically Prākṛit. The device in classical Sanskrit drama of using Prākṛit dialogue for characters in the lower social scale is probably a relic of this phase of development.

The elements of drama springing from the second of the three sources, namely, the Vedic tradition, may be discerned in the stylized gestures that accompanied Vedic recitation, and to some extent in the *saṁvāda* hymns of the *Ṛig-veda*. The verses of the *Ṛig-veda* were composed in the form of *śaṁsa*, 'recitation', and those of the *Sāma-veda* in the form of *gai*, 'song', and these too provided the seeds of drama. Also dramatic in content are the 'mystery' dialogues, or *vākovākya*, of Yama and Yamī; Purūravas and Urvaśī; Agastya, his wife Lopāmudrā, and their son; Indra and Indrāṇī; Saramā and the Paṇis, and so on. Dramatic elements are found in Vedic ritual and its many complex sacrificial ceremonies; the *mahāvrata* (*see* gavāmayana) provides one such example.

The third and according to some critics the most important contributing factor to the growth, maturity and development of the Indian theatre was the influence of the Greeks. Before Greek influence made itself felt Indian drama was mainly confined to primitive pageantry and bucolic horseplay on the one hand, and stereotyped forms of ritualistic drama on the other. When the Greeks brought their sophisticated art to India they changed the whole pattern of the Hindu dramatic tradition. That Greek plays were performed in

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India admits of little doubt, and their performance had a direct bearing on the metamorphosis of the Indian stage.

We know that the Persians and Gedrosians were familiar with Greek drama, and with the Greek dramatic tradition so long established and so forcefully sustained throughout the Hellenic world, it could not have been otherwise but that the Greeks should introduce their drama to India. Greek plays were in all likelihood performed in the Graeco-Indian cities of northwest India from the second century BC, and the presentation of these plays at the courts of the Hellenistic kings of Bactria could have provided the necessary stimulus for new trends in Sanskrit dramaturgy. Says Dasgupta, 'Historical researches have now established the presence of Greek principalities in India, and it is no longer possible to deny that the Sanskrit drama must have greatly developed during the period when Greek influence was present in India'.

Sir John Marshall found at Peshāwar a fragment of Gandhāra pottery representing a scene from what he thinks is unmistakably *Antigone*, which he regards as evidence of the presentation of Greek plays in the Panjāb. The existence of Greek and Roman places of entertainment is corroborated by the excavation of an Indian counterpart of a small Greek amphitheatre in the Sītābeṅgā Cave of the Rāmgaṛh hill in the district of Sargujā, and the ruins of a stadium at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, near the Roman trading centre of Maisolia in South India. Philostratus records a brāhmin boasting of having read Euripides.

Some authorities subscribe to the view that the area of closest Indo-Greek cultural contact was not the northwest but the western coastal districts of India. An active commerce was carried on between Barygaza and the inland city of Ozene (Ujjain) at the time of the author of the *Periplus* (AD 80) and for several centuries after. The fact that Ujjain and its neighbourhood are the scene of the famous *Mṛichchhakaṭika* (or Little Clay Cart) of the sixth century AD has led some scholars to conclude that Indian drama first developed in Ujjain as a direct consequence of its intercourse with Alexandria.

Although the classical dramas of Sophocles and Euripides were probably enacted in India, or at any rate were known in India during the two hundred years of Greek rule, it was not the great Greek tragedies that left their impress on the Indian dramatic tradition. According to Rawlinson Indian drama as a whole 'resembles the severe Greek tragedy as little as a florid Indian temple resembles the Parthenon'. Nevertheless, in theory at least the Indian dramatic canons followed the Greek in several important respects (*see* Bharata).

In practice the Indian dramatist preferred to follow the more liberal provisions of the New Attic Comedy, especially Plautus and Terence and the Greek and Roman mime. It is known that companies of mime actors visited India during the Greek occupation, and we find in the Indian drama a similarity of plot, and the identical though slightly disguised stock characters, like the Fool, the Parasite and the Pimp. Indeed, the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, written by an Indian king with the improbable name of Śūdraka*, and the plays of Bhāsa, have been compared to plays of the New Attic Comedy particularly those of Menander.

Not only in theme and character do we discern the Greek borrowings but in

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numerous technical devices too. Speaking on this point Aiyar avers that 'India took over the whole of the stage apparatus and appurtenances of the Greeks'. Among them may be mentioned the controversial *yavanikā* (lit. 'Greekette') the term given to the stage screen used in the Indian theatre. The Greeks themselves used no curtain but the name is said to come from the material brought from Greece. The employment of Greek maidens as bodyguards for kings and for drawing aside the curtains to allow the actors to enter the stage were common features of the early Indian theatre.

The earliest authenticated Sanskrit dramas are three plays written by Buddhists. Fragmentary manuscripts of these plays inscribed on palm-leaves were recently discovered in Turfan, Central Asia. The renowned Mahāyāna scholar **Aśvaghosha*** (*c.* AD 100) was the author of one of them, which is entitled *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*. The evidence of these early works shows that the birth of Sanskrit drama was contemporary with the Greek period in India.

The plays of **Bhāsa*** (fl. AD 350) discovered at the beginning of this century present many curious problems and suggest affinities with the New Attic Comedy. Bhāsa, along with **Kālidāsa*** (sixth century) the greatest of all Sanskrit dramatists, and the probably foreign **Śūdraka*** (sixth century) constitute the leading triumvirate of the Sanskrit dramatic tradition.

The next important name is that of **Viśākhadatta** (?580–650?) about whom nothing is known apart from the fact that he wrote a political play called *Mudrā-rākshasa* (Rākshasa and the seal), describing the efforts of Chāṇakhya, minister of Chandragupta, to win over to his master's cause the noble Rākshasa, former minister of the last Nanda king, deposed by Chandragupta. **Harsha*** (606–648) king of Kanauj is also the reputed author of three Sanskrit plays, two of which are 'harem dramas' and one a Buddhist play. The last of the great Sanskrit dramatists was **Bhavabhūti*** (fl. 730) who is regarded as second only to Kālidāsa in importance.

The decline in Sanskrit drama took place after Bhavabhūti, though a few names among the dramatists of the decadence stand out. **Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa** (fl. AD 880) whose only extant play, the *Veṇī-saṁhāra* (Braid-binding) tells how Bhīma avenges the insults to Draupadī by slaying the offender Duḥśāsana in battle and ceremonially tying up the hair of Draupadī which she had loosened as a sign of her shame (*see* Śakuni). Full of ranting and rhodomontade, and highly inflated in style, it is nevertheless often quoted by writers on Sanskrit poetics to illustrate dramatic theory.

Murāri (950–1020) author of *Anargha-rāghava*, a play about Rāma, is erudite but lacks dramatic merit, his work being deficient in characterization and weak in action. **Rājaśekhara** (*c.* 920), whose plays, e.g. *Karpūra-mañjarī*, although written with lightness and grace, are tedious in their length and devoid of interest. **Kṛishṇamiśra** (fl. 1090–1100) a protégé of the Chandella court, wrote an allegorical play, *Prabodha-chandro-daya* (Rise of the Moon of Knowledge). Its characters represent abstract ideas, and it portrays the ultimate triumph of King Reason and his faithful adherents, Religion, Will and Virtue, over King Error, Folly and Vice.

For all their technical brilliance and verbal dexterity the dramatists who succeeded Bhavabhūti were mediocre craftsmen who were primarily concerned with the niceties of style and artifice rather than with dramatic values.

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Their heroes and heroines were stereotypes without blemish and possessed of every virtues. Many works of this period were little more than exercises in metrical virtuosity and contrived dramatic tricks, written with artificial elegance in harsh scholastic Sanskrit, weighted down with sentimental platitudes, and at times descending to banality and even downright absurdity. They seldom missed extracting the full value out of a situation that was suggestive and coarse.

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(*See also under* Dramaturgy.)

DRAMATURGY. The theory and principles of *nāṭya*, the theatrical* or dramatic art, was a highly elaborated study, and many learned treatises were written on the subject, starting with the encyclopaedic work of Bharata* (*c.* AD 100–300?). As in the case of poetics, Indian dramaturgy was endlessly systematized, so that later dramatists who fell under the spell of the theorists produced laboured and pedantic plays lacking in all spontaneity.

The subjects covered by Sanskrit writers on the theatre included: the erection of the stage; scenery and costumes; stage-management; the types of drama; the use of music, dance, mime and gesture in dramatic performance; the use of verse; the use of Sanskrit and the Prākṛits in dialogue; the types of character and their functions; the emotions and moods (*see* empathy); do's and don't's for player and playwright.

No regular playhouses existed for the early Indian dramas. Plays were performed either in the open, in the halls of royal palaces, in temple courts, or in private houses. The first regular theatres seem to have been introduced under Greek and Roman inspiration. The auditorium of the later playhouses was marked off by pillars which served to separate the castes. A white pillar indicated seats for brāhmins, red for kshattriyas, yellow pillars for vaiśyas, and black for śūdras. All the seats were wooden and were arranged in rows.

In front of the spectators stood the decorated *raṅga* or stage. There was no curtain between stage and auditorium. At the back of the stage hung a painted curtain called the *yavanikā*, 'Greekette', behind which were the *nepathya*, the actors' quarters or dressing rooms. Two 'Greek maidens' were posted at the curtain which they drew aside when a character entered or left. There was hardly any scenery and few stage properties, resulting in the need for highly descriptive language and expressive gesture to make up for the deficiency. The gods and goddesses, and the hero and heroine were sumptuously attired in traditional costumes with elaborate head-dresses.

The stock characters of the drama were generally: (1) the *nāyaka* (or *netṛi*), the hero, who was often a king or prince; (2) the *nāyikā* or heroine, often a princess, *apsarā*, or daughter of a *ṛishi*; (3) the *prati-nāyaka*, or villain, who was a rival prince, or a male relative of the hero; (4) the *vidūshaka*, the

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constant companion and confidant of the hero. He was nearly always a brāhmin but for some unknown reason was inavariably a ludicrous figure, a bald, misshapen dwarf, crude in speech and behaviour, who spoke the vernacular Prākṛit, and was the butt of all jokes. How a brāhmin came to be cast in such a part has not been explained, except by the hypothesis of the character's derivation from an indigenous, secular, dramatic tradition; (5) the *pīṭha-marda*, 'stool-man', was associated with the vidūshaka. Generally a poor man he was so named either on account of the portable seat, '*pīṭha*', that he carried with him, or because he engaged in 'buttock-rubbing', i.e. servile flattery of the hero. In Sanskrit drama he was often the jester but well versed in the arts; (6) the *kañchukin*, 'jacketed', the chamberlain or keeper of the king's household, who declaimed the hero's lineage, antecedents, his previous deeds of valour, and so forth, and filled in the historical portions of the play in the course of stereotyped 'asides'. The name suggests that he was of north-western, perhaps Greek, Śaka or Parthian, origin; (7) the *viṭa*, like the Parasite of Greek and Roman comedy was a poet skilled in the arts, especially music. A cultured but shallow man of the world, and a friend of the king, he was otherwise good for nothing. He did not figure prominently in the great dramas, but was the chief character in the monologue (*see* nāṭya); (8) the *śakāra*, the brother or relation of a royal concubine, was of low caste, easily angered and appeased; boastful, fond of fine apparel and proud of his office, but corrupt and incompetent. From Patañjali we know that the part of the śakāra was originally of Śaka inspiration. Some authorities find evidence of Śaka influence on the growth of drama (perhaps through Śaka patronage) from the presence of this character.

In Sanskrit and vernacular dramas men sometimes took female parts, but it was not unusual from earliest times for the main feminine roles to be played by women. The livelihood* of the actor (*naṭa*) and actress (*naṭī*) was however held in universal opprobrium and they were regarded as little better than pimps and prostitutes.

Before the actual drama began there was often an elaborate series of preliminaries designed to propitiate the deities. There were invocations, benedictions and the recitation of mantras. The beat of drums and the clashing of cymbals announced the entry of the musicians. Then followed the ceremony of raising the banner (*dhvaja*) of Indra (*see* pole ceremonies), and the *nāndī*, 'joy', or benediction pronounced behind the screen.

At the close of the nāndī the stage manager or master of ceremonies addressed the audience. He was known as the *sūtradhāra* (*sūtra-dhāra*, 'string-holder'). This term has led some critics to believe that the Indian drama had its origins in the puppet shows of early days; but others contend that the word merely implies that he 'held the clue' to whatever was happening on-stage. The sūtradhāra was sometimes accompanied by an actress, but more frequently by an assistant called the *sthāpaka*, 'arranger', a name also believed to be derived from the fact that he 'arranged' the puppets of the puppet theatre. There followed a *sthāpanā* or prologue, when the sūtradhāra and the sthāpaka (or else an actor and actress) introduced the play and explained its general purpose and moral.

Each act of the play was often preceded by a short *praveśaka* or prelude

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(sometimes called the *vishkambhaka*), which set the scene, summarized what had gone before and what was to come, and helped to maintain the continuity of the story. At any time during the performance a further explanation called the *chulikā* was given by a voice behind the curtain which clarified some essential event taking place on the stage, or the sthāpaka came on to recite a verse or so, or to introduce a new character or scene.

A drama was regarded as a primarily visual representation of the situation in which the personages were placed. It called for gesture, speech, costume, and expression, and hence the generic term *rūpaka* (*see* theatre) applied to all forms of representation on the stage.

The classic play is divided into acts, and has fixed scenic conventions. In theory the unity of action is enjoined; but no unity of place. The unity of time is limited to one year, and each act to what could normally occur in one day. Transitions are explained in narrative scenes, and the thoughts of the characters elaborated by means of 'asides'.

Strict rules are laid down for the subject matter of the play and plot. The proprieties of Indian dramaturgy prohibited violence, death, kissing, eating, sleeping, bathing, religious rites, biting, scratching or any indecorous act, from being shown on the stage. Tragedy is unknown to the Sanskrit drama, although elements normally regarded as tragic such as desertion, separation, suicide and death are liberally introduced, but these are invariably resolved by magical means, so that the parted ones are brought together again and the dead spring back to life. The ending is always happy for the hero, and at times for the heroine as well.

The *vastu* or plot is generally chosen from the Epics or Purāṇas, and deals with some famous episode the outcome of which is known to the audience beforehand. Medieval drama offered immense scope for tragic irony, rhodomontade and pious moralizing, and Sanskrit plays are replete with these. Sometimes the plot is taken from history, or invented, but the same vices are carried over into its composition.

The fully developed nāṭaka or drama has five *saṁdhi*, 'junctures' or critical situations, namely: (*a*) *mukha*, the introduction of the main theme, likened to the planting of the seed, e.g. the meeting of the hero and heroine; (*b*) *pratimukha*, or *vimukha*, the first manifestation of the seed, e.g. the planning of future meetings; (*c*) *garbha*, the involvement, obstacles, complications and development, e.g. when the lovers find impediments in the way; (*d*) *vimarśa*, the hope of disentanglement; the pause; e.g. the way is cleared for their union; (*e*) *nirvahaṇa*, or *upa-saṁhāra*, the conclusion, e.g. the reunion or marriage.

Characterization is extremely stylized. The virtue of the hero is adamantine, and the wickedness of the villain unredeemed. The patterns of virtue and vice are stereotyped, and only five or six Sanskrit dramatists have been able to create characters who really live. A hero can be basically brave, virtuous, just, merciful or devoted; or he can possess a combination of these qualities. Each of the four Hindu castes has four set moulds into which their characters may fall, making sixteen moulds in all. According to the person's station in life, sublime, middle or low, this number is further multiplied by four and raised to sixty-four types of male characters.

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There are similarly several types of heroine. The role of wife, mistress or courtesan is multiplied by the four castes and the three stations of life (high, middle, low), which are again multiplied by the four 'approaches', namely, experienced, inexperienced, shy, and bold. There are further subdivisions as well, like the inexperienced but bold; the experienced but shy. The standard number of female types is 128, but some raise it to 384.

Thirty-six dramatic 'ornaments' (governing benediction, lamentation, rejoicing, etc.) are listed, besides thirty-six 'beauties', plus an equal number of 'excellencies' (e.g. elegance, softness, majesty, etc.); several kinds of beginnings, endings, stages of progression, and a large number of 'waves' or internal movements, e.g. divine interventions, ṛishi antagonisms (twenty-four kinds of ṛishi-wrath, seven varieties of wrath-assuaging), plus a wide variety of climaxes, consonances, clashes, harmonies, and so on.

The gestures are likewise stylized. When a girl picks a flower, her right hand advances to the imaginary flower thus, her left hand is flattened thus, her fingers form a semicircular arc thus, her eyebrows move thus, her hesitation, is expressed thus, and so on. An actor was judged not by his or her individuality but by conformity to the rules laid down. Dramatic gestures are sometimes combined with the gestures of the dance and a very elaborate range of conventionalized expression is thus achieved.

A peculiar feature of classical Sanskrit drama was the use of more than one language. It has been suggested that the earliest plays were written entirely in the regional Prākṛits, though most of the great classical plays now extant are in Sanskrit. But even in these Sanskrit plays, only the gods, brāhmins, heroes and the principal male characters speak in Sanskrit, while the female characters use varieties of Prākṛit. In general, Mahārāshṭri is spoken by women of high position, and educated courtesans; Śaurasenī by men and women of good standing, but not by the hero and heroine; Māgadhī by attendants in the royal palace, and good men of low rank; Paiśāchi by charcoal burners, low-caste people and villains; while the Apabhraṁśas were used by the lowest and most despised classes; by barbarians, gamblers and rogues.

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DRAUPADĪ, heroine of the *Mahābhārata* was born in miraculous circumstances to Drupada* king of Pañchāla. She grew up to be a voluptuous and ravishing beauty, 'long-tressed, deep-bosomed, slender-waisted', and her hand was sought by many princes from far and near. Her father decided to hold a *svayaṁvara* (bride's choice) to help in the selection of a husband for her. For this purpose a great bow was fashioned, exceedingly hard to bend, and a revolving ring or fish-eye was placed on a high pole for a target. The warrior who could shoot five arrows through the ring would win Draupadī.

Contestants from many distant kingdoms, celebrated heroes and learned priests, came to the Pañchāla capital, among them Kṛishṇa and his brother Balarāma, and also the exiled Pāṇḍava brothers disguised as brāhmins. Even the gods assembled in mid-air to witness the spectacle. One by one the champions stepped forward to try their skill, but most of them could not even lift the bow and none of them could hit the target. When the mighty Droṇa came into the arena Draupadī haughtily refused him permission to compete as a suitor, for he was the son of a mere chariot driver.

Then Arjuna* stepped forward, lifted the bow without effort and speedily shot five arrows to their mark. Drupada who recognized him beneath his ascetic's cloak, was secretly pleased at the result of the contest, for he had always hoped for such a husband for his daughter. Draupadī herself was overjoyed, and garlanded her future husband amid the applause of the assembled populace. Only a small group of discomfited warriors, led by Karṇa and Śalya, rāja of Madra, tried unsuccessfully to raise objections that a brāhmin (as they believed the disguised Arjuna to be) should win a prize reserved for kshattriyas.

The Pāṇḍavas, including Arjuna, tried to persuade their eldest brother Yudhishṭhira to accept Draupadī as his wife, but he wished her to become the wife of Arjuna by whose prowess she had been won. The matter was still undecided when the brothers returned home. As they saw their mother, Pṛithā, they called out, 'A great gift have we obtained this day', and Pṛithā unknowingly replied, 'Then share the gift between you like brothers'. These fatal words innocently spoken by the mother were as a law to the Pāṇḍavas, and any doubts they had were removed by the sage Vyāsa who confirmed what the mother had said. So Draupadī was married to all five Pāṇḍavas as a common wife, lived with them and served them all equally.

It was arranged that she would stay for two days in the house of each brother in turn, and that none of them would visit her while another was with her, on pain of exile for twelve years. It was because he once inadvertently entered the room in which she was with Yudhishṭhira that Arjuna went into banishment.

Arjuna was her favourite husband and she was tormented with jealousy when he married Subhadrā. She had five sons, one by each of the brothers, all of whom were later slain in their sleep by Aśvatthāman during the hostilities at Kurukshetra*. These five sons were: Prativindhya by Yudhishṭhira, Śrutasoma by Bhīma, Śrutakīrtti by Arjuna, Śatānīka by Nakula, and Śrutakarman by Sahadeva.

During the exile of the Pāṇḍavas many adventures befell her. She was once visited by Jayadratha* rāja of Sindhu while the Pāṇḍavas were out

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hunting. Misinterpreting the friendly reception she gave him he felt an irresistible desire for her and carried her away by force. The returning brothers pursued and captured them but spared the rāja's life and allowed him to depart on Draupadī's intercession. She was responsible for much trouble at the court of Virāṭa and often endangered the lives of her husbands. When the Pāṇḍavas finally renounced the world she accompanied them, although not without complaint, and she was the first to succumb to the hardships of their journey to the Himālayas.

Draupadī was uninhibited and passionate; her great enemy Duryodhana the Kaurava prince once referred to her as a 'cow', and not only because of her polyandry. The *Mahābhārata* describes her in a festive scene with Subhadrā in which both are gloriously drunk; and there is a *Jātaka* story of her corruption with a deformed slave. Her beauty, her pride, her vengefulness and her passion, make her the most vivid and intriguing of all the women of Hindu legend.

Draupadī was also called: Kṛishṇā ('dark' in complexion); Nitya-yauvanī ('ever-young'); Pañchālī (from Pañchāla, her country); Pañchamī (having 'five' husbands); Pārshatī or Pṛishatā (from her grandfather Pṛishata); Sairindhrī (the 'maidservant' of the queen of Virāṭa); Yajña-senī (because she appeared as a result of a 'sacrifice').

Books

See under Mythology.

DRAVIDIAN, strictly the name of a group of South Indian languages with no particular ethnic connotation, and today used to include all peoples speaking these languages, namely, Tamil, Kanarese, Telugu and Malayālam, besides the 'uncultivated' Dravidian tongues like Tuḷu and Kodaga.

The Dravidians were originally of Mediterranean stock, by some connected with the ancient Cretans. It is conjectured that two branches of this original race migrated eastwards, one settling in Mesopotamia and known to history as the Sumerians, the other travelling by way of south Persia and the Makran coast, leaving behind evidence of their trek in the Brāhui language of Baluchistan, and settling in India. In early times the Dravidians were known as Damila (from whence the name Tamil), Dramiḍa and finally Drāviḍa. They were the most notable among the forerunners of the Aryans, and brought with them to India the elements of a comparatively advanced civilization.

They spoke a non-Aryan language* that had a powerful influence on the speech of the Aryans who followed them; indeed, dravidization marks the evolution both of the later Indo-Aryan languages and of Vedic and Sanskrit. According to Rhys Davids, Vedic was subject to profound Dravidian influence both in phonetics and vocabularly. The typical cerebral sounds of Sanskrit, which are not found in any other Indo-European tongue, are best explained as the result of Austric and Dravidian influence on the language of the incoming Aryans.

Being an adventurous and seafaring people the Dravidians were in a good

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position to maintain contact with foreign shores. They taught the Aryans who succeeded them much of the art of navigation, a fact attested by the occurrence in Sanskrit of numerous nautical terms of Dravidian origin. Subsequent Indian colonization overseas, notably of Hinterindia*, was almost exclusively a Dravidian achievement.

The beginnings of Aryan architecture evolved under the impetus received from early Dravidian example—the fortresses and houses of burnt brick, stone and iron, the palaces with a thousand doors, the stately mansions and two and three-storied buildings, which so astonished the pastoral invaders. Vestiges of their borrowings are found in words like *pur*, meaning 'town', and *nagara*, meaning 'imperial capital', which are both pre-Aryan. Śālā in the sense of 'house' or 'room', frequently used in combination with other words, as in *dharamśālā*, or pilgrim's resthouse, does not occur in the *Ṛig-veda*, and represents an indigenous word and concept. From the Dravidians the Vedic Aryans took over the use of clay and burnt brick for their sacrificial altars, temples and towns.

The Indo-Aryan village system was similarly based on the communal organization of the Dravidian settlement. In agriculture we find evidence to support the view that Dravidian methods were adopted by the Aryans who, when they came, found agriculture and irrigation fully developed in the ancient Indian villages, complete with tanks, drains, wells, water-wheels, granaries and trunk roads. With roads went the vehicles for which they were mainly built, and here again the Dravidians had something to teach the Aryans. The Dāsa chief Sushna in his conflict with the Aryans used a small moveable fort, probably drawn by oxen or elephants, which may have been the prototype of the *ratha* or chariot of the Heroic Age; and when the Aryans are shown in possession of them in the Vedic period, they are copied from Dravidian models (VII, p. 20).

Fergusson held that the early Aryans were unskilled in handicrafts, and the fact that so many Sanskrit words connected with weaving, sewing, embroidery, are of Dravidian provenance indicates that the arts associated with these and related skills were antecedent to the Aryan advent. Certain commonly worn articles of dress, like the brief drape around the hips and bosom for women, and the male loin cloth and dhoti are also pre-Aryan.

Lesser items of Dravidian origin cover wider fields. Of the foods, the manner of preparing and serving rice, pulses, milk products like ghee and curds, vegetables and fish, were adapted from Dravidian custom and had a profound effect on Aryan social and religious life. The system of counting on the basis of eight; several social customs regulating birth, marriage, and death, and family relationships (the distinctive word *putra*, 'son', is Dravidian) and many religious and metaphysical notions, particularly those found in Yoga philosophy and the Nāstikas, are of Dravidian origin.

The majority of the people of India (Elmore quoted an estimated 200 million as far back as 1913) are of Dravidian stock. And nearly all of them, eighty per cent of the population of South India, address their worship to non-Aryan deities. Both the word and the ritual for the simplest form of Hindu domestic worship, the *pūjā*, were taken from Dravidian observance and practice. Acceptance of the pūjā ritual opened the way for the infiltration

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of a host of Dravidian deities. Most gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon today are non-Aryan, among them the zoomorphic deities such as Gaṇeśa, Garuḍa, Hanumān. Kumāra was the Dravidian god of youthful prowess, Mūrugaṇ. Brahmā is equated with the Dravidian god Nārāyaṇa, the god of waters and seas. Śiva and Vishṇu are both pre-Aryan and the consorts of these and other Aryan gods are often of pre-Aryan ancestry. Even the dark-hued Kṛishṇa, the most revered deity in Hinduism today, is of aboriginal antecedents.

Little is known of the southern Dravidian nations during the early period of the Aryan invasion. Throughout this time the Deccan kingdoms rose and faded in relative obscurity. The Deccan is described in ancient literature as covered with dense jungle and inhabited by 'demons', the white Aryan's opprobrius epithet for the dark *Anārya** peoples. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the Āndhras are referred to as *dasyus* or slaves, and the Tamils as uncultured. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* preserves an old tradition of a great civilization in the South, and of the gradual assimilation of Dravidians into the Aryan fold.

It must not be thought that during the Epic period South India was immune from infiltration and consequent marriage with Aryan immigrants. The Purāṇas state that the Pāṇḍya, Chola and Kerala dynasties (of the early centuries BC and AD) were descended from Yayāti, the 'Aryan' king of the north, and all later Deccan kingdoms claimed a like pedigree. 'Dravidian kings', says Havell, 'were proud to claim descent on their mother's side, from ancient Aryan dynasties'. If this was the case, and they claimed descent from the female side, they were, according to the precepts of Manu and all the other lawgivers without exception, outcastes and untouchables, the lowest strata of the Hindu social organization. On no authority known to Hinduism could their priests claim to be brāhmins or their kings kshattriyas.

That, however, proved no impediment to the aspiring neo-Aryans, and Dravidian dynasties went ahead inventing family trees and linking up with the heroic lines of yore without any regard to consistency, congruity or fact. At the behest of Dravidian kings, their 'brāhmin' priests conjured up elaborate genealogies which traced the royal dynastic lines to the Solar and Lunar kings and queens of the heroic age. South Indian inscriptions that have survived are often grossly inaccurate, and information gleaned from native epigraphic and numismatic sources needs very careful checking for flaws and inaccuracies before it can be accepted. What Kroef referred to as 'mass falsification of the genealogical tables of the rulers of South India', was already well-established at the beginning of the Christian era. The tendency reached its climax in the turbulent period shortly after the Christian era when pretenders to brāhminhood and to the throne, were in a position to make such claims with impunity. When new families became powerful it was customary to invest them with Kshattriya status, and invent an eponymous ancestor for them, to connect them with the Vedic ṛishis and Epic heroes. Such were the Pallavas, Chālukyas and Paramāras.

How facilely the racial barriers are surmounted may in some measure be gauged by the following statement, made by a Hindu historian, bearing in mind that the Telugu people are Dravidian, and as widely separated racially from the Aryan as the Scandanavian is from the Arab.

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'The Telugus may have been in the remote past a Dravidian people, possessing a non-Aryan culture, but they seem to have lost their Dravidian identity very early in their history. In historical times they were so completely Aryanized in religion, language and literature that for all practical purposes they may be treated as Aryans' (II, p. 14).

So strong is the deceptive lure of the mythical past, that the writer of these lines is prepared to immolate a proud and ancient people, with a great tradition of their own, on the altar of the Aryan myth.

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DREAMS, according to Hindu metaphysics, reveal a range of experience that is of great significance in the understanding of the manifest universe. The whole course of one's progression from wakefulness to dreams is spoken of as *avasthā*, 'down-states', implying the different levels of one's perception of reality as one descends to the deeper regions of the soul, of which man is not normally aware. The human soul experiences several degrees of such awareness which have been extensively dealt with in Hindu philosophical writings. It is to be noted that what we call the waking state is the least effective for the penetration of the veil of *māyā** or illusion in which we are enveloped. The various states of avasthā are briefly described below.

1. **Jāgrat,** 'waking'. In this state the individual is fully conscious of his ego, and most involved in māyā. He becomes subject to illusion, treating phenomena as reality. The part of the soul that experiences and delights in the pleasures of the waking state (and also to some extent of the dreaming state) is termed the *bhoktri*, 'enjoyer'; it is chained by the senses to the material and sensory world of pleasure-and-pain and physical phenomena. During the waking state it is thought that the heart is the seat of consciousness since it expands during waking life and contracts during sleep.

2. **Svapna** (or *supti*), the state of dreaming-sleep, during which reality is viewed symbolically and truth merged with māyā. This state is preceded by *nidrā*, 'drowsiness', when the veil of reality begins to stir as if about to be lifted. In svapna the conscious mind retires and dream consciousness arises, through which the subconscious mind has genuine internal perception of objects which are however distorted when they rise to the conscious mind. Dreams are subject to divination* although interpretations vary. Many

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theories of dream psychology exist in Hindu thought. The Nyāya school regard dreams as re-representative, i.e. recollections of past experience in a revival of subconscious impressions. The physician Charaka (second century AD) held that some dreams were a fulfilment of desires and some even prophetic, while the surgeon Suśruta (fourth century AD) held that dreams often had a symbolical meaning, and used dreams to help in the diagnosis* of illness. Buddhists generally posit an organic and physiological causation of dreams, but also speak of suggestions through the agency of spirits. The philosopher Gauḍapāda* gave equal validity to the dream-state and to waking.

3. **Sushupti,** the state of deep, dreamless sleep. This is a higher condition of the soul when, being neither objective nor subjective, it begins to apprehend bliss without subject-object consciousness. At this level *māyā* is practically inactive and perception is consequently undistorted by delusion or eclipsed by desire. In sushupti the soul is said to reside in the subtle centre at the base of the spinal column.

4. **Turīya** (or *turyāga*), the 'fourth' state. A condition of pure intuitional consciousness of the soul, transcendent and indescribable, being neither waking, sleeping, nor dreaming, but as it were, witnessing as well as transcending. It is defined somewhat abstrusely as a 'pure-objectless-knowing subject condition'. For this form of awareness the *sākshin* or 'witnessing' self is posited, defined as the unchanging consciousness of the individual which remains a mere spectator and not an actor in the experience of the self. According to some the sākshin remains throughout the successive births of an individual, a mere spectator resident in the soul. It is thus distinguished from the *bhoktri* or enjoyer-self, which experiences the phenomena of the world, leaves its mark on the soul and itself perishes after bodily death.

5. **Turyātīta** (often used synonymously with the above *turīya*) is sometimes spoken of as the 'fifth' state, but refers specifically to a form of *samādhi* (*see* trance), where there is a complete union of the self with the Absolute, or where the self is experienced as the Absolute Reality. In this state (as in turīya) the soul resides in the subtle centre of sahasrāra, the thousand petalled lotus situated just above the head. It is also spoken of as the final stage of emancipation in some kinds of yoga (e.g. *jñāna-yoga*), from which state the yogi never really wakes, but remains forever wandering in the glory of the knowledge of the Absolute. The soul is exteriorized* and the yogi is neither dead nor alive. The body is then immured in a seated posture in a secret shrine where it is said to remain for many years without decaying. The nature of its 'dreams' is beyond human comprehension.

Books

See under Psychology.

DRESS. It is presumed that the earliest aboriginal inhabitants of India's tropical regions went about completely nude, or were content merely to cover themselves with leaves or bark strips suspended from a string of fibre tied around the waist. Grass skirts are still found among jungle tribes today; and a Gangetic outfit, apparently carried over from the primitive peoples and

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adopted by the later Aryan settlers, included a skirt of *kuśa* grass* which was worn by the sacrificer's wife during certain Vedic ceremonies. In colder latitudes the skins of deer, carnivores and snakes were used to protect the body against the cold.

The Austrics were the first to weave cotton in India, perhaps borrowing the craft from Mesopotamia, and for a long time a fabric made of cotton was the chief dress material used by the early Indians. It consisted of a simple genital covering later known as *kachha* (or kachchha), a strip of folded cloth hanging down from a waist-band. This elementary kachha remained for centuries the basic pattern of Indian dress, long after more elaborate styles were introduced.

The men of the Indus Valley wore cotton garments of the kachha style though rather larger in size and reaching down to the knees. It was a type of dress common all over the ancient world in warmer latitudes; similar styles were worn in Sumer, Chaldea, Egypt and Crete. The points of resemblance between the draped loin-cloth depicted in Assyrian bas-reliefs and the Indian kachha have been noted by authorities on costume. Female attire closely resembled that of the male. Up to the Ṛig-vedic period the upper part of the female body was generally bare, except in winter when woollen coverings, sometimes artistically patterned were used by men and women. The turban appears to have been worn by both sexes and as a form of dress was, according to Piggott, 'surely derived from the Harappan culture', or according to Sarkar, from some other pre-Aryan people.

The dress items mentioned in early texts as having been introduced by the immigrant Vrātyas* included a kind of elaborate turban, so apparently this headdress was not uniquely Indian. They also brought sandals to India, and the modish Vrātya shoe styles are described as black and pointed. Shoes were originally used for ritualistic purposes only (IX, p. 70) since everyone normally went about barefooted. Ear-rings which are so conspicuous an item of finery among Indian women were likewise part of the Vrātya dress.

The Vedic Aryans wore skins which were softened by treating with animal fats. The Sanskrit words *vastra*, 'clothes', and *vāsa*, 'garment', still retain the flavour of that period for both are derived from the same root as *vasā*, 'fat' (VII, p. 47). The Aryans were also familiar with the use of wool, and wore robes of woollen material. They adopted cotton garments from the native population and continued like them to wear untailored lengths of cotton material draped around the lower body. For ceremonial and ritual purposes the cloth was invariably new, unbleached and unwashed.

Vedic women wore a drape around the waist called a *nīvi* and often wore nothing more, the upper part of the body remaining uncovered (X, p. 161). In winter an *atka*, mantle or cloak, was added to keep warm. These mantles were made of cotton, wool or deerskin.

By the later Vedic and early Epic periods a number of new dress articles began to be named, but these can no longer be identified. Clothes became more colourful and decorated, and richly dyed raiments, embroidered with jewels were worn by the rich. An all-purposes strip of cloth known in Patañjali's time as the *paṭa* was used as a head covering, scarf or shawl. Simple stitching now made possible the fashioning of such garments as the

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chaṇḍātaka or drawers and the *sāmulya* or undershirt, but stitched clothes were not generally in favour, and the basic dress consisting of two lengths of cloth, one for the lower part of the body and one for the upper, continued to be the chief style for both sexes of all classes, till the advent of the Persians, Greeks and 'barbarians' in the early centuries before the present era.

Much useful information on the types of dress worn in the Magadha region during the Maurya dynasty can be gleaned from the Bhārhut and Sānchī reliefs. Both men and women are depicted wearing a length of cloth to cover their legs by securing the cloth around the hips and letting it hang down in the form later known as the *luṅgī*, very much like the sarong of Further India. The luṅgī was held in place by tying or tucking in just above or below the navel, so that a heavier mass of material, known as the kachha (from the earlier drape mentioned above) falls from this point to the feet. This free flowing method of wearing the luṅgī is called the *vikachha* style and prevails to this day in northern India. Sometimes, as in the Deccan and Mahārāshṭra, the lower front part of the skirt is passed between the legs and tucked in behind at the waist in what is known as the *sakachha* style.

The *dhotī* or hip-cloth which drapes the upper legs is a variant of the latter style. An abbreviated form of the sakachha is seen in the *lāṅgoṭī*, in which a narrow strip of cloth is tied around the waist, with one end passed down to support the genitals, and then drawn up between the buttocks and secured at the back, leaving no loose or hanging ends. Its effect has been described as 'substituting a pocket handkerchief for the fig leaf.' It is worn by peasants and field labourers in summer, and also by wrestlers and yogis.

During the cold season both men and women wore a mantle in addition to these various types of waist and loin cloths. The women in the Bhārhut and Sānchī reliefs are sometimes shown wearing a piece of cloth over the head, the beginning of the *oḍhṇī*, or covering, but as a rule they were bare headed and left their breasts uncovered, as did the women of Bengal and Malabār till recently. Mauryan warriors went to battle dressed in a jacket consisting of a rectangle of cloth with holes for the arms, and a short pleated dhotī that looked like a kilt, which reminded Cunningham of the Scottish Highlanders.

The next stage in the evolution of Indian dress is extremely confused. It is contemporary with the Persian, Greek and Barbarian periods of Indian history, although the precise contributions made by these several peoples is not easily distinguished. But historians of Indian costume are agreed that most of the principal items of dress worn among the better classes in India to the present day had their origins at this time and were due to foreign styles adapted to the Indian climate.

Early Persian influence is to be seen only in the dress of the upper classes. The more sophisticated styles at this time were borrowed from the Persians whose colourful silks and resplendent attire were known and imitated in the ancient world from Rome to Central Asia, and profoundly affected the fashions of the Epic kingdoms of northern and western India. From the Mauryan period on, Indian court dress began to be copied from the Persian. From Persia also came the sugarloaf conical cap, which permitted the development of the elaborate Indian turbans, with the *torreh* formed by stiffening the upper end of the turban cloth so as to form a tall pleated crest, which is one of

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the characteristic features of the north Indian style of wearing this headdress.

The most significant sartorial contribution of the Bactrian Greeks to India was the introduction of tailoring, although the art itself was probably Semitic in origin. The Bactrian Greeks created new ways of draping the form, of tucking in the pleats of both the male and female dress, and wearing the dupatta or stole (which in northern India is worn with the ends hanging down the back), and introduced variations of the short tunic with fluted skirt.

The Kushān and Śaka invaders brought a profusion of new and original costumes. Many were adaptations of Bactrian dress; some were modified from Persian attire; but most were fashions current in various parts of Central and Inner Asia. With the Kushān advent stitched and tailored clothing (first introduced by the Greeks) began to be more commonly worn by the upper classes. From the Kushāns came the 'buttoned-up' coat and two varieties of trousers made of thick cloth, namely, the ordinary ankle-length trousers, and the close-fitting breeches, one variation of which are the jodhpur breeches, named later from the Rājput state of Jodhpur. They also introduced the *kurta* or short vest, the *achkan* or knee-length coat, and many varieties of footwear. Several types of light male headgear also became fashionable at this time. One of these, later made famous as the 'Gāndhi cap', was, according to H. Goetz, 'originally part of a foreign, Śaka, costume'.

Altekar points out that women started wearing blouses, skirts and frocks during the Kushān period, and their costumes may be seen in the Mathurā bas-reliefs, Kushān coins and Ajantā caves, and in later art. The Kushān short jacket was worn by both men and women and was known as the *kañchuki*. It later evolved into the *cholī*, a very brief, tight-fitting blouse which, like the drawn-in and draped sāṛī (see below) of later date, did not at first become fashionable with the women of the better classes, but was till quite recently the standard bosom covering of the nautch-girls of north and north-western India.

Several new items of dress came into vogue during the Hunnish period. Two are mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, namely the *stavaraka*, described as a rich cloth studded with pearls, which is the *istabraq* (raiment) of the Koran; and the *priṅga*, the flowered silken dress of kings, which today survives in the Panjābi *paranda*, a silk band used for braiding along with the hair. Glass bangles were introduced by the Huns (*see* ornaments) as were also new ways of tying the turban, innovations in belts and breast-bands (which were made of leather instead of cloth) and decorated cuffs and collars. Of the female dress belonging to that period, the *ghagara* was Central Asian. This is a very full skirt with heavy pleats which are kicked open as the woman walks, revealing innumerable waves of folds. It is still popularly worn by peasant women in Gujarāt and Rājputāna.

But from the evidence of bas reliefs, cave paintings and later works of art, it is observed that in spite of the fluctuations of fashion and the innovations introduced by outsiders, the basic kachha pattern of primitive times remained constant, and even rulers and princes are depicted wearing only a length of cloth knotted at the waist with the long ends hanging down in what has been described as 'an elaboration of the liṅga'. Often this pendant is stylized and reproduced in metal, studded with jewels and worn over the more

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elaborate Kushān, Śaka and Hunnish costume. Hiuen-Tsang (AD 630) observed that even the upper classes did not wear cut or fashioned clothing but dressed in simple garments.

The coming of the Muhammadans, however, brought about a profound revolution in Indian dress and fashions among all classes. Even such details as trimming the beard, wearing the turban, the length of the tunic, the tightness of the pyjamas, spread from the Muslim* to the Hindu courts and from there to the lower classes (VIII, p. 215). The innovations were mainly Persian, but Arab, Turkish, and Middle Eastern styles were also prominent.

The *pyjama* (from the Persian, *pai-jameh*, 'leg-garment') became popular in northern India, each newcomer introducing the particular homeland style. One variety, the baggy *shalwār*, is Turkish; another variety, the cotton or woollen *chūṛīdār* or rucked pyjama tight about the calves, is an adaptation of Central Asian leather leggings. Among the many minor articles of dress made popular by the Muslims and especially the Moguls was the band of cloth worn as a scarf of distinction across the body or waist. English words for two forms of this decorative item are *sash* (from the Arabic *shāsh*) and *cummerbund* (from the Persian *kamar-band*). The *shāl* or headcovering (Ang. shawl) became an indispensable part of woman's dress in northern India. The close-fitting, knee-length *kamīz*, along with the shalwār and the transparent dupatta make up the popular costume of Panjābi women today.

Women's styles in fact were permanently altered after the Muslim period. This is seen most conspicuously in the influence it has had on the evolution of that perfect masterpiece of unstitched clothing, the *sāṛī*, a six-yard length of cloth with which Indian women so gracefully drape themselves. The origin of this typically Indian garment is still shrouded in mystery. Its name is said by some scholars to be derived from the Sanskrit *śāṭī*, which was at first applied only to the draped lower garment worn by women. Others with perhaps less justification suggest its connection with the Persian word *sar*, meaning 'head', hence sari or head-covering. There is hardly any evidence of the sāṛī style before the advent of the Muslims. The unstitched two-piece costume of the early Indians continued throughout the Vedic age, and where a single one-piece garment was worn it was placed over the head or around the shoulders and allowed to fall about one like a blanket.

The long draped garment with pleats and folds is Greek, and its Indian prototype in stone is first seen in the bas-relief draperies of Gandhāra, where the upper end of the garment is gathered up and thrown over the shoulder. But this garment was not commonly adopted by the Hindus. The Bhārhut and Sānchī reliefs show women with bare bosoms and draped hip-cloths like an abbreviated dhotī, but not the sāṛī. The reliefs of the cave temples, the figures of the Gupta sculptures, even the Ajantā frescoes give no definite indication that the sāṛī was worn by Indian women. Sometimes Buddhist monks are portrayed wearing a sāṛī-like dress, but among the women the nearest thing to a sāṛī is an Ajantā fresco of a dancer and musicians wearing robe-like garments covering the bust, and with uncovered heads.

The earliest definitive evidence comes from miniature paintings of the post-Muhammadan period, in which women are shown wearing a sāṛī in the modern fashion, with one end carried diagonally across the shoulder and over the

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head. Some late Jain and Pāla paintings also suggest some such costume. This would seem to indicate that the sāṛī as worn today was unknown in India in pre-Muslim times, and may have been a composite Muslim adaptation of the native forms of draped dress used by both Hindus and Muslims. Its acceptance by the Hindus may have been from a desire to emulate the ruling race, and could have been hastened by its utility, since the upper portion could if required be drawn across the face as a veil, a necessary protection during the period of Muslim domination.

The modern arrangement of the sāṛī, cunningly draped to reveal the outline of the hips and to emphasize the narrowed waist and the swell of the breasts was, like the cholī, for long a device of the nautch-girls and is only a comparatively recent fashion among respectable Indian women. In many parts of India village folk still deem it immodest to wear any support for the breasts or to suggest their shape by outward covering, even where no immodesty is felt about revealing the bosom.

Indian dress reflects, as does every other facet of Indian social life, its derivation from sources diverse and disparate. Except for the earliest indigenous forms such as the kachha, the luṅgī and the dhotī, the most original and conspicuous contributions to the characteristic Indian dress of today were made by invading peoples, and have remained an integral part of Indian dress ever since (IV, p. 44). In effect, all the items of the present official uniform or national dress, the long close-fitting coat or achkan, the short buttoned-up coat, the loose shalwār, the tight chūṛīdārs, the slipper-like turned-up shoes, the sāṛī, the cholī (short blouse), the kamīz, the resplendent turban, and even the 'Gāndhi cap' are derived from non-Indian sources.

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DRINKS. Spirituous liquor was universally drunk by the inhabitants of ancient India. Both the pre-Aryans and Dravidians drank it themselves and offered it to their deities. The immigrant Aryans who brought several kinds

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of alcoholic brews from their Central Asian homeland, were as hard drinking a race as the later Huns.

A number of these drinks are now unidentifiable, although many figured in Hindu legend and literature. The entire cosmic sea according to mythology was composed of *amṛita**, the intoxicating milk-nectar of immortality, whose quintessence was sought by the gods and demons, and from which emerged all the treasures of heaven and earth. The most celebrated drink of the Hindu scriptures was the legendary *soma** of the *Ṛig-veda* (sometimes spoken of as *sūra*), an intoxicating beverage made from a now forgotten plant growing in the Himālayan foothills. We also hear of the divine brew called *sudhā* (*su-dhā*, 'good drink') prepared from 'snake's milk' and matured under the rays of the moon; this was the favourite draught of the Nāga people, and was said to give them the youthfulness, beauty and wisdom for which they were famed.

Another drink frequently mentioned in the Vedas is the *surā* (Avestic *hurā*) prepared by distillation from barley, wild-paddy or grain, mixed with molasses. It was passed around during the *vājapeya*, *sautrāmaṇī*, and other Vedic rituals, especially those of a fertility character. Its prototype was brought up from the deep at the Churning of the Ocean by the goddess Madā, 'intoxication.' From *madā* are derived the names of two other drinks, namely, *madirā* a rice wine, and *madya* a kind of brandy. In the *chakrapūjā** rites the term madya is used to symbolize intoxicants and drugs as well as the magical liquids of internal secretion. In the *Atharva-veda*, surā is referred to as the reward for the performance of duty, but in general it had an evil reputation and was condemned by the lawgivers as a cause of wrong-doing, giving rise to 'broils in assemblies.' A kind of surā made from barley was called *kohola*, which, subsequently combined with the Arabic prefix *al*, is said to be origin of the word alcohol. J. C. Ray who mentions this adds, 'the knowledge of the Indian art of distillation spread to the West through the Muhammadans'.

One authority quotes almost fifty varieties of spirituous liquor known in ancient and medieval India, which were prepared from a wide assortment of herbs, plants and cereals. Among them we have two drinks called *iḍā* (or irā) and *māshara*, both known to the Austrics, the former made from fermented rice and the latter from fermented beans. A common, highly intoxicating brew called *yūsha* was made from meat and bone broth mixed with spirits. A heady concoction made from grasses, flowers and leaves, mixed in various proportions was *śuṇḍa*; these ingredients were stored in elongated earthen jars and the fermented juice drawn off from a hole in the bottom. Yet another highly potent drink was *hālā*, distilled from tree-bark, roots, raw sugarcane, onion juice and various spices, into which a drop or two of snake venom was mixed; this was stored in wooden vats and drunk on ceremonial occasions. A drink called *rasāyana*, compounded by medieval alchemists* from ingredients strange and unknown, promised one many remarkable cures for a multitude of bodily and mental ills.

Other drinks of a more popular nature included *yavasura* (yavasura, 'barley-drink') or beer; *paishṭī* made from meal or cereals; *gauḍī*, from the juice of sugar-cane; *mādhvī* from honey; *sīdhu* a sort of rum made from

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molasses; *kādambarī* made with sour milk; *drākshā-rasa*, 'grape-juice', or wines made from grapes; *āsava* from date treacle; *parisrut* from wood-apple mixed with spices; *kalyam* from beet-sugar; *arrack* (Arabic *araq*, 'juice') from the coconut palm (later the name of several kinds of 'ardent' spirits); *tāḍī* (Ang. toddy) from the sap of the palmyra tree, commonly drunk by the European 'nabob' of later days mixed with hot water. There were also various drinks made of combined ingredients, a custom originating what came to be known in English as *punch*, from the Sanskrit pañcha, 'five', because it consisted of five ingredients, namely, spirits, water, sugar, lemon-juice and spices.

Although the orthodox Hindu taboo against drinking spirits is believed by some scholars to be a very ancient one, there is evidence to show that drinking was once universal among all castes. A few ancient texts do indicate that the practice was not acceptable, but the prohibition did not begin to be imposed until after the time of Buddha and under the influence of Buddhist doctrines. Buddhism counts drinking as one of the five cardinal sins and the Hindu lawbooks soon followed suit in condemning alcoholic beverages.

This condemnation applied at first to brāhmins in particular, the warriors being allowed the indulgence, while the lower castes were exempted from the prohibition altogether. The lawbooks condemned brāhmins who drink as unworthy of their calling as teachers and moral preceptors, and Kauṭilya made drinking a penal offence for them. If found guilty a brāhmin was to be branded on the forehead with the mark of a distiller's still and banished to the mines. But in practice, brāhmins even up to Patañjali's time used to drink spirituous liquor without inhibition.

References to drinking and drinking bouts among brāhmins and kshattriyas abound in Sanskrit literature. Thus during the *aśvamedha* sacrifice of Yudhishṭhira a 'sea of liquor' was drunk by all participants. Balarāma was very fond of strong wine and so was his wife. From the *Mahābhārata* we learn that Kṛishṇa enjoyed drinking and drank freely with Arjuna and his companions. Kṛishṇa's tribe, the Yādavas, were in fact exterminated in a drinking brawl. In another passage Sudeshṇā, wife of Virāṭa at whose court the exiled Pāṇḍavas resided, is described as drinking wine. Some of the ladies in the Epics 'drank so hard that they could not walk straight' (II, p. 117). Draupadī is shown in a festive scene with Subhadrā where both are gloriously drunk. Indumatī wife of Aja liked to receive the wine direct from the mouth of her husband. In Kālidāsa we read of Śiva himself drinking wine and making his wife drink.

It was believed that wine lent a special charm to women, and the beauty of the flaming cheeks of an intoxicated woman is more than once described in classical poetry. It enhanced their attractions, made them more desirable and removed their natural inhibitions, giving them a greater appreciation of the sexual act. As it creates a desire for intercourse the *smṛitis* prudently lay down that drinking should be avoided by those women whose husbands are away.

In Patañjali's time the wives of brāhmins were forbidden spirituous liquor under pain of being deprived of the company of their husbands in the next world. But this restraint was not imposed on women of other castes who were

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allowed the same freedom as their husbands. During the marriage ceremony women were customarily offered wine, first when the bride arrived at the bridegroom's place and again after the marriage was consummated. In Kālidāsa's time we find many allusions to the intemperance of the people, a fact also reflected in later Sanskrit writings.

A section of the *Arthaśāstra* discusses the distilling of liquor in government distilleries and goes on to recommend the appointment of a Superintendent of Liquor to control the production and sale of spirits and the supervision of breweries and taverns. Drinking was very much in vogue in the palaces of the ruling classes till the late medieval period, and most books on Hindu architecture describe the Royal Drinking Saloon, with relevant details as to its size and location in the palace premises. Similar saloons were built in the houses of the rich.

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DROṆA, brāhmin hero of the *Mahābhārata*, so named because he was born of the seed emitted into a bucket (*droṇa*) by his father the sage Bharadvāja. A great archer his fame as a teacher of archery spread even into the remote jungles and a Bhīl (aboriginal) prince named Ekalavya came to Droṇa for instruction. The brāhmin however refused to teach the nishāda* prince.

One of Droṇa's childhood companions was Drupada* prince of Pañchāla whose father had entrusted him to Bharadvāja's care. The two youths grew up together as brothers in the sage's hermitage, but when Drupada became king and Droṇa went to visit him the king turned his friend away saying tauntingly that there could be no friendship between a luckless beggar and a mighty rāja.

Droṇa was selected by Bhīshma* as the āchārya or preceptor to give the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes their training in arms, and he undertook this commission only on condition that the young men would eventually help him to fight against Drupada his boyhood friend who had spurned his adult friendship. Bhīma and Duryodhana chose to specialize in club-fighting and wrestling; Arjuna in archery; Yudhishṭhira in chariot-fighting; Nakula and Sahadeva in fencing.

After their apprenticeship in the military skills was over Droṇa sent the Kauravas on an expedition against the Pañchālas to capture and bring back Drupada to him. The Kauravas were repulsed so Droṇa despatched the Pāṇḍavas, who defeated the Pañchāla forces and made Drupada prisoner. For old times' sake Droṇa forgave Drupada and gave him back half of his kingdom, occupying, as a pledge of future friendship, the other half of the kingdom, known as Northern Pañchāla, with its capital at Ahikshetra or Ahichhatra, a very ancient city, built by an Ābhīra* king.

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But the old enmity between the brāhmin archer and the kshattriya rāja continued to rankle and in the great Mahābhārata war they fought in opposite camps. Droṇa sided with the Kauravas and on the death of Bhīshma took over as Kaurava commander-in-chief. On the thirteenth day of the battle of Kurukshetra Droṇa slew Drupada and was himself slain by Drupada's son Dhṛishṭadyumna.

By his wife Kṛipā daughter of Śaradvant, Droṇa had a son Aśvatthāman, so named because he cried like a horse when born. Aśvatthāman became the last commander of the Kaurava ranks, and his brutal murder of the five Pāṇḍava children of Draupadī, daughter of his father's old enemy Drupada, as they lay sleeping in camp, is one of the grimmest episodes of the *Mahābhārata*.

Droṇa was also called Kūṭa-ja ('jug-born'), and Bhāradvāja (son of Bharadvāja). Aśvatthāman was also called by his patronymic Drauṇāyana.

Books

See under Mythology.

DRUGS. The use of drugs for occult and ritual purposes was prevalent in India from early times. In Hindu mythology Śiva is represented as partial to drugs, and many of his quarrels with his wife Pārvatī* occurred because he whiled away aeons, lost in a drugged trance, and failed to provide for his family. In certain Śiva temples, such as the Great Temple at Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa, the idol is bathed in water, milk, and a solution of the hemp drug *bhāṅg*.

Patañjali declared, 'Siddhis can be obtained by the use of herbs and medicines', and Nāthas, Siddhas, Tantriks and other allied sects have continually resorted to drugs to shift the plane of perception and attain ecstatic states and mystical illumination. Drugs, drinks*, chemicals (e.g. mercury), and special medicinal preparations were and still are used for this purpose. Drugs are taken by sādhus as part of their rites preparatory to certain esoteric practices, and are used as ritual aphrodisiacs in prolonged magical ceremonies involving the sexual act.

The source from which most of the drugs commonly used in India are obtained, is *hashish*, the leaves and tender parts of the fibrous plant called hemp (cannabis indica). They include: *bhāṅg*, a drink made of hemp leaves, which is said to provoke feelings of anger and violent aggression; *gāñja*, a narcotic and intoxicant, traditionally taken by the warrior caste; it is also obtained from the hemp plant, the dried leaves of which in this case are smoked; *charas*, the resinous extract from the stalk of the hemp plant, used in a variety of ways.

Opium came into the Indian materia medica only in the fourteenth century AD and appears to have been introduced from Persia. *Posta* is an infusion of opium poppy heads, mixed with arrack, sugar and cardamom.

There is no reference to smoking in the Vedas, but later Sanskrit writings, especially medical works, speak of the virtues of the *dhūma-varti*, 'smoke-roll', like a cigar, of which more than a dozen varieties are described. A common one for daily use was the fragrant *prāyogikī* consisting of cardamom,

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saffron, sandalwood, and other aromatic substances. These ingredients were ground to a paste and coated to the thickness of a thumb on a thin reed about six inches long. When dried the reed was removed and the resulting cigar-like *varti* was smeared with clarified butter and smoked. A wide variety of such cigars with different ingredients were used for therapeutic purposes, the smoke being inhaled.

The proper method of smoking was to sit upright, and take three puffs at a time. The beneficial effects of smoking were extolled in the texts devoted to the subject. It soothed the nerves, cheered the mind, strengthened the teeth and hair, sweetened the breath, and was good for coughs, asthma, headache, eyesore, thirst, laziness, wind and phlegm.

With the introduction of tobacco by the Portuguese about AD 1600, the whole trend of smoking was changed, and the old forms, with the exception of drug smoking, completely abandoned. The *cheroot* (from Tamil *śuruṭṭu*, 'roll'), the cigar with open ends came into its own, as did the *hookah* or hubble-bubble, with its *chillam* containing the charcoal cakes and tobacco balls, and its long pipe, beloved as much by the English 'nabobs' as by the Indians.

Books

See under Sociology.

DRUPADA, son of Pṛishata king of Pañchāla the area around modern Bareilly and Farrukhābād in the Panjāb. The Pañchāla tribe like the Kurus were descended from Yayāti. Both tribes were intimately connected with the Vedic civilization of the Brāhmaṇa period, were closely related, and often referred to as the Kuru-Pañchāla.

Pṛishata was at first childless and lived performing the sternest penances in the forest in order that he might get an heir. One day he beheld the *apsarā* Menakā walking past in a diaphanous robe and his seed fell from him to the ground. Filled with shame he made a 'hasty step' (*dru-pada*) forward and trod upon it with his foot, but the seed lived and from it his son Drupada was born. This legend is believed to be a veiled reference to the fact that Drupada's mother was a 'native' or non-Aryan woman.

Drupada grew up in the hermitage of Bharadvāja where his childhood companion was the sage's son Droṇa; but when he succeeded to the throne he scorned his former friend. Droṇa* subsequently had his revenge by organizing his defeat and appropriating half his demesne. Drupada returned to Kāmpilya the capital of his shrunken kingdom, now known as South Pañchāla, burning for vengeance. He underwent all kinds of austerities and finally ordered his brāhmin priests headed by Yāja to perform a special sacrifice to obtain progeny, for which he offered them a reward of ten million head of cattle. But when the auspicious moment arrived Drupada's wife was unprepared to receive his seed. The rite could not be delayed and a son sprang forth from the fire-altar clad in full armour, while a heavenly voice declared that this prince would destroy Droṇa. They named him Dhṛishṭadyumna (*dhṛishṭa-dyumna*, 'bold-splendour') and in the battle of Kurukshetra many years later he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Pāṇḍava

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forces. He slew Droṇa during the battle and met his own end by being trampled to death in his sleep by Droṇa's son Aśvatthāman.

The rites continued and there now arose from the sacrificial ashes of the altar still another creation, a beautiful girl, 'exceedingly dark, with long curling locks and lotus eyes; deep bosomed and slender waisted, and as radiant and graceful as if she had descended from the city of the gods'. The voice from heaven proclaimed that she would be peerless among women and that many warriors would die because of her. This was Draupadī* the future heroine of the *Mahābhārata*.

Drupada had a third child, Śikhaṇḍin*, who was instrumental in the death of the mighty warrior Bhīshma.

Because of the potency of the sacrifices offered by Drupada he was also known as Yājña-sena, 'sacrifice-chief'.

Books

See under Mythology.

DURVĀSAS, arch-*ṛishi*, son of Atri and Anasūya, regarded as a portion of Śiva himself. He once blessed Kuntī so that she became the mother of the hero Karṇa by the sun-god Sūrya. But he is better known as a master-curser, a 'stranger to remorse', and one of the most irascible of ṛishis, before whom even the gods trembled in fear. It was he who cursed the gentle Śakuntalā for keeping him waiting at the door, and so caused prince Dushyanta to forget her.

The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* tells the incident in which Indra treated with slight respect a garland that the sage had presented to him. Instead of treasuring the gift he placed it on the head of a prancing elephant from where it fell to the ground and was trampled underfoot. Enraged at the affront Durvāsas cursed Indra and the whole host of heaven to a decline in their power and strength. As a result of this terrible pronouncement the *asuras* or demons almost overcame the weakened gods who under Vishṇu's guidance were forced to resort to the Churning of the Ocean to obtain *amṛita* or divine nectar* and so regained their vitality.

In the *Mahābhārata* it is related that Durvāsas was once the guest of Kṛishṇa and that after the feast given in his honour the god neglected to wipe away some fragments of food from the sage's foot. Furious at such discourtesy the ṛishi foretold the dire end of Kṛishṇa and the Yādavas, and it befell Kṛishṇa accordingly, who in due time perished with his whole race.

Books

See under Mythology.

DURYODHANA, 'tough fighter', the eldest of the hundred Kaurava princes was born amid dire portents which prefigured his terrible and tempestuous career. He received his training in the use of arms from Droṇa and specialized in the use of the club, an art which he perfected under the guidance of Balarāma. An arrogant, malicious youth, he developed a bitter jealousy for his

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cousin Bhīma, also a master of the club, and on one occasion poisoned him and threw him into the Ganges, although Bhīma survived the ordeal.

The growing rivalry between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas broke forth openly when the blind Dhṛitarāshṭra appointed as *yuvarāja* (heir-apparent) not his own son Duryodhana, but his brother's son the just Yudhishṭhira. Duryodhana claimed that the throne was his by right, being the eldest son of Dhṛitarāshṭra, who was himself the eldest son of his father. His remonstrances were so violent that the old man was persuaded to banish the Pāṇḍavas, and calling Yudhishṭhira he commanded him to depart with his brothers into virtual exile to the city of Vāraṇāvata, while the Kauravas remained at the capital in Hastināpura.

Duryodhana's hatred pursued the Pāṇḍavas even into exile and he tried through his agent Purochana* to encompass their death in a prearranged fire, but the Pāṇḍavas were forewarned and escaped to the forest where they lived for a time disguised as brāhmins. The reappearance of the Pāṇḍavas at the *svayaṁvara* of Draupadī, the division of Dhṛitarāshṭra's kingdom, and their subsequent establishment at Indraprastha further inflamed the hatred of Duryodhana, who chafed at their growing fame and glory. Once while on a visit to Indraprastha he accidentally fell into a palace pool which he mistook for a part of the crystal flooring, and the mocking laughter of Draupadī at his discomfiture did nothing to lessen his bitterness.

He challenged the Pāṇḍavas to a gambling match and with the skilled services of his uncle, the gambler and cheat Śakuni*, he defeated Yudhishṭhira, who lost his kingdom, all his wealth, his freedom, his brothers, and their common wife Draupadī, who suffered great humiliation at the hands of the Kauravas. As a result of losing a second gambling match in an attempt to regain their fortunes, the Pāṇḍavas were forced to go into exile for thirteen years.

While they were living in the forest Duryodhana visited them to exult over their mortification. He was attacked and captured by the Gandharva tribe who lived nearby, and was eventually rescued by the Pāṇḍavas, which only served to increase his hatred for them. He refused to listen to the Pāṇḍava proposal for the restoration of their half of the kingdom after their return from exile, and threatened to whip the Pāṇḍava emissary, Kṛishṇa, who came to make the proposal on their behalf. In the inevitable war that followed he was mortally wounded by his lifelong foe Bhīma and died on the eighteenth day of the battle of Kurukshetra.

Duryodhana was also called Suyodhana, 'good fighter' or 'fair fighter'. His son Lakshmaṇa was killed by Abhimanyu on the second day of the battle.

Books

See under Mythology.

DUTT, MADHUSUDAN (1824–73), the greatest Bengali poet before Rabindranāth Tagore, was educated in the famous Hindu College of Calcutta. Among his teachers was the Eurasian poet Henry Derozio. Declining to enter into a marriage which was being forced upon him by his father he became a Christian, taking the name of Michael. His first marriage to an

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Englishwoman ended in a separation, but his second marriage to another English girl was very happy and lasted till husband and wife died within a few days of each other.

The adversities of his early career, the great poverty he faced, his valiant struggle to write as he wished, and his final triumph, success and influence as one of the most beloved poets of his countrymen, make the life-story of this genius one of the most fascinating in Indian literature.

A master of Bengali, he was also familiar with Tamil and Telugu, Sanskrit, Persian, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and among the modern European languages, with English, French, German and Italian. From the creative point of view the best part of his literary career lasted for about four years, from 1859 when he wrote his first drama to 1862 when he sailed for England where he studied law. After his return he practised in Calcutta, without great success, devoting most of his time to writing. His improvidence and impulsive temperament wrecked a promising career and he ended his last days in a charitable hospital.

His plays, some of them based on the Ancient Greek models though dealing with typically Indian themes, were a revolutionary break from the amorphous and long-winded theatricals of his day. He wrote historical drama, tragedy, farce, and romantic comedy with great success. But it was more as a poet that he left his permanent mark on the literature of Bengal. His introduction of blank verse freed Bengali from the shackles of the stilted forms which had fettered it for centuries. His popularization of the sonnet cut down the rhodomontade of much of Bengali shorter verse. He wrote the first poem in Bengali that could be called an epic in the European sense of the term; it dealt with the death of Meghanāda, and had its inspiration not in the ancient Indian epics but in Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Dante and Milton. Milton was his favourite poet, unequalled in his opinion by any other. Writing to a friend concerning one of his own minor epics he remarks, 'Some say it is better than Milton, but that is all bosh; nothing can be better than Milton. Many say it licks Kālidāsa: I have no objection to that.' He never wavered in his intention to 'throw off the fetters forged by a servile admiration of everything Sanskrit' (I, p. 140).

Michael Madhusudan Dutt left Bengali infinitely richer than he found it. J. C. Ghosh writes that his 'courageous innovations altered the whole course of our literature and added new dimensions to it'. As another critic states, 'He was a genius if ever there was one; and his many-sided literary activity heralded a new movement in Bengali literature, and through Bengali in other literatures as well' (II, p. 174).

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DYAUS (from *div*, 'shine') an early Indo-European deity of the sky or heaven, cognate with the Greek Zeus. His worship was already ancient when the Aryans brought him to India but he never attained a status of any importance

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among the Hindus. He did not have the concrete embodiment of the later Hindu deities but stood rather for a vague notion of an all-pervading heavenly father, sometimes referred to as Dyaus-pitar (Dyaus-father, cf. Jupiter). He also represented the male principle of the universe, the female principle being the earth-mother Pṛithivī. Ushas goddess of the dawn was his daughter. Dyaus was slain by his son Indra as the Greek Uranus was slain by his son Cronus. As thunder Dyaus is likened to a bull, and as the night sky to a black steed.

Associated with Dyaus is Pṛithivī, 'broad', a beautiful goddess of the earth, later also known as Bhūmi, 'earth', or Urvī, 'wide'. She is the mother of the cosmos and in the Vedas is represented as a cow. Dyaus and Pṛithivī are celebrated in the early hymns as the parents of all things. In the Purāṇas Pṛithivī is mentioned in the story of Pṛithu (*see* Veṇa) where she tries to escape from Pṛithu but is caught and beaten and only then yields up her treasures, a legend said to symbolize the belabouring of the earth with ploughs and hoes before she yields up her bounty of grain and fruit. In philosophy pṛithivī is the pure element, earth (*see* substance).

Books

See under Mythology.

DYEING. The art of dyeing was known in India from very ancient times and the resplendent colours of this country were no less celebrated among the nations of antiquity than the Tyrian purples. In St. Jerome's fourth-century Latin translation of the Bible, Job declared wisdom to be even more enduring than the 'dyed colours of India'. The dazzling Indian fabrics were a byword in ancient Rome. The shimmering, flame-like, rainbow-hued, sky-splashed tints of the raiments worn by Indian women of the upper class aroused the wrath of pious Buddhists who found in the opalescent silks and the voluptuous hues an inducement to evil thoughts through the lure of the senses.

All the colours used in dyeing were obtained from natural sources until modern times brought synthetic dyes into use. Many of the old methods of making dyes are now lost. In the early years of the reign of Jahāngir (*c.* 1610) more than 400 tints were used by dyers in the Mogul empire. A century later, after the death of Aurangzeb, a little over 150 dyes were being used, and by the middle of the nineteenth century this number had dwindled to about sixty.

The common sources of these dyes were: turmeric for yellow; pistachio galls for red; the bark and root of the Indian mulberry for a rich dark red; the root of the Indian madder (*mañjishṭhā*) for a brilliant red; coral-jasmine (*harsiṅghar*) for orange; larkspur flowers for light yellow; cochineal for crimson; saffron for bright yellow; indigo and *harsiṅghar* for green; iron filings for black. These and a great many others were mixed with buffalo-milk, sour coconut-palm juice, buttermilk, castor oil, the pulp of the myrobalan fruit, pomegranate rinds, and sheep, goat and cow-dung, to create hundreds of subtle shades. The extraction of indigotin from the native indigo plant was known since the fourteenth century, and indigo was widely used for blues and purples. In recent times India supplied the indigo dyes for British naval uniforms known as 'navy blue', just as she gave the name to *khaki* (Urdu,

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'dusty'), the earth-coloured fabrics first used for uniforms in the Boer War. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the green dye employed by Indian dyers was extracted by boiling baize cloth imported from England.

Dyeing methods varied considerably. The simplest method of steeping the fabric in a bath of dye was generally employed for ordinary fabrics for every-day use. But more intricate processes were evolved in the dyeing of fabrics for special purposes. The use of red pigment from the madder root and the process of mordant dyeing were already known in the Indus Valley. In mordant dyeing the design is first traced on the cloth in a chemical (e.g. alum emulsion) which when dipped in other chemical solutions or dyes brings out the desired colour.

In the Epic period multi-coloured patterns were achieved by painting the designs in by hand with different dyes. The art of using varying coloured threads for the warp and weft to bring about an extraordinary shimmering effect in a fabric seems to have been known to early tribal people like the Ābhīras, and this technique of merging colours by first processing the thread is still in use today. Another old dyeing technique consists in dyeing one side of a fabric one colour and the other side another colour, with the result that not only does the fabric show different colours on the two sides, but one colour is seen through the other 'in a perfectly bewildering fashion'.

Two innovations of great importance came to India from abroad. The first was the use of wooden blocks for stamping designs on silks and cottons, which was introduced from China, and the skill of making printed fabrics soon spread throughout the country. The second was the technique of tie-dyeing, brought to India by the Gurjaras. In this method the portions of the cloth not to be coloured are tied with waxed string and the cloth then immersed in the dye. The dye does not penetrate the tied parts. To achieve this the cloth is first folded several times over, wetted and placed on a board on which the design is marked out by raised pins. The raised points are then tied one after the other without cutting the string. The process is repeated for various colours or combinations of colours, using the same principle. This process of tying (Hindi, *bāndhnā*) and dyeing results in a pattern of different coloured spots, squares and circles frequently used for handkerchiefs, which were called bandana by the English. The polychrome bandanas of Rājputāna are especially famous.

Another process is known by the Javanese name of *ikat*. Before the cloth is woven the individual threads that make up the warp and weft are coloured at carefully measured distances so that as weaving proceeds the final design appears. It is often combined with tie-dyeing and is found at its best in the beautiful *patola* of Gujarāt which ranks amongst the finest dyed fabrics of India. The patola wedding sāṛī of Gujarāt and the patola silks of Baroḍa are the best of their kind.

Many new designs are possible by modern resist-dyeing techniques in which parts of the cloth are treated with a substance which prevents them from absorbing the dye. But on the whole the introduction of foreign methods and imported aniline dyes have brought the indigenous dyeing industry to a standstill and it is fast disappearing. But the synthetic dyes are popular because they are much easier to use and offer a wider range of colours.

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(*See also under* Textiles.)

EAR. In Hindu esoteric teaching the ear (*karṇa*) is believed to be more than merely an organ of hearing; it is a network of invisible *nāḍis* (ganglia) connected to the inner organs of perception. Large ears and long lobes in men are therefore regarded as one of the *vyañjana* or badges of greatness, since they indicate a wealth of understanding and spiritual insight. According to this theory, the whispering of a *rahasya* or secret formula into the initiate's ear in *karṇa-tantra* does not imply merely the uttering of words but is the activation of this network of nāḍis by the vibrations of the guru's voice, which enables the mantra to penetrate to the higher organs of perception, resulting in mystical enlightenment.

The ear, then, is believed to lead to an altogether different area of experience from that provided by the other sense organs. It is the outward vehicle of a potency of 'innerness' or interiority, and like the shell echoes the sounds of the inner world, although their interpretation is often limited by the dullness of the physical ear as it is. The external appendage constitutes in fact an obstacle and should be adapted by incision in a special manner if it is to function adequately as an organ for higher spheres of experience.

Among animals, cattle are believed to have the secret of understanding the 'internality' of their body, and the functioning of its basic processes. Hence the products of the cow, whether milk, urine or dung, are especially potent because they have been processed in a particular manner. But even the bovine ear, suitable though it is for its purpose, can be improved if the ear is slit.

Although according to some authorities slitting the ears of cattle was a mark of ownership, or was performed in order to protect cattle from evil spirits, its real significance according to some Hindus is to augment the faculty of inner perception and render the products of the cow still more potent. Three kinds of mutilation were executed from earliest times and each kind was believed to have specific virtues. These were (1) *bhinna*, 'cleft', where the ear was split for half its length, (2) *chhinna*, 'clipped', where part of the ear was cut off completely, and (3) *chhidra*, 'perforated', where the ear was bored.

The boring of ears also became of some importance to men desirous of understanding. Already in the early Hindu period this practice was included among the *saṁskāras* or sacramental acts. The ceremony, known as *karṇa-vedha*, 'ear boring', used to be performed on children of both sexes, although it is today confined to girls alone. The original intention may have been to protect the individual against evil spirits, or to assist in the acquirement of spiritual knowledge, but it is now done only in order to facilitate the wearing of ear ornaments. The operation is performed at any time from the tenth day to the twelfth month after birth, but preferably before the child's first tooth appears. The ear is pierced by a goldsmith using a gold, silver, copper or iron needle. The hole should be large enough to allow the rays of the sun to pass

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through, and the exact spot to be punctured is visible in the sunlight if the lobe is pulled down.

Mutilation of men's ears was also obligatory among certain sects of Hindus. The Vrātyas* had their ears bored on initiation and wore large earrings. Another order of ear-split wonder-workers was connected with an ancient tribe, the non-Aryan Vikarṇa, associated with the Druhyus and Anus, whose name (*vi-karṇa*) signifies 'split-ear'. Notable among the still existing split-ear sects are the *Kānphaṭa*, 'ear-torn' yogis, a class of sādhus whose ear is sliced on initiation from the lobe upward almost through its whole length. Other yogis of the order had a big hole pierced in the cartilage to permit the insersion of enormous earrings. These yogis take great precautions to protect their ears.

Books

See under Body, *and* Gorakhnāth.

EDUCATION. Formal education in ancient India was largely confined to the brāhmin male. Some slender evidence has been adduced to show that knowledge was imparted to all classes, including śūdras, non-Aryans and women, although this is not generally accepted. Kshattriyas received training in arms and the princely arts; and artisans in the crafts of their caste, as a rule passed on from father to son; but they were in most cases forbidden to study the Vedas, the source of all religious and philosophical learning. Women are mentioned as poets and thinkers in the Vedas but they are rare exceptions.

The texts laid down several stages for the student's progress, marked off by a number of *saṁskāras* or sacraments* which may be briefly cited. For the brāhmin education commenced with the rite known as *vidyārambha* (*vidyā-ārambha*, 'knowledge beginning') or the learning of the alphabet. It was performed in the fifth year at the home of the boy. The gods were addressed, after which the child paid homage to his first or temporary teacher. The teacher then wrote out the Sanskrit characters, recited them one by one, and the child repeated the sounds after him. The whole ceremony lasted about one hour.

At home the child continued his early studies in reading and writing, generally simple texts from the Epics, as well as elementary arithmetic (*gaṇita*, 'counting') till the age of eight, at which time the *upanayana* or sacred thread* ceremony was performed. In this ceremony he was formally presented to his second teacher, the guru who now whispered the *gāyatrī mantra* to him, and would later teach him the Vedas and give him formal religious instruction.

In early times the child left the home of his parents after the ceremony and went to live in the house of his preceptor, which became his school. These were only small establishments called *āśramas* each run by a teacher who admitted only a limited number of select resident pupils. This was known as the *guru-kula* ('teacher's house') system, where the pupil (*śishya* or *chela*) lived with the preceptor as a member of his family, ministered to his needs, obeyed his guru's commands implicitly and treated him with divine reverence. He wore his hair long, dressed simply, practised penances, and studied under

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the direction of the guru. He had to collect fuel and tend the sacred fires, look after the cattle, help in agriculture and attend to the running of the household. If need arose he had to go begging on behalf of his master. He lived under a prescribed discipline as a *vrata-chārin* or 'vow-abider', this vow applying specifically to the vow of brahmacharya or continence, whose implications were of course not clear to him at this age.

At the age of ten the boy went through the sacrament of *vedārambha* (*veda-ārambha*, 'Veda beginning'), a rite intended to prepare him for his study of the Vedas. He was taught to recite the gāyatrī mantra correctly, to perform the *saṁdhyā* or daily devotions, and various other simple observances. He was also taught to memorize easy portions of the Vedas by special methods; but the more difficult texts were only prescribed for those destined to become priests. An outline of the Vedāṅgas was also imparted to the pupil at this stage.

As the years passed the boy would naturally begin to feel the stirrings of sex, and a special ceremony was held to remind him of his brahmacharya vows. This was the saṁskāra known as *keśānta*, the first shaving of the beard, which was performed between the ages of thirteen and sixteen in the āśrama itself by a barber. The beard, betokening his dawning manhood, was closely shaved, and he was warned to keep as close a rein on his youthful impulses. Manu in his code embodied an ancient prohibition to check the temptation that might arise from the daily contact of a chela with the young wife of his guru. According to Manu the 'contamination' of the guru's bed was one of the *mahāpātakas* or great sins*. After the keśānta ceremony the student presented a cow to his guru, hence it was also called the *godāna*, 'cow-giving'. This very often marked the end of the boy's schooling.

If the boy's education was to be continued his studies were intensified from then on, and he was given as wide a field as he could view and understand. This stage lasted from three to fifteen years, and was terminated by a final 'graduation' of the student. This last ceremony, called the *samāvartana*, 'returning', i.e. returning home from the house of the guru, marked the completion of formal studies, and the end of brahmacharya. He was now free to return home. (The sacrament has little meaning today and is performed immediately after the upanayana.) The young man took a ceremonial bath* or *snāna* and was henceforth known as a *snātaka* since he was regarded as being 'bathed' in learning and in his vows. It was also regarded as a bath necessary to wash away the aura of holiness and power that he had acquired as a celibate and through contact with his guru. The snātaka or Vedic student formally took permission of his guru to leave, paid him his fees, embraced the guru's feet, paid his last tribute to the sacred fire by feeding it with fuel. He then had another bath, anointed his body, dressed in good clothes (discarding his simple garments) and returned home. On becoming a householder the Vedic student was called an *upakurvāṇa*.

The nature of the Vedic texts taught in a particular āśrama depended on the *śākhā** or school of Vedic learning followed by the institution in question. Methods of teaching were based mainly on *anuvāda* or repetition aloud. In the early stages there was repetition in unison after the guru, and later independently. This basic system of repetition had many variants, some simple and

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others extremely intricate as in the *pāṭha* techniques (*see* reciting). Traditionally there were three methods of study referred to in the Upanishads, namely, (1) *śravaṇa*, 'hearing' the texts; (2) *manana*, 'minding' or reflecting on the texts; this is also spoken of as *svā-dhyāya*, 'self-reflection' or independent thinking on the texts; and (3) *nididhyāsana* or continued profound meditation on the import of what has been learned. The later stages of learning were often amplified by discussion in the *saṁgha* or learned council where representatives of the different academies met to debate philosophical issues.

Although the small residential āśramas were the usual educational establishments for brāhmins, these were by no means the only sources through which knowledge could be acquired. A popular bearer of learning was the *charaka*, 'wanderer', originally a young brāhmin who went from place to place giving instruction for a small fee, the fee being taken in order to pay for his own further studies. Later the term was applied to any wandering 'sophist' who expounded his own particular brand of philosophy to adults and sometimes gave elementary instruction to those of tender years. Such itinerant thinkers have been the glory of Hinduism, since they were the rebels and reformers whose influence acted as a leaven on the rigid orthodoxies of the brāhminical creed. In medieval times the old systems of education were continued with slight variations. The *pāṭhaśāla* or primary school, and the *ṭol* or residential institute of Sanskrit learning, were the two main pillars on which medieval scholastic traditions were supported. The *maṭha* or cloister attached to a Hindu temple was also an important centre of religious studies, as was the *akhāṛā*, a Śaivite monastic establishment.

The ancient educational institutions of the Buddhists grew out of the monastic settlements formed for study of the Law and for periodical retreats during the rainy season. They usually consisted of a communal hall entered by a doorway in front of which was a veranda or portico. The hall contained a cult object and later an image of Buddha. Into this chamber opened a number of small square cells, each equipped with a stone bed, for the members of the brotherhood. Such were the *āvāsa* or abode of a small community of monks, generally situated just outside the towns; the *ārāma* built in groves, usually enclosed by a wall; the *leṇa* for a single small fraternity, usually in a cave. Distant and often solitary retreats included rock caves called *gumphā* in Orissa and *guhā* in some places in South India.

An elaboration of these institutions was the *vihāra* or monastery, a term loosely applied to many kinds of Buddhist monastic establishments such as the chaitya or chapel, sometimes in a cave*, and the larger universities especially the huge aggregations of mahāyāna buildings, and monkish settlements. The earliest vihāras were established in places associated with the life of Buddha such as the vihāras at Kapilavastu (birthplace of Buddha); Budh Gaya (scene of his Enlightenment); Sārnāth (where he preached his first sermon); Kusinagara (where he entered nirvāṇa), and Saheth or Śrāvastī (site of the Jetavana monastery). Bihār is said to derive its name from the fact that the region contained so many of these vihāras.

Among the many important universities in ancient India were the following: Taxila (in Gandhāra*), Nālandā*, Sārnāth and Amarāvatī, which were

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primarily Buddhist; and Banāras*, Kāñchi and Ujjain, which were largely under Hindu influence. Valabhī the Maitraka* centre was a foreign Gurjara foundation, while Ujjain*, famous from early times for mathematics and astronomy, owed a great deal to foreign influence. By the medieval period it was mainly in Bihār and Bengal that the great Indian universities flourished.

Odantapura (or **Udantapura**), was founded by the Pāla king Gopāla only six miles from Nālandā in about AD 745. In 1198 the troops of Ikhtiār Khilji thinking it was a Hindu fort attacked the monastery and put all the monks to the sword. Ikhtiār entered the huge manuscript library and discovered that it was only a place of learning. He called for persons from the surrounding villages to explain the contents of the books but there were no monks left to do so. He then had the buildings and the entire library destroyed except for a few manuscripts which he took to Delhi and presented to his master Kutb-ud-dīn Aibak.

Vikramaśilā, a great Tantrik university established in AD 810 by the Pālā king Dharmapāla, was said to have been built on a low hill 'east of Magadha, on the lower Ganges'. The most famous teacher of this university was Atīśa (or Atīśa Dīpaṅkara) (980–1054) born of the royal family of Gauḍ (Bengal-Assam), who journeyed to Tibet and founded a famous school of Tibetan Buddhism. The Vikramaśilā, like other Tantrik centres, was a hotbed of moral corruption, sorcery and idolatry. In 1198 the soldiers of Ikhtiār Khilji killed every monk in the monastery, razed the structure to the ground and threw the foundation stones into the Ganges. So effectively was this done that the exact site of the university is still unknown.

Somapura situated in the Rājshāhi district of East Bengal, was first founded in AD 480 as a retreat for brāhmins. When Hiuen-Tsang visited the place in AD 639 it contained many Buddhist and Jain temples and monasteries. The site was also selected for a large monastic university by Devapāla in 820. But in 1050 the town was almost entirely wiped out by a brāhmin ruler of East Bengal named Jātavarmā who set fire to it. Though later rebuilt, it was gradually deserted and fell into ruin. It did not, as is sometimes said, suffer destruction at the hands of the Muslims.

Jagaddala, another Tantrik seat of learning was founded in north Bengal by the Pāla king Rāmapāla in 1090. It specialized in logic and the Tantras, and was destroyed by the Muslims in 1207. MITHILĀ, site of Janaka's ancient kingdom, became especially famous between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries for its school of logic. Among its scholars were Gaṅgeśa, Vardhamāna, Sārva-bhauma, and the poet Vidyāpati. It inspired the school of Nadia. NADIA or Navadvīpa, founded in 1450 likewise became a celebrated school of logic and philosophy*.

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EGYPT was the grandam of all civilizations. She had a settled government at a time as far removed from Mohenjodaro as Alexander the Great is from us. Contact with India may have been established as early as the second millennium BC when Egyptian traders visited the shores of the Indus (VIII, p. 60). Among other things, their ships may have inspired the Dravidians to build better craft than the outrigger canoe they had inherited from their Negrito forerunners in India, for we know that the first sea-going vessels of Dravidian navigators closely resembled Egyptian models (V, p. 81).

Objects of Egyptian origin found in the excavations at Mohenjodaro were presumably acquired in the course of trade, but no data is available regarding the cultural exchange that in all probability was the corollary of this mercantile intercourse. Trade between Egypt and India continued for centuries, and when as a result of Greek and Roman competition it began to decline, the Ptolemies established ports on the Red Sea to revive it. Indian imports to Ptolemaic Egypt in the third century BC included Indian dogs and cattle, and Indian slave girls for purposes of prostitution (VI, p. 374).

It is sometimes contended that Egyptian religious influences left their mark on Hinduism, but little can be said with certainty on the subject. It has been urged by exponents of this school of thought that the association of the bull with Śiva and the reverence for the cow in Hinduism are of Egyptian derivation. They find more than coincidence in the triune deities of the Nile Valley and the triads of the Vedic gods; in the common worship of cows, geese, apes, snakes and birds; in the adoration of the phallus of Osiris and the liṅga of Śiva; in the return of Vishṇu as Kalki at the end of time, and the coming of the messianic Osiris. Further analogies were drawn between the theory of the Ages of the Universe as conceived by the Egyptian priests and the Purāṇic yugas; the doctrine mutually held by both of the judgment and transmigration of souls; the Vedic hymns to the sun god Sūrya and the Solar Hymn of King Akhnaton (II, p. 12). Some Hindu scholars go so far as to suggest a Sumero-Egyptian origin for the *Ṛig-veda* and trace the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Egyptian sources (VII, p. 126).

It is held that something more than fortuitous parallel development must account for the significant resemblance between certain Indian and Egyptian proper names; between common styles and motifs in architecture (rock-cut temples, styles of columns, love of pillared halls, the use of fire-baked brick as opposed to the sun-dried bricks of Mesopotamia); and in art (particularly the decorative motifs on pottery, such as the palm and lotus); and in the social organization (both recognize four castes of priests, warriors, traders and slaves).

In the present state of our knowledge it would be profitless to pursue these parallels, or venture with certainty into such a contentious field. What can

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be said with assurance is that for many centuries the stream of Indian history did come in contact with the powerful currents of Egyptian civilization.

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EKANĀTHA (fl. 1560) descendant of a celebrated Mahārāshṭrian saint, lived a simple and saintly life, devoted himself to learning and commented learnedly and lucidly on Vedānta and other philosophies. Another stalwart in the tradition of the Mahārāshṭrian Vaishṇavites, he rendered great service to Marāṭhi literature by editing the *Jñāneśvarī* of Jñānadeva*, which had become thoroughly corrupted during the three hundred years since its composition. Besides a commentary on the eleventh chapter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, he wrote several little narrative pieces and *abhaṅgas* (hymns) which gave wonderful expression to his mystical experiences.

The object of his writings, he stated, was to bring an easy means of salvation within the reach of the ignorant and outcastes, of śūdras and women. The message of religion, he said, was sacred, whether enshrined in Sanskrit or Marāṭhi. 'Was Sanskrit fashioned by God?' he asks, 'and did Marāṭhi spring from thieves?' This view did in fact prevail in his time.

But perhaps Ekanātha's great claim to the remembrance of posterity lies in the many little incidents of his life that show how far he had risen above the caste and sectarian prejudices of his day. On one occasion he gave to the pariahs the food he had specially prepared as an offering to his forefathers. On another he poured the holy water he had brought from the Godāvarī a great distance away, down the throat of a dying ass. He made no distinction between brāhmin and *mahār* (outcaste), ate in the company of untouchables, and consequently suffered much persecution by the brāhmins.

Books

See under Marāṭhi.

ELEPHANT. From the *Ṛig-veda* we see that this creature was a novelty to the Aryan immigrants of the first millennium BC who called it the *mṛiga-hastin*, 'animal with a hand'. It plays an important part in Hindu mythology and figures widely in Hindu art and sculpture. Gaṇeśa* the elephant-headed god has from early times been one of the most popular deities in the Hindu pantheon.

The prototypal elephant was the four-tusked AIRĀVATA, named from 'irāvat' (moisture-possessing) because he emerged from the deep at the

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Churning of the Ocean; he was taken by Indra. Airāvata is also known as Abhra-mātaṅga, 'cloud-elephant'; Arka-sodara, 'the sun's brother'; Nāga-malla, 'elephant of might'; Madāmbara, 'lust-garmented'; Sadā-dāna, 'ever in rut'.

In another version of his origin, Airāvata emerged from the eggshell in the right hand of Brahmā as the god picked up the two halves in his hands after the eagle Garuḍa burst forth from the egg. Seven other male elephants followed, making eight in all. From the shell in Brahmā's left hand appeared eight female elephants, and these eight pairs became the *diggaja* (*dig-gaja*, 'regional elephants') who preside over the directions* or points of the compass, and support the earth.

Airāvata and his mate Abhramū guard the east; Puṇḍarīka and his mate Kapilā the southeast; Vāmana and his mate Piṅgalā guard the south; Kumuda and his mate Anupamā the southwest; Añjana and his mate Añjanā guard the west; Pushpadanta and his mate Subhadantī the northwest; Sārvabhauma and his mate Tāmrakarṇi the north; and Supratīka and his mate Añjanāvatī the northeast.

All elephants had wings in times of yore, and some, notably Abhramū (from *abhra*, 'cloud') were snowy white and represented the clouds. One day a number of elephants alighted on the branch of a tree to listen to the sage Dīrghatamas while he sat giving a discourse to his pupils. The bough broke under the heavy burden, disturbed the saint and killed some of the students. The sage cursed them so that they lost their wings and also their power of changing shape at will.

In the East to this day a white elephant retains its 'cloud-like' symbolism. It is as it were a living rain-cloud, believed to be capable of bringing rain and fertility, and is therefore regarded as very auspicious. The fluid exuded from the temples of the white elephant called *mada* was highly esteemed as a potent aphrodisiac. The fresh dung of this animal was said to generate fertility in a barren woman if she planted her feet in it for the space of one *muhūrta* (about an hour) and had intercourse with her husband immediately thereafter; the urine of the animal if applied to the forehead gave virility to men. The white elephant was never put to work and was always well fed and cared for. Owning such an animal was the prerogative of kings.

Elephants have always been used as mounts of state in all parts of India. The animals, splendidly caparisoned in richly embroidered cloth, decked with ornaments and bells, their headplates studded with metal, their eyes and trunk painted in patterns used from time immemorial, and their broad backs surmounted by an ornate *howdah* or seat (from Arabic *haudaj*), still form the chief attraction of every typically Indian pageant. Till the middle of the last century the elephant procession was followed by a group of attendants in female attire and hermaphrodites in bizarre costumes. The populace shouted remarks of a bawdy nature as they passed by; this demonstration was supposed to bring fertility to the realm. Today elephant processions are more sober.

The art of training elephants was an ancient and honoured one, first perfected by the Austric aborigines. The true exponent showed his skill without using the *aṅkuśa* or goad to excess. The profession of *mahout* as the

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trainer and elephant-keeper is called, was the privilege of a special class who kept their own secrets. Megasthenes described how elephants were cared for by the mahouts of the Mauryan kingdom, and the great skill which was required in capturing and taming them. The wild animals were driven into a stockaded enclosure called a *kheda* and their training started from this place. The mahout had to distinguish the various types of animals; those amenable to the disciplines of the chase and those fit for work or war. Training a war elephant (*see* army) meant teaching it to break down fences, negotiate difficult terrain, trample horses and foot-soldiers underfoot, charge the opposing army, and break through the gates of fortresses. Trained men looked after their welfare, and specialists in their diseases attended to their sickness (cow's milk was prescribed for eye-diseases; pig's fat for boils and sores) and cured their distempers. Among the manuals written on the elephant are *Hastyāyurveda*, attributed to the ancient sage Pālakāpya, and the *Mātaṅga-līlā* by Nīlakaṇṭha.

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(*See also under* Animals.)

ELIGIBILITY for marriage is called *yogyatā*, a term often used in regard to the suitability of a man and a girl for entering into the status of man and wife, considered from the religious and legal standpoint. The śāstras give certain broad guiding principles in the matter which, however, were not necessarily binding on the parties.

Thus, the prospective groom had to be potent; he had to be free from such defects as 'epilepsy, idiocy, leprosy and a large belly'. A moral injunction of Manu's which could be legally disobeyed prohibited the marriage of a man whose elder brother was unmarried, unless the elder brother was under a vow of celibacy. The Vedas further declare that a man may not marry the daughter of his preceptor.

The choice of the bride was not left to the bridegroom. Sexual desire was regarded as impersonal: a man, it was said, can satisfy his needs with almost any woman; and a normal woman can bear children by any normal man. Considerations of caste and propriety are therefore more important factors than romantic love. To choose a girl because one desires her sexually is to invite trouble. The girl was therefore chosen by the parents and, in the past at any rate, the boy as a rule saw his bride for the first time only on the wedding night.

For the bride more stringent qualifications were imposed. She had to be previously unmarried, and should not have started menstruating (this latter condition no longer operative today). She was not to be older than he. She could not marry if her elder sister were unmarried as this defamed her sister. The derogatory term *didhishū* was applied to an unmarried woman whose younger sister was married; the same term was applied to a widow who had married her husband's brother. The śāstras declare, 'the girl must have

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beauty, proportionate limbs, good teeth, firm breasts. She should be neither bow-legged nor have stooping shoulders. She must not have a manly build, nor have too wide a forehead. A girl to be avoided is one whose feet and hands are always moist with perspiration'. The girl's name* was also important.

So diverse were the laws governing the prohibited degrees of the marriage relationship in different parts of India that it is not possible to formulate any general rules of universal applicability. Prohibition of marriage between members of the same *pravara* (those having the same exalted ancestors in the family line), the same *sagotra* (belonging to the same *gotra*), the same *sapiṇḍa* and the same *kula*, varied considerably, and the definitions of who was and who was not eligible were wellnigh infinite.

If anything, Hindus preferred to err on the side of close relationship rather than permit marriages with 'outsiders', the latter being taken to include all those not belonging to the same sub-caste and profession, and not resident in the same district or even in the same village. Thus marriage could be prohibited between persons who, although they belong to the same caste and subcaste, do not reside in the same area. The circle of prohibitory degrees has seldom been so large in any other country, and different *smṛiti* writers lay down different rules.

Hindu marriage rules are fundamentally based on caste considerations, which gave rise to the notions of in-caste and out-of-caste marriages. For example, the *pratiloma* (*prati-loma*, 'counter-hair') or marriage 'against the grain', is regarded as contrary to the prescribed order and to the laws regulating moral conduct. It is a hypogamous marriage, uniting a woman to a man of a lower caste than she is. The lawgivers universally condemn such unions and assign both partners to the nethermost hell. Pratiloma marriages were condemned from earliest days, the invading and conquering peoples who came to India from outside (e.g. the Aryans) invariably regarding themselves as belonging to the higher caste.

The *anuloma* ('with the hair') or hypergamous marriage was the union of a woman with a higher caste male. This marriage though not incurring the same moral censure as a pratiloma union, was not encouraged by any of the lawgivers. Anuloma marriages were the most striking feature of the Vedic and Epic periods. Many brāhmins in Hindu tradition, including writers of Vedic hymns, were begotten by sages on *dāsīs*, female slaves and low-caste women, and Epic and Purāṇic records show that the great dynastic lines formed permanent liaisons with native royal families by marriage with native or aboriginal women. It is to be noted that the dharmaśāstras are unanimous in condemning the offspring of a brāhmin male and a low-caste female as being 'as impure as a corpse'. A conspicuous instance of this form of marriage still surviving is that of Nāir* women and Nambūdri brāhmin males.

The ideal of course is an isogamous union, i.e. the marriage of a man and woman belonging to the same caste. During the early period of Indian history the two higher castes, namely brāhmins and kshattriyas, though isogamous were also universally exogamous in so far as the priestly and princely scions of one race intermarried freely with those of another race. By the Epic period the brāhmins began to be more endogamous, marrying within the specific priestly caste of their own race, province or state. The

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kshattriyas continued to be exogamous and absorbed vast numbers from the warrior tribes of Central Asia (*see* Rājputs).

The rigid endogamy now prevalent among Hindus is a post-Muhammadan phenomenon, attributed to the pressure of circumstances; and two centuries of exogamously-minded European rule, and one century of intensive reform by Hindu champions of more liberal and rational marriage rules have made no appreciable impression on this custom. Today a brāhmin girl of South India would not be given as a bride to a brāhmin of Kashmīr or Bengal.

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(*See also under* Marriage and Sociology.)

ELLORĀ (or Elūrā) in Hyderābād, a site long associated with the exploits of gods and heroes, and the scene of prehistoric cults and blood sacrifices, is today notable for its twelve Buddhist, seventeen Hindu and five Jain vihāras, chaityas and cave temples, carved out of the living rock, a few (e.g. Tīn Thāl Cave) two or three stories high. Their names, Das-Avatāra (Ten Incarnations, *c.* AD 630), Rāvaṇa-ka-khai (Rāvaṇa's Excavations, *c.* AD 640), Sītā-kī-Nahāni (Sītā's Bath, *c.* AD 650) also called Dhumar Leṅā; Indra-sabhā (Indra's Council, *c.* 800), Jagannāth-sabhā (The Council of Jagannāth, *c.* 850), still retain the flavour of the legendary past.

There are many remarkable features about this group of excavations. The tremendous proportions of some of the temples; their long and eerie colonnaded cloisters and strange lighting effects; the cyclopean guardian figures; the unusual architectural devices (such as a roof carved in imitation of ribs in the Buddhist Viśvakarman cave); the wealth of mythological sculpture often of lofty dimensions and majestic conception; the carved grotesques; the repeated motifs (such as a multitude of seated figures listening to the discourse of Buddha); the grace and fluidity of the flying figures; the sensual postures of the *maithuna* couples; the unabashed voluptuousness of the goddesses; and the extraordinary precision of detail in headdresses and ornaments even in the lesser bas-reliefs, make this small temple metropolis one of the most unforgettable of sights.

Several reliefs of a sanguinary nature suggest a hoary antecedent history. Here the gods and goddesses are shown revelling in deeds of cruelty and violence. In one such scene, Śiva, adorned with a cobra headband and armlets embossed with demon faces, is depicted with a gaping maw, baring huge teeth. With his trident he transfixes a victim, holds another by his feet, rattles his drum with sadistic joy and catches the spurting blood to assuage his thirst. Pārvatī his wife armed with a crooked weapon holds out a bowl for her share. Dr J. Burgess opines, 'Only a very diseased imagination could embody a more vivid picture of the terrific'. What cult of Hinduism found its inspiration in such scenes is not known, but it is significant that till the eighteenth century the *Thugs** retained a tradition that the Ellorā caves held all the mysteries of their gory profession, and that the modes of assassination

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and the accompanying rites were all depicted on the walls of the caves for those who had eyes to see.

The most impressive structure in Ellorā is the temple of Kailāsanātha (Śiva's Paradise) built by order of the Rāshṭrakūṭa* king of Mālkhed, Kṛishṇa I (757–800). Although based on the model of a structural temple, it is not built up by extraneous stonework but carved out of the living rock and has, therefore, been called sculptural, but on an altogether stupendous scale. Three great trenches were first excavated out of the hillside leaving behind an island mass of rock, 276 feet long, 154 feet wide, and towering to a height of over 100 feet. Starting from the top the workmen hewed out approximately 200,000 tons of stone with incredible system and prodigious art, completing after almost a century of labour, what has been aptly called one of the greatest architectural monuments in the history of mankind.

Executed in a mixture of Northern and Dravidian styles, the temple complex consists of an entrance gate, a Nandi temple, a circumambulatory passage around the main shrine, two free-standing columns (*dhvaja-stambha*), a flat-roofed hall with sixteen square pillars, the main sanctuary, a liṅga shrine with a *śikhara*, a chapel dedicated to five river goddesses, and five other shrines. The central edifice is supported by eight pairs of elephants, giving the whole an appearance of being carried aloft, like an aerial palace.

As the surrounding area is still *in situ*, the impression created is that the temple is in a pit, but this small drawback cannot take away from the astonishing feat of craftsmanship that went into the 'quarrying' of the edifice. There is a profusion of architectural embellishment, and much sculptural adornment both within and outside the temple, and the various parts are harmoniously conceived and artistically executed.

The copper-plate grant describing the Kailāsanātha temple declares with justifiable pride, 'When the gods moving in their aerial chariots beheld this wonder they were struck with amazement at this self-existent marvel, for such beauty was not to be found anywhere'.

Books

See under Architecture, and Cave Temples.

EMPATHY has a near Sanskrit equivalent in the term *anubhāva*. In Hindu art theory all written, spoken, musical and dramatic works are intended to create in the listener or spectator certain responsive mental states which are referred to as anubhāva, and the arts are regarded as the medium for determining by direct means or by suggestion what his emotional reaction will be. These reactions are the result of 'the interplay of determinants and consequents' and are allied to the *guṇas* (qualities) and the *doshas* (humours). All minor and transitory elements in creative writing and composition are kept subordinate to these basic notions, which are amplified, analyzed and used by the poet and dramatist, but particularly by the theorist, like the men on a chessboard. Two main categories of anubhāva are distinguished, not always consistently, and in fact the terms for both are used interchangeably. They are *bhāva* and *rasa*.

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In general, bhāva or 'emotion' is said to be produced specifically by *nṛitya* or the mimetic arts, but by extension is applied to poetry and music as well. Eight bhāvas are usually listed, with a ninth sometimes added. They are (1) *rati*, 'love', (2) *hāsa*, 'mirth', (3) *krodha*, 'anger', (4) *śoka*, 'sorrow', (5) *utsāha*, 'energy', (6) *bhaya*, 'terror', (7) *jugupsā*, 'disgust', (8) *vismaya*, 'astonishment'; with (9) *śama*, 'tranquillity', added as a ninth bhāva.

The term rasa, 'juice', is used in a variety of contexts. In general it means sap, essence or pith. In āyurveda it applies to the distinctive flavour or taste of things, of which six kinds are distinguished, namely, sweet, salt, bitter, sour, pungent and astringent (*see* medicine). In philosophy rasa is one of the *tanmātra* or subtle substances*.

In literature, rasa is said to be evoked by *nāṭya* or drama, and by poetry. It defines the prevailing sentiment, keynote, tone or mood of a work. Some critics make a distinction between rasa, the genuine emotion, and *rasābhāsa* (rasa-resemblance) which is a travesty of the genuine rasa. In rasābhāsa love becomes pornography, the pathetic or heroic provokes laughter, the astonishing arouses revulsion, and so on.

Traditionally the rasa or mood is based on its corresponding bhāva or emotion, and named as follows: (1) *śṛiṅgāra*, 'erotic', (2) *hāsya*, 'comic', (3) *raudra*, 'furious', (4) *karuṇā*, 'pathetic', (5) *vīrya*, 'heroic', (6) *bhayānaka*, 'terrifying', (7) *bībhatsa*, 'disgusting', (8) *adbhuta*, 'astonishing' or 'wonderful'; to which (9) *śānta* or 'peaceful' is sometimes added.

Books

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EPIGRAPHY takes into account all engravings in any language or script, made on stone, brick or metal, on pillars, caves, temple walls, tablets, idols, relic caskets, coins and so on. India is extremely rich in epigraphic material, the earliest of which goes back to the still undeciphered Indus Valley seals. The most famous of all inscriptions are the rock and pillar edicts of Aśoka (d. 232 BC), the decipherment of which by James Prinsep in 1837 laid the foundations of Indian chronology.

Buddhist texts speak of engravings made on metal plates to perpetuate the teachings of the new religion, and copper sheets were known to have been used for this purpose by the emperor Kanishka (*c.* AD 120). We hear of Buddhist monasteries being endowed with lands which were guaranteed by copper-plate deeds handed down from reign to reign, a fact referred to centuries later by the Chinese traveller Fa-hien when he visited India in AD 410.

The generic term for edicts or deeds of donation is *śāsana*, which term also included royal decrees (*see* law). These were engraved on stone or copper, generally composed in verse. Many ancient inscriptions belong to the *praśasti* class and are panegyrics on kingly patrons. It was once thought that such commemorative records were trustworthy from the chronological point of view since they constituted a form of 'pure' history; but many hundreds of inscriptions, some of comparatively recent date, are now known to be

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spurious, giving fictitious genealogies and false data, and misrepresenting historical events. Great caution therefore has to be taken in attempting to date such inscriptions, particularly after the seventh century AD.

The best-known epigraphic inscriptions after Aśoka are: the **Hāthigumphā** Inscription of the Kaliṅga* king Khāravela; the **Girnār** Inscription (AD 150) of Rudradāman (*see* Śaka) carved on a rock at Girnār (Junagaḍh), written in strictly grammatical Sanskrit prose in the kāvya style. It is the earliest example of any length of high-flown Sanskrit prose. Exhibiting similar features is the **Nāsik** Inscription (*c.* AD 170) of Siri Puḷumāyi, written in Prākṛit prose. It is characterized by the use of enormously long sentences and compounds, with many other mannerisms of the later kāvyas. The **Allāhābād** Inscription (AD 350) a panegyric on Samudragupta, written by Harisheṇa, consists of nine verses in the *vaidarbha* style and a long prose passage. The **Mandasor** Inscription (AD 473) consists of forty-four stanzas composed by the poet Vatsabhaṭṭi to commemorate the consecration of a temple to the sun at Mandasor. Yaśodharma's panegyrics of victory are also inscribed at Mandasor. The inscriptions of the time of Harsha (d. 647) mark the end of the best period of dependable Indian epigraphy.

Books

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EQUANIMITY, in Sanskrit *śama*, is one of the fundamental virtues of Hindu ethics*. Unlike the other major virtues such as *brahmacharya* (continence), *tapas* (asceticism) and *tyāga* (renunciation), which are meant for the select few, śama is to be cultivated by all. 'The householder possessing śama is greater than the ascetic without it'.

Included within this basic quality are lesser virtues which spring from it. These are: *akrodh*, 'non-wrathfulness'; the quality of never losing one's temper. Yudhishṭhira says in the *Mahābhārata*, 'Anger is sinful and causes destruction. No one but the ignorant regards anger as equivalent to energy and power'; *kshamā*, patience, or endurance of difficulties and trials without complaint or retaliation; *kshānti*, forbearance or forgiveness. 'A great virtue, a form of holiness, a mode of sacrifice'; *muditā*, contentment with one's lot, with one's station in life; *śānti*, peace and mental tranquillity; *saṁtosha* (*saṁtosha*), serenity, imperturbability; *titikshā*, patience, fortitude, resignation; *dama*, 'taming', self-restraint, keeping one's passions, greed, lust, envy, under control.

Śama in its more exalted form is equated with *vairāgya*, 'uncolouredness', which implies detachment from and indifference (*upekshā*) to all things that stimulate desire, arouse the passions, and strengthen any of the other virtues or vices.

Excessive preoccupation with things that are beautiful (*see* aesthetics), desirable, enjoyable, was condemned as inappropriate to the ideal of vairāgya.

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The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, echoing a doubtless much earlier saying declares, 'Nothing should be done by a brāhmin for the sake of enjoyment'. All pleasure-givers are like courtesans and pimps, and are condemned as such in the sacred writings. In early Buddhist literature the painter is compared to the purveyor of aphrodisiacs since he creates and offers for sale that which stimulates the grosser senses and dulls the appreciation of higher things. Manu forbids the householder to dance and sing, and reckons architects and actors among unworthy men who should not be invited to sacrifices.

Nothing that is likely to excite admiration, desire, or any related emotions, should be encouraged. The true *vairāgi* remains 'uncoloured' by pleasure or pain, profit or loss, fame or contempt, success or failure, poverty or plenty, sympathy or scorn, love or hate, praise or blame. He makes no distinction between his own relations and total strangers, between world conquerors and penniless beggars, between saints and sinners.

Although the *ṛishis* as a class were conspicuously lacking in this fundamental virtue, one ṛishi was a notable exception. He was Mudgala, a Vedic sage mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the founder of the line of Maudgalya brāhmins. He was famed for his patience, poverty, sanctity and hospitality, and his utterly 'uncoloured' attitude towards all things. He was rewarded with a cruse full of grain which never lessened however much it was used. The sage Durvāsas once sorely tried to tempt him into losing his temper, but Mudgala remained unruffled in spite of the greatest provocation. Durvāsas, himself notoriously short-tempered, was so impressed with the other's equanimity, that he declared the sage would be translated bodily to the realm of the gods. Mudgala, replying that even the joys of heaven must fade, and that in any case he was indifferent to all pleasures, declined the offer. He resumed his meditation, reached a state of absolute quietude and finally merged with the changeless and the eternal.

Among the Hindu sects, the term vairāgi (often written *bairāgi*) is frequently used in an opprobrius connotation, signifying an indifference to the moral injunctions regulating right and wrong, virtue and vice, good and evil. Members of the bairāgi order are found among the Sahajīyā and Chaitanya ascetics, and the sādhus of other sects, especially the Vaishṇavites. Such a bairāgi is usually accompanied by a female *bairāgiṇī* (or *sevadāsī*, 'maid-servant'), a low-caste widow or prostitute who serves as his concubine.

Books

See under Ethics.

ERA. The earliest system employed for reckoning years from a particular fixed event was used by the Seleucids who dated from 312 BC, followed by the Arsacids (Parthians) who dated from 248 BC. Both these peoples ruled areas contiguous to India but left no impress of this important notion on Indian chronological reckoning. We have no evidence of any regular methods of calculating historical periods, within the framework of an era system, being used in India in ancient times. Early dates were all fixed according to the reigning year of the ruling king.

With the advent of the 'barbarians' in the first century BC several systems

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of dating from a popular era were introduced. In the records of the Śakas (i.e. the Scythians, Parthians, Kushāns and Bactrians) the term 'Śaka' was in fact sometimes used to signify 'era'. The two major eras in India, the Vikrama and Śaka were inaugurated by these 'barbarians'.

Vikrama Saṁvat, commencing from 58 BC was according to some authorities first established by the Parthian sovereign Vonones to commemorate the year of his accession and his victory over his rivals. Its use spread from Parthia to India where it was first employed by the Mālava tribe of Ujjain*, and later came to be associated with their semi-mythical king known by his title of Vikramāditya*, after whom it was called the Vikram Saṁvat. Originally the era was referred to as the Kriṭa, i.e. established, Era.

The **Śakābda** (*Śaka-abda* or Śaka Era) is believed to have commenced from the date of the accession of the Kushān king Kadphises II in AD 78, and marks the beginning of another popular era in the history of India. Some historians incline to the view that it was founded by the Śaka ruler Chashṭana, and commenced from the date of his coronation as king of Mālwā and Saurāshṭra. This era was used for centuries by the satraps of western India until long after the decline of Kushān power, and spread throughout the north and the Deccan to become firmly established in Indian chronology. Another theory is that it was introduced by a king named Śālivāhana, with capital at Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarī, who opposed the great Vikramāditya.

Chief of the other Indian eras were the **Kalachuri Era** beginning from AD 248 to commemorate the founding of the Kalachuri dynasty; the **Gupta Era** from AD 320 the date of the establishment of the Gupta dynasty by Chandragupta I; the **Harsha Era** from AD 606, founded by king Harsha of Kanauj; and the **Lakshmaṇa Era** founded in AD 1119 by the Sena kings of Bengal.

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EROTICS. The subject of *kāmaśāstra* or erotics has been very thoroughly expounded by Hindu writers who have covered the whole range of sexual life in all its possible aspects. With rare exceptions, love in Indian literature is an affair of the senses, and the delicacies of the art of love are confined to the bedchamber. But within this limitation the treatment is as exhaustive as can be found anywhere else, including China.

Sexual congress is said to be performed for one of four reasons: for procreation, in which case it takes place between husband and wife; for pleasure, with an experienced woman or a professional courtesan; for motives of power, as when a man desires to triumph over a husband through possessing his wife; and for magical purposes, as in tantrism or other antinomian sects (*see* sex mysticism). Kāmaśāstra is concerned mainly with sexual congress for pleasure, and the means of attaining this end.

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Handbooks on kāmaśāstra* give explicit and exhaustive details on the whole subject of erotics. There are classifications of the various kinds of *śṛiṅgāra* or sensual love*; of the different types of men (*see* man of the world) and women (*see strītantra*), their likes and dislikes, with analyses of their physical peculiarities, and with many fanciful schemes for achieving the right combination for a prolonged and satisfying sexual union. Women were regarded as areas of voluptuousness (*vakshaṇā*), and whether young or old, virgin or married, princess or servant, were fair game for the predatory male. One was advised, however, to avoid congress with the wife of a brāhmin or with a queen.

There are chapters on the etiquette of the approaches leading to love; hints on courtship, and the choice of a go-between for sending presents and fixing time and place for the assignation with the beloved. Maidens usually prefer a personal approach, and married women a go-between. Useful as messengers are a nurse, widow, hawker, artisan, gardener, mendicant, priest, nun, fortune-teller, brāhmin, servant. Payment to such agents may be made in money; but in the case of women (nurse, widow, nun, priestess) there may be a demand for sexual satisfaction in return, and this may be acceded to. The time and place for union are also dwelt on, with suggestions for the periods of day or night appropriate for the purpose. These vary with the seasons and with the man's and woman's horoscope, but, it is added, the wise lover need not wait for the right conjunction of stars but may accept as auspicious any suitable occasion that arises.

The proper type of apartment receives special consideration. The sexual act should not be performed in a holy place, or in one that is evil-smelling, and above all not at a roadside inn frequented by travellers*. Those who have intercourse in such places attract evil beings who infect the woman's womb, producing illness both mental and physical. The best place is a bedchamber within a private house. The type of house, the size of the chamber, the furniture and appurtenances, the direction of the beds, are described. There should be no sacred fire nearby, and the chamber should be one reserved only for sleeping. The air should be made fragrant with incense and the head of the coital bed bedecked with flowers. Music should be heard: joyous for the experienced women, doleful if she is a virgin. A spittoon must be placed near the bed, since vapours and phlegm created during the act are very poisonous and must be expectorated (*see* saliva).

When the woman arrives, the man should rise from his seat accompanied by his servants, extend his left hand to her and formally receive her, drawing her into the chamber, and make her sit on his left. He should begin by gently caressing her hands, hair and arms, and then slowly proceed to untie the knot of her undergarment, all the while interspersing his approach with jests and light conversation. By further suggestive talk he should arouse her passions, and when he sees that she desires him he should dismiss the servants.

There is much information on the techniques of seduction*, and methods of attracting and making love to a virgin*, including the rite of first intercourse, the act of union with a mistress, another's wife, a woman of superior status, an inferior, a courtesan, and a prostitute. There are disquisitions on the type of conversation to be employed: one kind is intended to put a woman at ease,

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another more intimate talk in a low tone is designed to inflame her passions, and so on. The elementary tactile approach consists of holding and squeezing the hand; and the kiss (see below) in all its varieties. Further chapters lead one through the more advanced love-games and all the varied stages of the actual act till its final consummation* and conclusion (*see* vega).

The whole love-drama must be pleasantly rounded off. Vātsyāyana and other exponents describe the last phase as follows: After the act the lovers go to different wash rooms, behaving as if they were strangers and avoiding each other's glances. On return from their ablutions their shyness disappears and they sit together on the terrace, and while enjoying the cool air, eat sweetmeats, drink milk (this is especially recommended) or mutton-broth, followed by fried meats, fruit-juices and fruit, and share betel-leaves. The couple finally go to sleep but on different beds from that on which they had congress, as the sacred texts forbids sleeping on the coital couch. The ideal time taken for the whole act from the woman's arrival at the house to the post-coital sleep is one *yāma* (three hours).

Most treatises go on to perverse* practices, such as group union and mutual satisfaction, as was common in *strīrājya**, oral congress, sodomy, homosexuality and bestiality*, flagellation and the use of artificial contrivances (*see* olisboi). There are also hints for the courtesan and eunuch, and descriptions of life in harems*. For those whose powers are jaded or flagging as a result of excess or age, special methods are prescribed for increasing virility*.

All this material is usually interspersed with digressions on metaphysics, yoga, *siddhis*, and the magical virtues of semen, the dangers of menstrual* blood, the symbolism of the liṅga* and the yoni*, cellular 'reverberation' and rejuvenation, and how the sex rite can be used as a means of breaking the endless cycle of birth-death-rebirth and attaining immortality.

Vātsyāyana in his classic *Kāmasūtra* devotes thirty-four *sūtras* (aphorisms) to the *chumbana* or kiss, and others likewise treat of it separately and in great detail. The authorities describe three kinds of kisses to indicate respect, three kinds to be used for modest occasions; two in which the upper lip and two in which the lower lip is employed; four using both lips; three inside the mouth; six on other parts of the body; there are also six to eight miscellaneous kisses. The kiss involves the use of the lips, tongue and teeth, and its variations run through the whole gamut, from the gentle pressure of the mouth, the hard pressure with closed or open lips, to *chūshaṇa* or sucking, and *daṁśana* or biting.

There are different kinds of kisses for maidens, wives and mistresses, and variations on these for different occasions. Among them are the nominal kiss (just a peck), the straightforward kiss (lips squarely on lips), the slanting (lips placed diagonally), the upturned kiss (while the girl sits, the man standing behind her turns up her face and kisses her upside down); the tongue kiss (e.g. the tongue is contracted to a point and introduced into the female mouth, and then 'broadened and made to quiver'); the fruit kiss (squeeze the lower lip of the girl to form an O-shaped fruit, and then kiss); the fighting tongue (both tongues mutually explore and fight); the lip-hold (where the lover grasps the woman's lips with his—not recommended for a man with a moustache). Parts of the body to be kissed include lips, cheeks, neck, breasts,

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navel. People of Lāṭa kiss the thigh-joints, armpits and yoni, but this is not approved and should be avoided. A woman is also permitted to take the initiative in kissing a man. One text advises that the woman should 'suddenly hold the lower lip of the unsuspecting man between her teeth, strain her limbs, and with eyebrows dancing, and eyeballs sportively rolling, laugh derisively'. Kissing a man's toes is both pleasing to the man and meritorious for the woman. Kissing, it is to be remembered, is a sensual act, and should never be performed in public.

The term *prahaṇana*, 'combat', is reserved in the kāmaśāstras for the 'love-combat'. Love making is frequently described as a refined form of battle. The man attacks, the woman resists, and by means of the subtle interplay of advance and retreat, assault and defence, desire is mutually built up and the final result is a delightful victory for both parties.

Women are aroused by a show of strength, men by a show of resistance. At the height of passion one's exalted consciousness is satisfied only by a more intensive stimulation, often through sadistic acts; one's senses become dulled to the unpleasantness of pain and in fact find a sharp delight in it. 'Just as a galloping horse overlooks the pitfalls in its path, so do ravished lovers indulge in the battle of love and ignore the pains of the conflict'.

Prahaṇana is thus an essential concomitant of the act of mating. During the operation one may bite, scratch and pull the hair of the partner, beat or slap with the open palm, the back of the hand, the side of the hand, the half-open fist and the closed fist, especially on the shoulders, back, bosom and buttocks. A sound lambasting of the man by the woman if he has failed to satisfy her and even after he has done so is also recommended. Such blows should be delivered on the man's chest with closed fist, or with the open palm on his cheeks or the back of the neck.

One must be careful, however, not to be too violent because at the height of passion neither the active nor the receiving partner is always aware of the severity of the blows. Vātsyāyana who gives this warning points out that a king of the Chola country killed a courtesan by striking her in the bosom in a manner not prescribed; and another record reveals that a princess of Pañchāla bit the neck of her lover so hard that he bled to death.

The term *kāmāṅka* (*kāma-aṅka* 'love-mark') is used for any marks made by the nails (*nakha*) and teeth (*dānta*) of the lovers during love-play. The codes declare,

'Scratches, pinches and bites inflame the passionate, agitate the unresponsive, frighten the hesitant into submission, and induce confidence in maidens. They are jewels presented by men and women to their partners serving as reminders of their energy and talent, and thus help to refresh and fortify love and desire.'

Kālidāsa describes how the beautiful Pārvatī when looking at herself in the mirror after the sexual embraces of Śiva experienced once again the feeling of *trapā* (shame) and *romāñcha* (horripilation) and a sense of ecstatic thrill at the sight of the love bites left on her body by her divine spouse.

Different shapes of scratches and bites are described, the number varying from eight to twelve of each kind. Thus, nail marks may be shaped like a

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crescent, circle, lotus, tiger's claw, etc.; and the various fingers employed to make them and the parts of the body best suited for each type of mark are set forth. The left hand is preferred for inflicting such marks, and nails cut into jagged edges like a saw-blade are said to afford the keenest thrills. Teeth marks are also named, like 'spot-bite', 'coral-chain', 'elephant-tusk', 'broken-cloud', and so forth. All these require skill in execution and can only be perfected through practice.

The thumb-nail edge is audibly clicked against the other nails and the teeth clicked and gnashed passionately as a preamble to the love act to prepare the woman for the attack. Nails and teeth may be pressed deep into the flesh without leaving any abrasion to 'induce a hair-raising feeling' that reaches downward towards the sexual regions. Or else they can be used to lacerate the skin and even draw blood.

The textbooks suggest a variety in teeth and nail marks, and in fact there is a subtle game in their execution. Thus if a man makes a 'spot-bite' mark on the woman, she should counter with a 'cow's ear'; if he pinches with a 'half-moon' she should retaliate by pinching in the 'broken brinjal' style. During intercourse with another man's wife, a lover should avoid leaving marks, or if made, they should be in hidden parts like the thigh joints. To declare his ardent feelings a man may make marks with his nails or teeth on a bhūrja leaf and send it to his lady love. The sight of it will often be sufficient to inflame her desire.

The vocal sounds accompanying violent passion and acts of sadism and flagellation, are called *śītkṛita*, derived from the exclamation *śī* (or *śīt*) uttered with clenched teeth and a slow expulsion of breath when one is in the thrall of intense pleasure. Other inarticulate erotic sounds are *hīṁ* (like the neighing of a horse), *hroṁ* (like a snore), *hāṁ* (like an irrepressible sigh), *sūsū* (like hushing a baby), *phūphū* (like the sound of a berry falling into a pond), *achchhāsh* (like the sound of a bamboo being split). One may likewise try sobbing, cooing, moaning, groaning, and various animal sounds such as humming, hissing, clucking, chirping, quacking, mewing, barking, mooing, roaring, bellowing. Meaningful phrases are also helpful such as, 'I am dying', 'Spare me', 'Kill me', 'I can endure no more'.

A clever woman knows to a nicety when to use which kind of sound. Thus 'When a woman is struck in the *apahastaka* manner (i.e. with the back of the hand) on the top of the shoulder, she should shriek like a quail; and when in the *samatalaka* manner (with an evenly opened palm) on the left buttock she should utter the sound of the splitting bamboo'.

The term *bandhana* 'tying', is used in the kāmaśāstra to denote the different postures assumed by the partners during the love embrace. It has a twofold meaning. Firstly, it applies to the pre-coital positions, i.e. the disposition of the head, arms and legs prior to the sexual act. These positions are known as *āliṅgana*, of which sixteen main variations are cited: four while standing, four while sitting, four while lying down, and four miscellaneous. The 'accidental' brush of a man's body against a woman's breasts as she passes him, the touch of his foot and hers, and similar suggestive overtures are not included among the āliṅganas.

The classical āliṅganas are named and described, but not always con-

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sistently. Thus in *vṛikshadhirodha* (*vṛiksha*, 'tree'; *adhi*, 'upwards'; *rodha*, 'restraining') 'a woman, placing one of her feet on the man's foot, entwines her other leg around his thigh, while with her left hand she catches hold of his hair, pulls his face down and pretends that she beholds something extraordinary in him, and with her right hand gripping his shoulder she attempts to climb him as if he were a tree, and failing to reach his lips utters low shrieks and love-filled coos, to show her disappointment and passion'. In the *jaghanopagūḍha* (*jaghana-upagūḍha*, 'buttock-embrace') 'the woman dishevels her hair, uplifts her jaghana and presses it against the man's liṅga, inviting him for union. The woman appears most beautiful to the man, displaying as she does the large and pleasing shape of her jaghana'. In yet another, she stifles him with her bosom, falls on the couch drawing him on top of her. In various other āliṅganas the lovers mutually caress, stroke and pound each other and indulge in erotic battle, 'impervious to any damage to their limbs'.

Secondly, the term is used for the postures assumed by the partners during coition, and these are the bandhanas proper. It suggests the bodily 'knot' formed by the man and woman in physical union. The advantages of various attitudes are debated by every writer on the subject. The original study appears to have been Chinese in origin, for with the Chinese the Art of the Bedchamber was a subsidiary branch of medicine, and sex postures were used therapeutically in various ailments. The 'copulatory āsanas' of Hindu erotics were clearly based on Chinese example, but in the process of adoption much of the finesse was lost and a crude sexuality substituted.

According to Vātsyāyana there are eighty-four basic postures in all, each with its own particular virtue, though one of his commentators lists 729 variant postures. All of course cannot be assumed by a single pair since their utility and practicability are confined to specific couples, depending on the physical peculiarities of the genitalia, both physiological and dimensional. Some again are suggested by the exigencies arising from difference in stature, states of pregnancy, illnesses of various kinds, protuberant belly, excessive fat of the gluteal area, excessive flesh on the thighs, and various other physical needs.

Postures are named after the cow, mule, donkey, cat, dog, tiger, frog, etc., and while employing those postures the peculiar sounds of these animals may be imitated to enhance enjoyment. The chief types of bandhana are divided into those performed while standing, leaning against a pillar, sitting, half-reclining, reclining, flexed, extended, face to face, front to back, lateral or sideways, astride, upside down and reverse. These are not mutually exclusive and may be used in combination to provide all possible shades of physical sensation. Vātsyāyana recommends that when the woman finds the partner is tired 'she may roll him over and assume the duties of a man'.

The coital movements accompanying the bandhanas are descriptively named 'nail-fixing', 'a pair of tongs', 'spinning the top,' 'biting the boar', 'churning the milk', 'sparrow-playing', 'swinging union', 'squeezing the mango' and so on. Vātsyāyana wisely adds that although there are over eighty ways of performing the sexual act according to the order of the *śāstras* (manuals on the subject), once the wheel of passion is set in motion the

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lovers may work out their own postures since at that stage 'there is no śāstra and no order'.

Books

See under Kāmaśāstra.

ESCHATOLOGY, the doctrine of 'final' matters, like death, judgment, and life after death, is in Hinduism based on the notion of karma*, which determines the *pretya-bhāva* or 'after-death state' of the soul, since it is held that man will earn the reward or punishment strictly according to the final account of his actions on earth.

After death a man's body perishes, but the soul, or as it is called at this stage, the *preta*, 'ghost', remains for a few days on earth (*see* obsequies) until it is ready to be judged. During their further existence in the next world, souls are provided with an ethereal garment to wear when they go to be judged. Judgment takes place in the judgment hall of Yama* king of the dead and the underworld. The thoughts, intentions, desires and deeds of the soul are read out, both good and bad, an assessment made, and judgment passed.

One view is that after cremation the souls of the extremely virtuous and god-like, which are utterly without a trace of sin, ascend by a series of stages known as the *deva-yāna*, 'god-path', through flame to day, from day to the light-half of the moon, thence to that part of the year illuminated by the sun in its northward journey; from there the path lies through the year, the sun, the moon, and the lightning, and ultimately to Brahma-loka (*see* paradise). For those who have achieved this state there is no return to the human condition. The blest 'leave behind sickness of body and all deformities' and their consciousness is constantly expanded through contemplation of the divine unity, and thus they proceed from illumination to illumination, wrapt in inexpressible bliss.

Others who have devoted themselves generally to acts of merit and virtue and whose transgressions are insignificant, ascend by stages called the *pitṛi-yāna* or 'father's path', which proceeds by way of the moon, ether, wind, clouds, and rain, to Svarloka, a lesser paradise, where in company with the other blessed inhabitants they enjoy the full reward of their good deeds. But their stay is not permanent and in due time they are reborn as men of higher status, such as brāhmins, princes and nobles. Another version of the pitṛi-yāna is that it lies in the gloomy world of the ancestors, who are dependent for their sustenance and their welfare on the righteous actions of their living descendants, such as the regular performance of the postmortem *śrāddha* ceremonies, the proper tending of the sacrificial fires, and begetting sons to continue these rituals. In some tenuous way connected with this destiny is the notion of *punar-mṛityu*, 'again-death', a second death alluded to in the Brāhmaṇas, which is suffered by those who have failed to perform the necessary sacrifices, or did not possess the redeeming knowledge.

Those whose final account shows a balance on the debit side and whose souls are noticeably contaminated by sin go to one of the lesser hells*, where they are punished for shorter or longer periods until their sins are expiated.

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They are then reborn on earth in one of the lower castes, or as men of inferior status, or even as beasts, birds, insects, worms or plants. In the Code of Manu it is stated that the person who steals gold becomes a rat; he who steals uncooked food becomes a hedgehog; he who steals money becomes a stinging insect; the murderer becomes a tiger, and so on. Often the sins of a single lifetime can only be expiated through a series of successive rebirths as a camel, dog, pig, goat, rat and other animals.

Those who have been unremittingly evil are consigned to the lowest of the hells, and here they are burned, flayed, and tormented till the end of time. Madhva* is notable among the greater Hindu philosophers for his belief in eternal damnation, but lesser thinkers have also held the same belief.

This ceaseless journey of the soul, this motion on the cosmic 'existence-wheel' (*bhava-chakra*), this relentless cycle of coming and going, of birth and death and rebirth is known as *saṁsāra* (*saṁ-sāra*, 'trans-migration'), signifying the flow of the soul from form to form, from body to body. Saṁsāra thus invariably involves reincarnation, or the re-embodiment of the soul in varying forms.

The idea of the transmigration of the soul, or metempsychosis, was not a cardinal belief of the original Aryan tribes, and seems to have been acquired by them from the Negrito and Austric aboriginals of India. In one passage in the *Ṛig-veda* the soul is said to 'depart to the waters or the plants'. Another passage voices the hope, 'May I be freed from death as a cucumber from its stalk', and some scholars discern here the germ of the theory. But nevertheless it would appear that the general acceptance of the doctrine was a post-Vedic growth. It was first formulated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and repeated with varying stress in the Upanishads, the Code of Manu and the Purāṇas.

Saṁsāra has been termed the nightmare of Hinduism. Sanskrit texts speak of it as the Great Fear which is more terrifying than the idea of hell, for the ordinary man has no prospect of ever getting out of this eternal cycle. Saṁsāra is latent in karma, and rebirth is therefore karma manifest. The essence of salvation for the Hindu, as for the Buddhist, is the cessation of this wheel of birth-death-rebirth, and the whole purpose of Hindu philosophy is the attainment of *moksha* or 'deliverance' from the dread bondage of repeated and endless rebirths.

The means of attaining release from saṁsāra constitute the many different *mārga** or paths; they include good deeds, sacrifice, asceticism, knowledge, and various difficult mental disciplines, all too arduous for the feeble powers of the average man. The first definite break from these paths came with the doctrine of the saving power of *bhakti** or faith and loving devotion to the deity. Hindu soteriology in its present form is post-Christian and bears definite marks of Christian inspiration. In India the saviour gods are Vishṇu, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa, faith in whose redeeming grace is sufficient to absolve one from all the sins inherent in karma, and to ensure one's eternal salvation.

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ESPIONAGE ranked among the main instruments of statecraft in ancient India, and the *praṇidhi* or spy was regarded by experts on polity as an indispensable adjunct to sound government. All writers on *arthaśāstra* (economics) and *nītiśāstra* (politics) have dealt exhaustively with this important arm of administration, both in peace and war, both within and outside the state.

Ancient Indian states were served by a complex organization of spies, informers and denouncers. Immediately after the king appoints his ministers, says Kauṭilya, he should proceed to create his corps of intelligence agents, and subsequent writers on the subject invariably echoed this advice. The ruler was naturally expected to discover the state secrets of neighbouring powers, their strength and weakness, their military potential. But equally important was the work of the spy within the king's own realm, for without spies the essential element of government, namely, the *daṇḍa**, intimidation and coercion, could not be brought into operation.

Although himself sleeping the king is ever awake through his spies. They should be spread both among friends and enemies, for friends are only friends as long as it is expedient to call them so; they are in effect potential enemies. Kālidāsa speaks of spies as 'rays of political light', for the intelligence they bring is like a bright beam in a dark place. But one spy should not know another, and there were consequently spies to spy on spies, and more spies to spy on those spies. Throughout Hindu history the espionage system was thorough and ruthless in its operation, and worked with a remarkable efficiency.

The chief quality of a spy is his ability to get information without seeming to do so. He must determine from gesture and pose, from expression and hint, something of the mind of a would-be informant. Such an informant often operated from the home or village. An agent known as the *gopā*, 'protector', familiar with the people of his own district kept a minute record of the activity of a certain number of houses in his village which he communicated at intervals to his principal. Hardly any likely source of information was overlooked and spies were recruited from all walks of life. The bogus ascetic with his trained disciples operating in a neighbouring state would be the centre of a reconnaissance network; temple agents, including priests and worshippers would gather information from the devout; convicts sent to prison to mix with other inmates would elicit confidences from them. Barbers, fruit-sellers, itinerant vendors, dancers, actors, singers, musicians, rope-walkers, wrestlers, jugglers, bards, pimps and perfumers, were all employed for the same purpose. And of course full use was made of the *demimonde*, of female slaves, prostitutes and go-betweens, many of whom were specially trained in espionage.

Wandering spies posing as merchants, travellers or pilgrims, were a fruitful source of information. The word *chāra*, 'wandering', was often used as a synonym for spy, and *chāra-chakshus*, or 'using spies for eyes' was a recognized method of obtaining *gūḍha* or secrets of state. Liquor shops particularly were a favourite field for spies, for the loosened tongue was free with information, often of great value to the state. The secretariat was another hotbed of espionage, and a very careful watch was kept on government officials.

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Secret agents were frequently delegated to shadow Ministers to ensure that they did not intrigue with foreign powers or give away state secrets.

Books

See under Politics.

ETHICS. There are few systematic treatises dealing with the theory of Ethics or Moral Philosophy as such, although much material pertaining to human ends and the norms of moral conduct is scattered throughout Sanskrit metaphysical writings.

The *summum bonum* in Hinduism encompasses a wide field. Human nature being what it is, the *purushārtha*, 'human object' or aim of human existence is diverse, and is considered as having a fourfold direction. These four goals are (1) *artha*, wealth or material power and possessions, which is the domain of politics*, statecraft, economics and so on; (2) *kāma*, or physical love, the domain of *kāmaśāstra* or erotics*; (3) *dharma** or righteousness, concerned with ethics and law; and (4) *moksha*, or salvation through spiritual knowledge, the domain of religion and yoga; hence moksha is spoken of as the *paramārtha* or 'highest wealth'.

There is no exact Sanskrit equivalent for the meaning implicit in the word Ethics. *Dharma* or morality has a very wide connotation and its interpretations overlap into areas of religion and social law, and even the transcendent cosmic law governing the universe. The term *vinaya* is perhaps nearer to the concept intended, for it implies *sucharita*, 'good conduct' or right behaviour, and *sukṛita*, 'good deeds', particularly ritual performance. Another term is *āchāra*, 'well-going', generally signifying respect for custom, law and usage in religious, ceremonial and personal life; it thus covers most of the ethical and religious virtues, including the socially accepted rules as well as those made obligatory by scripture. Individual acts of goodness (e.g. charity, forgiveness) are believed to add to the sum total of one's moral worth and are described as possessing *puṇya*, or 'merit'. Such acts are favourable factors in determining the karma, and earn one considerable grace in the next life.

Much may be learned about the guiding tenets of Hindu ethics by studying what are known as the *guṇāguṇa* (*guṇa-aguṇa*, 'virtues and vices') which are implicit in much of Hindu law as found in the dharmaśāstras. Along with a knowledge of the Vedas and śāstras, and the scholastic requirements of the individual schools, Hinduism upholds certain ethical principles which are elaborated under the headings of specifically named virtues and vices. The virtues demand the observance of certain duties and holy vows* (*vrata*) which lead to spiritual perfection; and the vices comprise their opposites or enemies and must be avoided at all costs.

The lists of these ethical 'requirements' vary considerably. In yoga philosophy they are given under two categories. The first is *yama* (which is also the first stage of Yoga) translated as restraint, physical discipline and self-control, and includes abstinence from violence, from untruth, and from theft, sensuality and greed. The term is sometimes used for a duty of paramount importance; or an imperative injunction. The second is *niyama* (which is also the second stage of Yoga) and constitutes internal disciplines

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like penance, meditation, purity, listening to religious discourses, sacrifices and charity. The term is sometimes applied to minor rules of observance, such as those relating to bathing, offerings and gifts.

The Upanishads mention several recognized virtues, e.g. non-injury (*ahiṁsā**), truth* (*satya*), non-stealing (*asteya*), continence* (*brahmacharya*), friendliness (*maitrī*), duty (*dharma*), compassion* (*karuṇā*), fortitude (*vīrya*), self-restraint (*dama*), and purity* (*śaucha*). Patañjali's list includes non-injury, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession (*aparigraha*). Later works laid stress on the sectarian virtues of *śraddhā* (belief) and *bhakti** (faith and devotion to god).

The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* outlines its own three cardinal virtues which it embodies in a little legend. Gods, men and demons once went to their common father, Prajāpati, and asked for guidance in the matter of the chief virtues. To all three of them he gave answer by uttering the syllable *da*. This was interpreted by the inquirers as follows: the gods took it to mean *dama*, 'taming' or self-control; men took it to mean *datta*, 'giving' or charity; and demons took it to mean *daya*, or mercy. This profound lesson is repeated, says the Upanishad, whenever the thunder says 'da-da-da'.

Other texts prescribe the *shaṭsaṁpat* (*shaṭ-saṁpat*, 'six-accomplishments') or major virtues under which most of the others are subsumed. They are variously listed from among the following: equanimity* (*śama*); self-control (*dama*); patience (*titikshā*); belief (*śraddhā*); compassion (*karuṇā*); non-violence (*ahiṁsā*); continence (*brahmacharya*); asceticism* (*tapas*); renunciation (*tyāga*) and indifference (*vairāgya*).

The lesser virtues include restraint (*alobha*); dietary moderation (*mitāhāra*); purity* (*śaucha* or *śuddhi*); non-stealing (*asteya*), which includes the absence of covetousness and envy; and fearlessness (*abhaya*).

The enemies of the virtues, and the thoughts and deeds inimical to the accumulation of merit and the salvation of the soul, are the various sins* and evils collectively referred to as *dosha*.

Through the ages the prescriptions of *sanātana-dharma* or 'eternal law' implicit in the Vedas and dharmaśāstras, have been slowly transmuted with the changing conditions in society. Both the indigenous and Aryan religions underwent modification after the Aryan invasion. Further changes were wrought under the influence of Buddhism, and subsequently by the impact of Persian, Greek, Barbarian, Muslim and European civilizations which have in some cases radically altered the immemorial norms. This change is accepted by the Hindus on the principle of *āpad-dharma* or dharma during distress or adversity under which the old order may be adapted to suit new circumstances. The fact that the law does not demand the impossible, and that a new environment may render old observances impracticable is a mitigating factor in the acceptance of this change. Finally, this being the Kaliyuga, the last, Black Age of mankind, the ancient promulgations can in any event no longer be regarded as having universal validity.

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ETYMOLOGY and exegesis of the more difficult words of the Vedas, their origin, derivation and interpretation, with a view to a better understanding and exposition of the Vedic texts is called *nirukta*, and is regarded as one of the Vedāṅgas. The study was founded on the *nighaṇṭu* or lexicons, which were collections of obsolete and obscure Vedic words and synonyms based on their verbal and occult relationship. There were five such lexicons in the time of Yāska. Later compilations were the *anu-kramaṇi*, 'enumeration of steps', which provided a table of contents and an index of hymns, giving the exact number of hymns, verses, words and syllables, as a means of preserving the accuracy of the Vedic texts and elucidating their mutual relationships.

Yāska (see below) was the most notable of the early exegetists, but he mentions seventeen predecessors, among them ŚĀKALYA, a theologian and grammarian*, ŚĀKAPŪṆI, of probable Śaka origin who arranged a portion of the *Ṛig-veda* and appended a glossary, and KAUTSA, who went so far as to assert that the science of Vedic exposition was valueless since the Vedic hymns and formulas were obscure, mutually contradictory and often either meaningless or false.

The treatise of YĀSKA (320 BC) is regarded as the standard work on Vedic etymology and exegesis; it is besides the earliest specimen of classical Sanskrit prose. In this treatise Yāska explains the meanings of words and investigates their origins, illustrating his theme with Vedic references. He himself attempts to interpret only a few of the Ṛig-vedic hymns, offering a choice of meanings and alternative renderings.

Related to this work, although not included among the vedāṅgas, are two works of major importance. One is a glossary by AMARA (also known as Amarasiṁha) (fl. AD 650) a Buddhist and reputedly one of the nine gems at the court of the legendary king Vikramāditya. His work entitled the *Kosha* or treasury, and also known as *Amara-kosha*, occupies the same dominant position in Sanskrit lexicography as Pāṇini's work does in Sanskrit grammar. The other work on etymology, which came over five centuries later was the *Abhidhāna* or word-book by the Jain writer Hemachandra (thirteenth century).

Perhaps the most famous of the commentaries on the *Ṛig-veda*, written more than twenty-five centuries after the hymns, was by the celebrated SĀYAṆA (1320–87) brother of the āyurvedic authority Mādhava. Sāyaṇa's monumental *Vedārtha-prakāśa* ('Veda-meaning elucidation'), explains or paraphrases every word of the hymns of the *Ṛig-veda*. His exegesis often departs from Yāska's.

Valuable as their expositions are, neither Yāska nor Sāyaṇa were able to shed light on the significance of scores of Vedic obscurities. Modern European scholars attacked the problem afresh. Rudolph von Roth for instance expressed the view that a qualified Western philologist was better able to

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arrive at a true interpretation of the *Ṛig-veda* than a brāhmin interpreter. With the resources provided by modern scientific research in the field of comparative philology European experts were in fact able to shed light on the meaning of Vedic words that had been lost for almost three thousand years.

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EUROPEANS first came to India in about AD 1500. For more than two hundred years they contented themselves with trade. Expansion began in earnest by the middle of the eighteenth century, and the British Empire in India was established just over a hundred years ago. Effective European influence in India is thus only about two centuries old, and although in this brief span they could not match the splendour of Moghul achievements, there is no single aspect of Indian life that has not been touched, and often transfigured, by European contact in general and British inspiration in particular.

These enterprising foreigners came from many parts of Europe, and though few, exerted an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. They brought with them discipline, daring and modern science, and in some cases a passion for the spread of Christianity. When Vasco de Gama was asked the object of his visit to India he surprised the Zamorin of Calicut by replying, 'Christians and spices'.

Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese of Jewish origin, represented the vanguard of the European adventurers. He set sail from Lisbon to find a way to India that would avoid payment of monopoly duties to the Sultan of Egypt. His three tiny ships rounded the Cape of Good Hope and anchored off Calicut on May 27, 1498. In his wake the Portuguese captured Goa in 1510, and subsequently acquired Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Bombay, San Thomé near Madras, and Hugli in Bengal.

The Dutch followed shortly after and established factories at Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Chinsura (1653), Cassimbazar, Patna, Balasore and Negapatam (1659), and Cochin (1663). The Ostend Company, organized by merchants of Flanders was formally chartered in 1722. In battles between the Dutch and their English rivals, there were German mercenaries on both sides fighting on Indian soil.

The Danes came in 1616 and set themselves up on the Malabār coast. They too had an important trading post at Serampore, called Fredericksnagore, after King Frederick of Denmark; it was sold to the British in 1845. The French East India Company was formed in 1664 and acquired a settlement at Pondicherry ten years later. In 1731 a Swedish East India Company was founded. Belgian, Italian and Spanish traders also came in small numbers.

If the British did not exactly acquire their empire 'in a fit of absent-mindedness', there is some truth in George Bernard Shaw's statement that their gaining it was 'quite unintentional'. It grew up from the few scattered

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factories that had been built up as headquarters for trading organizations, was further enlarged by the accidents of good fortune and grasped opportunities, and its final consolidation was the result of a combination of luck, greed and grit.

The English East India Company was founded in 1600 by Royal Charter which granted them 'the monopoly of commerce in eastern waters', and they began to trade on the west coast of India in 1612, while Shakespeare was still alive. In 1640 they had set themselves up in Madrās, at that time a scattering of mud huts. In 1661 they came into possession of the fishing village of Bombay, and a few years later established themselves in a marshy and barren site that later grew into the city of Calcutta.

With the coming of the British the whole apparatus of modern government and administration came into existence. From then on the process of westernization may be viewed as a panorama of activities along a very wide front. In the fields of scholarship, literature, law, religion, and administration, this process had far-reaching effects.

The great classics of India, the Vedas, Upanishads, Dharma-śāstras, the dramas and *kāvyas*, were made known to a larger circle of Hindus through the critical translations of European scholars. It was the zeal and industry of the great Indologists* which gave the first impetus to the modern study of the classics in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and it was through their translations that the Indian intelligentsia began to appreciate the higher things in their own literature (VIII, p. 270). Incalculable credit is also due to those forgotten geniuses, the authors of the district gazetteers which long remained source-books of Indian scholarship.

Says K. M. Panikkar, 'The truth, which we should not forget, is that except in the fields of music and literature, we had ceased to be the heirs of our own culture'. Ellorā, Ajantā, and Mahābalipuram were unknown even to the educated Indian, and the temples of Orissa, the Chola bronzes and the sculpture of Elephanta meant little or nothing to him.

The enthusiasm of foreign missionaries for the spread of Christianity, although periodically quenched by the British government, gave all the major Indian languages their first dictionaries, their first systematic grammars, their first critical texts. When they were at last permitted to establish schools, they laid the foundation of the modern Indian educational system.

Every great writer and thinker of the day felt the impact of these forces, and their writings helped to change the direction of Hindu thought and literature. Apart from the towering personalities who dominated the Indian literary scene, there were others who possessed able pens but lacked the imagination to create original works. So, they simply took the stories from the West and re-wrote them in the vernaculars with slight alterations, passing them off as original tales. The number of novels, plays, short stories and ballads that were brazenly lifted from the European classics passes computation. Dickens' heroes appeared in dhotis, and the tales of the Scottish highlands were transposed to the Vindhyan foothills. Jane Austen, the Brontë Sisters, Thackeray and a host of others were turned out in eastern garb, and their best characters, and their finest and most dramatic scenes appeared in Bengali, Marāṭhi, Malayālam and Telugu. Poetasters and

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scribes could not translate fast enough the literary treasures of the Western world.

A perusal of any competent history of Bengal during this turbulent period will give the reader that sense of urgency and awakening that stirred the consciousness of a people who were having their first delirious sips of the heady wine of new ideas, after a long drought of inanition, sluggish tradition and spiritual decadence.

Immemorial customs and habits, which had been able to withstand the attacks of countless invasions, were abandoned as people fell to the lure of western ways. It was a time when the nobility in certain parts of India dined off English porcelain, drank from European glass, and paid for the services of European barbers. The use of tobacco, recently imported from the West, became popular with all classes. Red pepper, now a staple among Indian condiments, was a comparatively late Portuguese novelty. By the year 1830 the aristocrats of Bengal

'had their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, filled with English furniture, drove the best horses and the most dashing carriages; spoke fluent English, were well read in English literature, and sometimes dressed their children in jackets and trousers, with round hats and shoes and stockings' (II, p. 167).

It was a time when young men threw overboard in wild abandon every tradition of the motherland and the native religion. It was the age of rebellion, a reawakening of youth to the dawn of a new age that was being ushered in by the Europeans. Even against the advice of their preceptors they were determined to achieve their new-style *nirvāṇa*, 'but cutting their way through ham and beef, and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer' (IV, p. 148). Many went to extremes. Orthodoxy became anathema to them; they revelled in shocking their elders and ranging themselves against the ancient prejudices. They would throw beef-bones into Hindu houses, attend mission schools and did not hesitate to accept baptism, be it temporarily, and proclaim Christ the crown of Incarnations, refusing to be invested with the sacred thread or participate in any 'puerile sacraments'. It was a time when the young preferred the Iliad to the Vedas, and openly declared that Dryden and Pope were to be more esteemed than all the śāstras. Those who found the strain of complete severance too much for them, compromised by becoming 'the simultaneous worshippers of Kālī and Kant'.

Hundreds of religious *sabhās* and reformist societies sprang up all over the country, re-examining the Vedas, transvaluing the Purāṇas, finding new truths in old myths, and old roots in new ideas. God and the divine attributes were debated in countless samājes, his existence and qualities being decided by a show of hands. 'For instance, someone said, "Is God a personification of bliss?" Those who agreed put up their hands and the matter was decided by majority vote' (IX, p. 97).

The early bands of students who emerged from the Europeanized schools were like the apostles of a new gospel. There was a sudden, unquenchable thirst for western knowledge. Publishers and book societies, although unable to dispose of enough Arabic and Sanskrit volumes to cover costs of publica-

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tions, could not cope with the demand for English books (VI, p. 818). The Medical College in Calcutta, founded by Lord Bentinck in 1832 could not meet the demand of students for admission. Any young man who aspired to be anybody had to come to the Westernized universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madrās, Lahore and Allāhābād for his degree, where he was for the first time brought in contact with the powerful impulses that moved the West, with the democratic way of life, the liberal ideas in politics, and the astonishing advances in science. Abdul-Latif cogently summarizes the dynamism of the age when he says, 'Seldom in the history of the world, has any country been exposed to such a sudden and lurid glare of vitalising ideas and conceptions'.

A newly rising national spirit and a stirring of awakened patriotic impulse have often made modern Hindus minimize the effect and value of European influence, and they have all too frequently turned back to their own traditions for the guiding principles that had moved them at that time. But they used the western principles first and found the Sanskrit text later. The modern Indian Renaissance is the work of men who were Europeanized Indians, 'spiritual Eurasians', as it were. Even today the progressive Indian remains a man of two worlds.

Viewing the whole panorama of British rule in India, and setting in balance the good and the bad, the noble and the base, Lord Curzon summed up his opinion proudly, if a little grandiloquently, 'To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and it shall endure'.

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EXTERIORIZATION, in Sanskrit *videha* (*vi-deha*, without-body) is a term applied in many contexts to the state of the soul while out of the body. Philosophically it is used to indicate the loosening of the soul's bondage to the body as a result of deeper knowledge. It also denotes the deliberate projection of the soul from the body by yogic techniques. A yogi who, while in a trance* sends his soul to taste the bliss of liberation is said to be *videha-mukti*. Again, the soul-state of an advanced yogi between incarnations is called videha. This condition of suspension is entirely within his control. A yogi adept, it is said, can remain in a state of videha for thousands of years between incarnations, and still retain an awareness of his personal self. As

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such he may enjoy the blessedness of liberation, or serve to inspire embodied souls on earth with good thoughts and actuate them to noble deeds. Or he may become absorbed in the contemplation of nature (*prakṛitilaya*), in mental activities, or in meditation.

Videha is also a yogic practice in which the soul quits its physical frame, leaving the body inert for short or long periods of time. While thus disembodied, the soul undergoes experiences of its own, or enters another body, returning at will to its own frame to resume its physical activities again. The philosopher Śaṅkara* was supposed to have experienced the pleasures of love by means of videha.

It is the ability to achieve this latter form of videha that makes the phenomenon of *āveśa*, 'entrance', possible. This term refers sometimes to the influence of one mind over another, but is more generally applied to what is known in occultism as 'possession', including mediumship and diabolical or divine possession. A yogi when he becomes old and feeble, might transfer his soul into the body of a recently dead child or young man and start his earthly life anew.

The *Mahābhārata* relates a strange case of videha, performed by Vipula on the person of the beautiful Ruchī, wife of his master, the sage Devaśarma. Devaśarma was aware that his young wife had aroused the desire of the god Indra who wished to possess her, and accordingly protected her carefully from the deity's seductive influence. One day the sage was obliged to journey to a distant place to offer a sacrifice and left his wife in the care of his pupil Vipula. The pupil, an adept in videha sat before his master's wife, gazing fixedly into her eyes, and projected his soul into her body. When Indra saw that the husband had left home he came to visit the lady, but Ruchī, inhibited in her speech, movements and feelings by the intrusive Vipula, was unable to give the necessary response to the god's persuasions, but instead reprimanded him for visiting the house during her husband's absence. Indra then observed the motionless form of Vipula and guessed what had occurred. Before he took his departure the god was duly taken to task by Vipula for his unseemly intentions.

Books

See under Occultism and Yoga.

EYE. The eye (*akshi*) is regarded as a receptive, neutral organ, except when intent is added to seeing. It is said to be the last organ to come into activity, since the child within the womb employs all its organs except the eyes, which it opens only after birth. On this analogy sculptors used to give the final touch to an image after the rest of the work was completed, in a ritual operation called *nayanonmīlana* (*nayana-unmīlana*, 'eye-unclosing'), the chiselling of the eye of the image. It was preceded by a period of meditation and prayer, and followed by the rite of 'enlivening' the idol*.

Similarly it is believed that on death the deceased are quite blind, and grope about eyeless in the next world. The eye is essentially the organ of the earthly body and can only be transferred to the dead by special ceremonies,

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one of which is the *chakshu-dāna*, 'eye-bestowal', performed by a certain class of professional painters (*see* paṭṭa).

The deliberate beholding (*darśana*) of an auspicious person or thing brings blessing, since the sight of the beneficent object infuses the beholder with its own virtue. Hence the visit of devotees to their spiritual leaders, of subjects to their rulers, of pilgrims to shrines, to obtain a darśan or viewing.

In the same way the deliberate, directed glance of hatred or anger by a man of power such as a *ṛishi*, or by a person in a paroxysm of rage, especially if accompanied by a curse, can cause damage both physical and spiritual. Some people are believed to be naturally endowed with this malignant power, called *kudṛishṭi* (*ku-dṛishṭi*, 'evil eye'), and their glance of malice or envy can bring misfortune in its wake.

Children are particularly susceptible to the evil eye, and to avert this danger their faces, especially around the eyes, used to be disfigured by blackening with collyrium (*añjana*). Today the application of collyrium to the eyelashes and the rims of the eyelids is done mainly for beauty or, if mixed with medicinal ointments, to prevent eye disease.

It is believed that all men possess a third eye which is the focus of great occult power. Legend describes the terrible third eye of Śiva which can flash forth and consume the universe, and which did on one occasion reduce to ashes the god Kāma. The position of the third eye is said to be in the middle of the forehead, just above the point where the eyebrows meet. Hindu caste marks and the tilaka of the married woman are made on the forehead at this point. The Aṅgami Nāgas of Assam cover the spot with a small leaf to keep it from the gaze of others.

Books

See under Body.

FESTIVALS. The Hindus celebrate hundreds of sacred occasions by festive observances. It has been said that no other nation has a longer calendar of holidays than the Indians. Many festivals are seasonal; some celebrate the harvest or the fertility of the fields; some commemorate the birth, inauguration, or victory (*jayanti*) of a god or hero. Others are dedicated to important days, to famous incidents in mythology, to phases of the moon, to eclipses, solstices, equinoxes, to the stars. A number are celebrated in honour of Kṛishṇa, Vishṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī, Kārttikeya, Kāma (e.g. *Madanotsava*), Dattātreya, Gaṇeśa, Rāma, Gaurī, Gāyatrī, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Chitragupta (recording official of Yama, god of the dead), and other deities. Many are dedicated to the lesser godlings*, and many are held in honour of snakes (e.g. *Nāga-pañchamī*), monkeys (e.g. *Hanumān-jayanti*), cows, buffalos, rivers (Ganges, Jamnā), hills and lakes, one's guru, *ṛishis* (*Ṛishi-pañchamī*), ancestors, spirits, plants, coconuts (*Śrāvaṇī-pūrṇimā*), chariots (*Ratha-saptamī*), stones, thread, smallpox and puerperal fever.

Certain days are auspicious because the merit resulting from virtuous deeds is believed to be augmented and intensified if performed on that day. Thus if a full moon falls on a Thursday it is regarded as auspicious for charitable acts and the day is devoted to charity; the gift of one rupee on that day being

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regarded as equal to a thousand rupees given on any other day. Again, the ninth day of the bright half of Kārttika (October–November) called the *Akshaya Navamī* (the inexhaustible ninth) is sacred to Vishṇu. Any merit acquired on this day is inexhaustible. Legend has it that two brothers, Dhanañjaya and Kṛishṇa-śarma, spent their lives in drunkenness, debauchery and thieving. On their death one brother was sent to heaven and the other to hell. The brother consigned to hell questioned the justice of Yama, god of the underworld, and was told that his brother had taken a bath in the Jamnā on Akshaya Navamī and therefore acquired inexhaustible merit. The brother in heaven, Dhanañjaya, gave part of his stock to his brother and thus enabled him to escape the toils of the pit.

A festival (*utsava*) may be observed with acts of worship* (*upāsana*), fasting (*upavāsa*), vigils (*jāgaraṇa*), bathing (*snāna*), fairs (*mela*, e.g. the *Kumbha-mela**), swinging*, the erection of poles*, the recitation of sacred chants (*mantras*), the taking of vows* (*vrata*), the lighting of lamps (e.g. *Dīpāvalī*), gambling*, games*, drinking, feeding mendicants, and offering gifts to brāhmins.

It is not possible to give a complete list of all the Hindu festivals since they vary from place to place and from community to community. Many are linked with local legends or deities, like the festival of Jagannātha* at Puri, and countless others with local variants of the greater legends. Some again are concerned with tribal welfare, or village life and a few are traditional family observances. The modern tendency to explain away the unusual, the obscure or obscene features in terms of solar myths, of light banishing darkness, and virtue triumphing over vice, makes it increasingly difficult to account for the genesis of many of these festivals. The chief Hindu festivals are given below. They are often named after a god, e.g. *Śivarātri*, 'the Night of Śiva'; or the month, e.g. *Śrāvaṇī-pūrṇimā*, the full-moon of the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (July–August); or after the day of the fortnight in which they occur, e.g. *dvitīyā* (second day of the fortnight), *tṛitīyā* (third), *chaturtī* (fourth), *pañchamī* (fifth), *shashṭhī* (sixth), *saptamī* (seventh), *ashṭamī* (eighth), *navamī* (ninth), *daśamī* (tenth), *ekādaśī* (eleventh).

The ekādaśī or 'eleventh' day of each lunar month, sometimes of each half of the month, was expressly appointed by Vishṇu for the devotion of men desirous of escaping the menace of *Pāpa-purusha* (*see* sin). A strict fast is observed and prayers are offered to Vishṇu. On the night ending the day special ceremonies are performed and sacred chants sung. The fast is broken before sunrise on the twelfth day. The *Gītā Jayanti* is celebrated on the ekādaśī of the bright half of *Mārgaśīrsha* (November–December) to commemorate the day when Kṛishṇa proclaimed the *Bhagavadgītā* to Arjuna. The *Vaikuṇṭha-ekādaśī* festival is held in Śriraṅgam on the eleventh day of the bright half of *Pausha* (December–January), to commemorate the slaying of a demon by the goddess Ekādaśī Devī.

Divāli, one of the most important festivals of the Hindu year, is often called by its Sanskrit name, *Dīpāvalī*, which means 'a row of lights'. It lasts for five days in October–November, from the dark half of the month of *Āśvina* 13th to the light half of *Kārttika* 2nd. Like *Dassara* it combines many festivals in one. It was originally a fertility festival and is still celebrated as

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such in many parts of India. Till the end of the last century this aspect of it was quite undisguised, and farmers used to go to the dung-heaps collected for manure and worship them with flowers, fruit and offerings, and also with lights.

In general the first day of Dīvālī is dedicated to the goddesses Lakshmī and Pārvatī, and windows are kept open to welcome them into the homes. The trading castes, whose chief festival it is, close their accounts on this day. They make piles of coins on their ledgers and top the money with an image of Lakshmī, and worship her as the giver of wealth. Others daub one-rupee silver coins with vermilion and place them in a pile before the image of the goddess. The second day is devoted to gambling*, especially gambling with dice. Men and women alike join in this pastime to celebrate the reconciliation of Śiva and Pārvatī. Women also draw colourful geometrical designs* known as *rangoli* on the floor near thresholds and in the courtyards of their houses.

The third day (full moon) commemorates the victory of Vishṇu over the demon king Bali (or Naraka), although in some places in South India Bali himself receives homage. On this day, which is also called *Lakshmī-pūjā*, the goddess is worshipped in the evening after an all-day fast. In Bengal the goddess Kālī is the object of worship.

The fourth day is Dīvālī proper, when little earthen bowls filled with oil are lighted in the evening and set up in extended rows inside and outside the house. This, it is said, commemorates the return of Rāma to Ayodhyā and his coronation, after an exile of fourteen years, and it takes place exactly twenty days after Dassara. But for those who follow the Vikram era, it is the day King Vikramāditya* ascended the throne and is celebrated by them as the New Year. The trading caste also keep it as the first day of the year.

The fifth day (i.e. the second day of the bright half of *Kārttika*) is called *Yama-dvitīyā*, and commemorates an occasion when Yama* dined with his sister Yamunā and commanded everyone to do likewise. Every male must dine in the house of his sister, cousin, or other female relative, and give her presents. Big bathing fairs are held on the banks of the Jamnā. It is an important day for kāyasthas (clerical caste) who worship Yama and his record-keeper and clerk, Chitragupta.

Gaṇeśa-chaturtī, a festival celebrated on the fourth day (*chaturtī*) of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* (August–September) commemorating the birthday of Gaṇeśa the elephant-headed god of good luck. Clay figures of Gaṇeśa are made and worshipped for two to ten days; coconuts are broken, lights are waved before the image and mantras chanted. At the end of the festival the image is thrown into the water and left to sink. It is considered unlucky to see the moon on this day owing to the curse laid on Chandra by Gaṇeśa because the former once laughed at him when he fell off his rat. Gaṇeśa-chaturtī is especially popular in western and central India and Rājasthān. It is a fertility festival of probably Dravidian origin, celebrating the harvesting of the early crops.

Gaṅgā Daśa-harā (Ganges ten-lost) takes place on the tenth day of the bright half of *Jyeshṭha* (May–June) to commemorate the descent of the Ganges from the ear of the sage Jahnu. It is a river and fertility festival, so named because the five major and five minor sins of body, mind and spirit,

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are washed away and dissolved in the Ganges on this day. It is also called the *Gaṅgā Dassarā*, and often confused with the Dassarā of *Navarātri*. A big mela is held at Hardwār on this occasion which lasts for five days. Another Gaṅgā festival, the *Gaṅgā Saptamī* (Ganges seventh), is celebrated in northern India, and generally falls in the last week of April.

Holi, one of the major Hindu festivals, starts about ten days before the full moon of *Phālguna* (February–March) but is generally only observed during the last three or four days, terminating on the full moon of Phālguna. It was once a fertility festival of undetermined aboriginal origin, and still retains its ancient characteristics. The ceremonies include the lighting of bonfires (hence Holi is also referred to as *Hutāśani*, 'fire-consuming') during which all evils are symbolically burnt; the erection and circumambulation of a pole, reminiscent of the Maypole of Europe and possibly hinting at a phallic symbolism; making a great din with horns, drums and cymbals; dancing in the streets; shouting obscenities accompanied by appropriate gestures directed in particular at women and passers-by. During Holi various kinds of swinging* rites (*dolayātrā*) are also performed, which according to some scholars points to a coital and fertility origin. Throwing mud, refuse and even excreta was not uncommon in the past. But the distinguishing feature of this festival today is the throwing of coloured powders and sprinkling of coloured liquids at people. Some authorities see relics of a blood symbolism in the red water used, of urine in the yellow water, and of green fields in the green water. According to Hindus the Holi carnival commemorates the frolicks of the youthful Kṛishṇa. The festival is also said to celebrate the death of the demoness Pūtanā (*see* Kṛishṇa), or the burning of the demoness Holikā daughter of Hiraṇyakaśipu, or the destruction of Kāma by Śiva; the songs sung by women in the South include the lamentations of Ratī wife of Kāma over her husband's death.

Janmāshṭamī, falling on the eighth day (*ashṭamī*) of the second fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada (August–September), commemorates the birth (*janma*) of Kṛishṇa. It is also known as *Gokulāshṭamī*, Gokula being Kṛishṇa's birthplace. The day preceding Janmāshṭamī is observed as a fast, terminating at midnight, at which time Kṛishṇa is said to have been born. In Mathurā and Vṛindāvana the occasion is celebrated with great splendour. Temples are decorated with fruit and flowers, doorposts anointed with sandalwood paste, and unglazed ceramic pots containing milk are hung from tall poles. Special *melas* (fairs) are held and thousands of pilgrims visit the sacred places.

Maha-śivarātri, the thirteenth day in the dark half of each month is sacred to Śiva, and hence called *Śivarātri* (Śiva's Night). When occurring in the month of *Māgha* (January–February), and to a lesser extent in the month of Phālguna (February–March), it is especially hallowed, and is then known as *Mahā-śivarātri*. A day of strict fasting precedes the festival, and a vigil is kept at night, during which the liṅga is worshipped and most of the ceremonies performed. The following day is celebrated with great rejoicing, and with feasting, and fairs are held on river banks. It is regarded as exceedingly auspicious to celebrate this day. A legend relates that a hunter, once unable to return home before nightfall on the eve of Mahā-śivarātri took shelter on a *bel* tree beneath which was a liṅga image. A few leaves accidentally fell on

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the liṅga which so pleased Śiva that he took the hunter to his heavenly abode.

Makara Saṁkrānti. The monthly entry of the sun into a zodiacal sign is called a *saṁkrānti*, corresponding to the first day of the solar month. The day is regarded as auspicious and is observed as a festival among certain classes. Thus the *Vaiśākhi Saṁkrānti* on the first day of *Vaiśākha* (April–May) marks the beginning of the solar year and is celebrated as such. But there are four saṁkrānti in particular which are widely observed, namely the sun's entry into Capricorn (winter solstice), Aries (vernal equinox), Cancer (summer solstice) and Libra (autumnal equinox). The most important of these is the winter solstice, the Makara Saṁkrānti (from Makara, Capricorn), a new year festival, celebrated on the first day of the solar month of Māgha (between January 12th and 14th, when the sun, having reached the most southern point of the ecliptic (according to the Hindu reckoning) enters Makara and begins its northern course (*uttarāyaṇa*). It is a time of great rejoicing especially at Prayāga (Allāhābād) where a great mela (fair) called *Māgha Mela* is held which lasts for a month.

In South India this festival is called *Poṅgal* and marks the start of the Tamil New Year. Poṅgal comes from the Tamil word meaning, 'Is it boiling?' Rice is cooked in fresh milk in new pots, and according to whether the milk takes a shorter or longer time to boil, so will the year be prosperous or the reverse. Cattle are venerated during Poṅgal; they are garlanded, relieved from labour, and taken out in procession. The month preceding Poṅgal is believed to be made up entirely of unlucky days, and the month following of lucky days.

Nāga-pañchami (snake-fifth), a festival observed on the fifth day of the light half of *Śrāvaṇa* (July–August), commemorating the victorious return of Kṛishṇa from the Yamunā after he overcame the serpent Kāliya. It begins with a fast; bathing fairs are held on the banks of rivers; pictures or images of a cobra representing Śesha, Ananta and other mythological nāgas are worshipped; images of snakes are bathed in water; offerings of flour or cooked food are placed before the holes where snakes are known to dwell, and water and milk left for them to drink, along with a comb, unguents, and a mirror for the personal toilet of the serpents. On this day fields are not ploughed in case a snake is accidentally killed. In Nāgpur till recently pictures were sold during this festival showing women in erotic positions with snakes, pointing to the intimate association of the snake symbolism with the phallus. Says a modern Hindu saint, 'He who fasts on this day and worships Ananta with devotion, will go to Nāgaloka and then take his birth as an emperor' (VI, p. 41).

Navarātri, a major Hindu festival connected with the autumnal equinox, beginning on the first and ending on the tenth day of the light fortnight of *Āśvina* (September–October). Several festivals fall in this interval. In Bengal it is known as the Durgā-pūjā, associated with the victory of Durgā over the buffalo-headed demon Mahisha. The chief observances are: (*a*) *Sarasvatī-pūjā*, celebrated on the first day, when all the sacred books in the house are collected, and an image of Sarasvatī goddess of wisdom and beauty, placed on top of the pile, and her spirit summoned with mantras to occupy it. She is

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worshipped for three days, and on the last day she is offered a gift of money and then dismissed. The festival of *Śrī-pañchamī* (below) is sometimes called Sarasvatī-pūjā; (*b*) *Lalitā-pañchamī* is celebrated on the fifth day. Lalitā is a patron saint of certain parts of Mahārāshṭra where she is worshipped with great rejoicing on this day; (*c*) *Mahā-navamī*, the ninth day, is generally devoted to the ancestors; (*d*) *Dassarā* (*Dussehra*) the tenth and last day of Navarātri. In Bengal, where the idol of Durgā has been worshipped for the nine preceding days, she is now taken to the river and cast into the water; bull buffalos are sacrificed in her honour. In others parts of India Dassarā celebrates the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa, hence it is also called Vijaya (victory), or *Vijaya-daśamī*. It is customary in many parts of India for kshattriyas and princes to go with great ceremony into the open country and shoot off arrows into the air in memory of Lakshmaṇa's pretended shooting of Sītā on the order of Rāma. Mock battles and hunting expeditions are arranged on this day. The main item of the public celebrations is the *Rām-līlā*, or Rāma-play, which dramatizes the Epic. Huge colourful paper and wooden effigies of Rāma's three enemies, Rāvaṇa, Meghanāda, and Kumbhakarṇa, are filled with fireworks and burnt. During Dassarā the leaves of sacred trees, especially the *palāśa* (*butea frondosa*), and the *śamī* (mimosa) are offered at the temples. The village boundaries are crossed by men and boys who on their return home are welcomed with much joy by their womenfolk (probably a relic of ancient raiding expeditions by the tribesmen); the implements and the tools of the professions, especially those pertaining to war, are worshipped. The whole festival is popular with kshattriyas. Athletic tournaments are frequently held; previously they included boxing and wrestling matches (the combatants being armed with spiked staves) which would only end when both the combatants were bathed in blood and their flesh horribly lacerated. Dassarā is sometimes confused with Gaṅgā Daśa-harā (above).

Rāma-navamī, beginning on the ninth day (*navamī*) of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) the festival continues for nine days, and commemorates the birth of Rāma. Stories from the Rāmāyaṇa are narrated and worship paid to the hero. It is especially popular in northern India. At Ayodhyā in Faizābād a big bathing fair is held, and elsewhere bathing fairs are also held on river banks.

Śrāvaṇi-pūrṇimā, the Śrāvaṇa full-moon, i.e. the fifteenth day of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August) which marks the middle of the monsoon or rainy season. People begin to prepare for sea voyages and coasting trade from now on, and propitiate the Lord of Waters on this occasion, by throwing *nārikela* or coconuts* into the sea and rivers. The festival is therefore also called *Nāralī-pūrṇimā*. It was on this day that Rāma crossed over to Laṅkā. The usual public fairs are held and offerings made to the deities, but the festival is noteworthy because of several ceremonies which are connected with the sacred thread*. The sacred thread of the twice-born is renewed on this day; sacred threads and cords are presented to the deities; and the popular custom of *rakshā-bandhan* is observed when women tie coloured threads on their brothers' (or other male relatives) wrists. In some places serpents are worshipped as is done on Nāga-pañchamī.

Śrī-pañchami, falls on the fifth day (*pañchamī*) of the light half of *Māgha*

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(January-February). It is a spring festival, regarded as marking the first day of the spring season (*Vasanta*) in India and hence is also known as *Vasanta-pañchamī*. All nature is in *ṛitu*, and trees, shrubs and plants are covered with flowers. People wear yellow clothes and colour their food with saffron, thus symbolizing the ripening of the spring crops. A ceremonial bath is imperative on this day. The chief honour in this festival is accorded to Sarasvatī and it is also sometimes, though erroneously, called *Sarasvatī-pūjā*, which is really the name of one of the Navarātri festivals (above). As Sarasvatī is the goddess of learning, books and implements of writing are never used on this day, but are set up near the domestic altar, dedicated to the goddess and worshipped.

Tripurī-pūrṇimā, falls on the Kārttika (October–November) full moon. Next to the Mahā-śivarātri it is the greatest day in the year for Śaivites. It celebrates Kālī's slaying of the demon Tripura and of Śiva's destruction of the Tripurī, the demon's three cities of gold (heaven), silver (earth) and iron (hell). The Matsya *avatāra* of Vishṇu is also supposed to have taken place on Tripurī-pūrṇimā. The festival is also called *Kārttika-pūrṇimā*, after the month in which it occurs.

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FIG-TREE. The two chief varieties of the Indian fig-tree are the banyan and the *pīpal*, though several other varieties are known. The *Ficus indica* or *Ficus bengalensis*, called *nyagrodha* (*nyag-rodha*, 'down-growing') in Sanskrit, is better known as the banyan tree, remarkable for its great spread of rooting branches, making it appear, as it were, 'a vast temple of the plant world'. Milton in *Paradise Lost* describes it as having 'arms Branching so broad and long, that in the ground, The bended twigs take root and daughters grow About the mother-tree, a pillar'd shade High over-arched and echoing walks between'.

The fruit of this tree was used as an illustration in a famous parable recorded in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* to show the true nature of Brahma. A young student, Śvetaketu, is told by his father the sage Uddālaka to break open a fruit of the nyagrodha tree and see what is within. The boy sees only some exceedingly small seeds. He is then asked to break one of the seeds and to say what he finds within. The reply is that there is nothing at all. The father then says, 'My son, that unseen subtle essence within the seed contains the huge nyagrodha tree. So in that unseen subtle essence all things exist. It is the true. It is the self. And thou, O Śvetaketu, art That.'

The nyagrodha tree, also called the *vaṭa*, is sacred to Vishṇu. At the end of every *yuga* Nārāyaṇa lies down to rest on a vaṭa leaf which in fact has its

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branches everywhere. A number of Indian towns, notably Allāhābād and Gaya, claim to have what is called the *akshaya-vaṭa*, the 'undying vaṭa' (popularly *akshya-baṭ*), supposed to be existing from primordial times. One such tree was described by Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century AD standing in the middle of a Hindu temple surrounded by piles of the bones of pilgrims who had sacrificed themselves there. These immortal trees are in fact transplanted slips renewed from time to time.

In May–June, the *Jyeshṭha* full-moon day (or Jyeshṭha new-moon day in certain parts of northern India) is dedicated to the vaṭa in memory of the day when Sāvitrī sat under such a tree to await the coming of Yama, lord of the underworld, who was to take her husband Satyavān.

The *Ficus religiosa* or sacred fig-tree, in Sanskrit *aśvattha* (*aśva-stha*, 'horse-stand'), is more commonly called *pippala* or *pīpal*. There is a cosmic aśvattha mentioned in the Vedas, which is said to be inverted, having its roots in heaven and its branches and fruit reaching down to earth. The *Bhagavadgītā* describes it as *ūrdhva-mūlam adhaḥ-śākham* (upward-rooted downward-branched).

The gods used to hold council under the shade of the aśvattha. Vishṇu himself was born under this tree, and special ceremonies are still performed to consecrate it to Vishṇu who broods over it and comes to the worshipper whenever invoked. The fig-tree is sprinkled with water, invested with the sacred thread, and circumambulated to the accompaniment of mantras. In a solemn rite the tree is often married to the *vepu* or margosa tree (*melia Azadirachta*) or to the plantain tree. All fig-trees not consecrated to Vishṇu are believed to be haunted by demonesses, tree-devils and the ghosts of brāhmin boys.

The aśvattha is associated with spiritual understanding, with the healing powers of nature, with the fertility of the earth and, like the fig-tree of Western mythology, with sexual knowledge. It was under the sacred branches of the aśvattha that Buddha received enlightenment, hence it is also referred to as the Bodhi or Bo tree. Its dried leaves and twigs are powdered, mixed with certain juices and drunk, a potion believed to be good against 'throbbing eyes, fearful dreams, and the designs of enemies'. The wood of the aśvattha was used for *soma* vessels, and for the drill called *pramantha* that ignited the sacrificial fire*.

The *Ficus glomerata*, in Sanskrit *udumbara*, is said to blossom when a Buddha is born. Its branches and leaves are used in a number of rituals in many of which it has a 'masculine' significance. An udumbara rod played an important part in the ancient consummation* rites of marriage.

Books

See under Plants.

FIRE is an object of worship to the Hindus, deified in the form of Agni* god of fire. The construction of the sacred fire altar, the collecting of firewood, the 'establishing' and kindling of the fire with the aid of rubbing-sticks are all attended by ritual. Over a score of different fires, each having its own significance, are enumerated in the sacred texts, with details for their location,

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preparation, lighting and tending. Many are reserved for public sacrifices and some are used in domestic worship. The chief types are named below.

The *gārhapatya*, the fire of the domestic hearth, equated with the *prāṇa* breath (see wind) has a round altar. This is the householder's sacred fire, usually situated in the west or southwest, which is the fire-god's quarter. This fire is first kindled when the newly-married couple establish their own household and is thereafter kept alive with offerings of fuel and ghee. For larger sacrifices the dishes are warmed and the offerings prepared on this fire.

The eastern sacrificial fire, known as the *āhavanīya*, used for oblations to the gods is equated with the *apāna* breath. It has a square altar with a *paridhī* or 'enclosure' of three green sticks around it. On completion of the ceremony these are thrown into the flames.

The southern fire, called the *dakshiṇāgni*, equated with the *vyāna* breath, has a semicircular altar, and receives offerings intended for the *pitṛis* and demons.

These three are the most important of all domestic fires, and those who have 'established' them are known as *āhitāgni*, and receive special privileges at various religious functions. Those who consistently maintain the household fires and offer oblations to the ancestors or pitṛi* are called *agnidagdha*.

Among the lesser fires are: *anuāhārya-pachana*, another southern fire on which the new and full moon offerings were cooked. It is sometimes identified with the dakshiṇāgni; the *sabhya* fire is lighted at assemblies, and is equated with the *udāna* breath; the *āvasathya*, a lesser domestic fire, equated with the *samāna* breath; the *aupāsana*, another household fire, whose worship is attended by simple rites.

Several fires are traditionally kindled by the ancient *pramantha* or fire-drill, employing the *araṇī* or ceremonial rubbing-sticks. Friction from these sticks, either by rubbing together or by a tourniquet device produced the initial spark. The pramantha was made from the wood of the aśvattha or sacred fig-tree and of the *śamī* or mimosa tree. The śamī is said to extinguish the occult heat generated by the fire-drill.

The ritual of kindling the sacred fires is called *agnyādheya*, which in itself belongs to the simple *śrauta* sacrifices. The gārhapatya or domestic hearth is lighted first and fire from it is then carried to the āhavanīya, while various *sāmidhenī* (special sacred chants) are intoned, and oblations of ghee offered.

If during the year in which the *yajamāna* or sacrificer has kindled the fire an accident or inauspicious incident (e.g. an eclipse) should occur, the *punarādheya*, 'anew-kindling' ceremony has to be performed and the fires re-kindled.

Part of many fire-sacrifices is the ritual called *paryagni*, the circumambulation of the sacred fire during the presentation of offerings, or on other occasions, when the celebrant walks with a lighted torch three times from right to left around the fire; the intention being to purify the atmosphere and ward off demons.

Books

See under Sacrifice.

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FIVE DAILY SACRIFICES are obligatory for every twice-born Hindu, which he is enjoined to perform regularly. They are known collectively as the *mahāyajña*, 'great sacrifice', or *pañcha-mahā-yajña*, 'five-great-sacrifices', because five types of beings are invoked and worshipped, and all five elements are believed to be represented in the rites. These five sacrifices are:

(1) *Deva-yajña*, 'deity-worship', consisting of a burnt offering to the gods, such as in the simple *homa* sacrifice (*see* pūjā), by pouring oblations of milk, curds and butter into the domestic sacrificial fire, or by placing bits of wood sprinkled with clarified butter into the fire;
(2) *Brahmā-yajña*, 'Brahmā-worship', a sacrifice to the sages by studying, teaching, repeating or meditating on the Vedas. It includes the recitation, at the proper times, of the *Gāyatrī mantra* and the first verse of each of the three Vedas;
(3) *Pitṛi-yajña*, 'ancestor-worship'; libations of water (*tarpaṇa*) and rice-balls (*piṇḍa*) offered to the ancestors every day. These are confirmed during the periodical *śrāddha* (obsequial) rites to deceased ancestors up to the seventh generation;
(4) *Bhūta-yajña*, 'spirit-worship', generally performed after midday, is a sacrifice to spirits, evil and good, some of the offerings being placed on the ground for the spirits of the four elements, and some in the garbage bin for demons. The term bhūta is sometimes interpreted to mean the animal kingdom, and the sacrifice can be performed by feeding domestic and stray animals, and birds;
(5) *Nara-yajña*, 'man-worship' (also called *manusha-yajña* or *purusha-yajña*), offerings made to man, in the form of hospitality to guests, charity to beggars, food to the homeless and to mendicants.

The five elements involved in these sacrifices are found in the objects and means of worship. Thus ether resides in the deity, earth in the worshipper, wind in *japa*, or repetition of mantras, fire in the sacrificial fire, and water in the tarpaṇa. In the stress of modern life it has become difficult to perform the five sacrifices in the prescribed form, so a short cut has been devised which requires merely the recitation of the *Gāyatrī mantra* five times, since it is believed to contain all the elements, and to provide the necessary spiritual sustenance to the deities, sages, ancestors, demons and mankind.

Books

See under Sacrifice.

FLAGS. The significance of the flag is still obscure, though several theories have been put forward to account for its origin. Most early flags seem to have been red or partly red in colour, a fact which would seem to point to a blood symbolism. It may have represented the sacrificial blood of some forgotten victim, or according to another theory, the menstrual blood of the Mother Goddess. On the analogy of Babylonian custom, one authority held the view that a simple white cloth was hung outside the door of the Indian temple prostitute to indicate to the public her 'eligibility' for union, and a red cloth to indicate her unavailability because of the monthly period.

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The term *dhvaja* meant a consecrated flag or banner, and as such occurs in the *Ṛig-veda*. The *Atharva-veda* refers to a flag with an emblem of Sūrya the sun-god, probably in the form of rays, since the term *ketu*, 'rays', was later also applied to a flag and may have been a relic of such a sun emblem. The dhvaja was also a sign of authorization. In Mauryan times liquor could only be sold with the permission of the king, and when this was granted the seller used to hang out a special dhvaja to indicate his licenced status. The term *patākā* referred to a simple coloured flag without any device, and implied prohibition. One of the hand gestures known as the patākā had the same implication (*see* mudrā).

In ancient times each leader, great or small had his own flag or standard, and from evidence derived from Vedic and Epic sources it would appear that a strong totemic element entered into its blazoning. Opposing parties aimed arrows at the enemy flag, and success was often claimed in petty skirmishes by the number of times the flag was pierced. To capture the flag was, of course, a sign of victory.

One full chapter in the *Droṇaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* is devoted to the description of the various flags carried by the two opposing armies at Kurukshetra. The devices on the standards of the gods and heroes of old as described in the Epics and subsequent Sanskrit works may be listed here. Abhimanyu, a deer; Arjuna, monkey; Aśvatthāman, lion's tail with golden rays; Bharata, tree; Bhīma, lion; Bhīshma, tree; Droṇa, *kamaṇḍalu* or water-pot; Duryodhana, serpent; Ghaṭotkacha, *chakra* or wheel; Indra, sword; Jayadratha, boar; Kāma, *makara* or crocodile; Karṇa, elephant; Kṛipa, bull; Nakula, deer; Sahadeva, swan; Śiva, bull; Subrahmaṇya, peacock; Vishṇu, eagle; Yudhishṭhira, moon. Among the historical dynasties, the Pallavas had a bull emblazoned on their flag, and the Chālukyas of the Deccan and the Vijayanagar kings, a boar.

There has never been a 'national' flag in India till after Independence, and it is to be noted that the present flag is totally outside the Hindu tradition. The gules or red element in chief is replaced by saffron, a Buddhist colour; the unlucky vert or green is a typically Islamic colour; the wheel in fesse is also a Buddhist device.

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FOOT, in Sanskrit, *pāda*: the point of man's contact with Mother Earth which is the source of nourishment to the physical body. Its chief members according to Hindu esotericism are the *pādāṅgushṭha* or great toe, and the *pārshṇi* or heel, which contain a network of invisible arteries and are among the most important of the lesser chakras. This network is believed to draw up energy from the earth like the roots of a tree, and a person who is depleted in

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strength can replenish it by standing with bare feet on the naked soil and thus absorbing vitality from the primordial source of all terrestrial life.

Orthodox Hindus would move about unshod during certain rites so as to be in contact with the earth. It was only when it was intended that he should rise above the mundane level to a higher plane that the priest or *yajamāna* ascended a ladder or covered his feet so as to break this contact with the earth.

The mark left by the foot in the soil was called *pāda-mudrā*, 'foot-seal'; it was regarded as an integral part of the individual and was believed to bear some of the properties of its owner. A king could be defeated if the dust from his footprint was scattered to the winds and the marks obliterated. An enemy could be humbled if the dust of his footprint was tied in a leaf and boiled or burned. Rites performed over the footprint of a girl could win her love. A thorn driven into the footprint of a runaway could cause him to stop.

Veneration of footprints is found in varied contexts. In Vedic ceremonies the hoofprint of the horse figured in rites attending the piling of the sacrificial fire; and the footprint of a cow in the Soma ritual. The footprints of a deity, saint or holy person are held in great veneration. Hence gods and saints were represented by a large footprint carved on a piece of rock or engraved on a large wooden board, and marked with auspicious signs. Such a footprint is worshipped with offerings of flowers, lights and prayers as if it were an idol. Buddhists thus worship the footprint of Buddha, Vaishṇavites the footprint Vishṇu, and so on.

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(*See also under* Body.)

FORGERIES. The fact that the Hindu scriptures bear evidence of considerable tampering need come as no surprise to anyone acquainted with the history of priestcraft the world over. The scientific criticism of ancient writings has brought to light many forgeries among the works of the Church Fathers, to take Christian literature, and the texts of the other great faiths are not exempt from this imputation.

That this mass of Sanskrit texts that had been subjected to interpolations, tendentious redactions or plain fabrication, should have escaped detection before European scholarship directed its attention to them, was largely due to the reverence in which they were held, and the danger that attended any attempt to undermine their authority. More than merely expert knowledge is required to detect a forgery. What is more important is the secular approach, which implies a refusal to regard the sacred text with the eye of faith, and therefore to see in it a document of human origin subject to the limitations of human scribes, copyists, commentators and zealots.

The onus of responsibility for the greater part of the tampering can be laid at the door of the brāhmin priesthood who in order to support their claims to superiority and preserve their privileges are known to have suppressed facts, changed names and confused places and periods; who have interlarded fact

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with fiction in accordance with their own religious ends. It is to the period known as the Brāhminical Revival that we can trace most of the counterfeiting of scriptures that has characterized the Period of Priests throughout recorded history. To this period belong the accumulations of spurious data and the creation of fictitious dynastic pedigrees, that have so inextricably interwoven fact with fancy in Indian historical annals. In short, it was a time for the wholesale re-casting of Indian life and culture into the mould shaped by the brāhmins.

The whole vast heritage of Vedic and native material was exploited to buttress up the brāhminical edifice. To the Revival is due the sanskritization of Indian thought and the brāhminization of Indian social codes by the scribes. In the words of Dharma Theertha,

'There is hardly any Sanskrit composition which has not been tampered with, altered or added to by them. There is no famous ṛishi or teacher in whose name they have not concocted scriptures. There is no sacred book into which fiction and legend and imaginary history, have not been interpolated.'

Among the scores of forgeries that have been brought to light a few of a particularly heinous character deserve to be mentioned. Thus, there is evidence to show that the famous *Purusha-sūkta* of the *Ṛig-veda*, on which the whole issue of Hindu caste is based and from which the lucubrations of the commentators on caste separation commence, is of very questionable authenticity. It is suspected that in spite of their reverence for the sacred hymns, the priestly scribes like their counterparts of other faiths, were not above a little textual manipulation if it served to enhance their prestige. In all likelihood the *Purusha-sūkta* and certain other verses were interpolated into the text long after the canon of the *Ṛig-veda* was finally closed (I, p. 145). According to Colebrooke, 'That remarkable hymn, is in language, metre and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone'. To this Max Müller adds, 'There is little doubt that it is modern both in its character and its diction'. It is remarkable that the term śūdra (servile caste) occurs only once in the *Ṛig-veda*, and that is in the section of the *Purusha-sūkta*.

Tinkering with the texts of the *Mahābhārata* is also evident from scientific scrutiny. In this case the conversion of the original heroic adventures into a sort of brāhminical bible was not always cleverly done, for in the paṇḍit redactions the religious and priestly interest overshadows the heroic, and the legends related are often distorted to suit the brāhminical viewpoint. 'Everything', says Sidhanta, 'is viewed from the angle of the priest, and instead of a straightforward narrative, we have didactic digressions on the sanctity of the priestly class'. As Pargiter points out, 'The brāhminical versions are a farrago of absurdities and impossibilities, utterly distorting all the incidents'.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* similarly betrays signs of priestly editing. It is generally agreed that the pronounced brāhminical tone did not characterize the original work, but was given to it at the time of the Revival, when much additional material was also introduced.

It should be borne in mind that Sanskrit was not originally the medium for profane literature, for which the vernacular Prākṛits were generally em-

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ployed. The Epics were long current in the Prākṛits before they were rendered into Sanskrit. We have the opinion quoted by Keith that the Epics were first written in Sanskrit in the early years before and after the beginning of the Christian era, and that they were in fact translations and elaborations from Prākṛit originals. And not only the Epics, but Sanskrit secular poetry, lyric poetry, the beast fable and the fairy tale are all indebted to translations from Prākṛit originals. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, a Sanskrit collection of stories, is believed to have been based on an earlier work composed in Prākṛit.

The period of the Brāhminical revival was the age that fixed the criterion for every subsequent interpretation of Hindu life and culture. It was the time when the ancient Indian traditions as they existed in the regional languages were taken over, adapted to the priestly bias and hammered into the new mould of Sanskrit. Into the sacred tongue the earlier tomes were transcribed for the deification of brāhmins and the damnation of śūdras. Under the heavy pressure of brāhmin orthodoxy the indigenous writings were first sanskritized and then the whole of Sanskrit literature brāhminized. It was in many ways a calamitous substitute. Local nomenclature was altered to fit the Sanskrit alphabet; native sentiments were put through the mill of Sanskrit syntax, and a great deal of indigenous material irretrievably lost.

Interpretations of pre-Sanskrit and what might be called 'un-Sanskrit' life were further distorted by wilful tendentiousness that shaped into orthodox form the mythology, history and even the geography of ancient India. Its corruptions crept into the regional languages by its insistence on its own sanctity and stilted rules. And in most instances it debased what it influenced. The noble early poetry of Tamil, characterized by simplicity and realism, never recovered its freshness after contact with Sanskrit, and Tamil literature was thereafter subjected to the artificialities of the northern tongue. Practically every vernacular literature has suffered in like manner as long as it lay under the shadow of Sanskrit influence.

An analysis of epigraphic inscriptions prior to the Gupta age reveals that more than ninety-five per cent are written in Prākṛit and concern non-brāhminical sects, mainly Jain and Buddhist, and only five per cent in Sanskrit concern brāhminism. The position is almost entirely reversed in favour of Sanskrit and brāhminism in the post-Gupta age. The power of the priesthood must have been tremendous, almost tyrannical, to have achieved this phenomenal reversal. The number and nature of spurious inscriptions after the seventh century AD confirm the continuance of this tendency.

The full story of forged texts in Hinduism has yet to be written. It would make a decided contribution to the lengthy chronicle of misplaced piety the world over. The *Purusha-sūkta* is only the most conspicuous of a long list of fictitious texts purporting to be genuine. Max Müller has shown how the brāhmins 'mangled, mistranslated and misapplied' the original word *agre* to read *agneḥ* in order to provide Ṛig-vedic support for the burning of widows. As already stated the Epics were drastically overhauled, while the corruption of the Purāṇas and Dharma-śāstras continued till after the Muhammadan conquest (VII, p. 125). Dr Ambedkar refers to the well-known case in the time of the East India Company, where an entire *smṛiti* was concocted to

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support a particular lawsuit. And K. M. Panikkar refers to the fabrication of a Śaṅkara text by the brāhmins of Malabār to sanction the inhuman custom of unapproachability.

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GĀLAVA, according to the *Harivaṁśa*, was the son of the sage Viśvāmitra who in a moment of great need tied a cord around his neck (*gala*) and offered him for sale, whence his name. Satyavrata a prince of the Solar line bought the lad and then restored him to his father.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Gālava is the pupil of Viśvāmitra. At the end of his studies Gālava enquired of his guru what he desired for a fee, and Viśvāmitra replied the he wanted eight hundred horses all completely white except for one black ear, that had once been the property of the *ṛishi* Ṛichīka. The lad was directed by the eagle Garuḍa to go to king Yayāti who, however, could not supply the horses, but gave him his daughter, *Mādhavī*, instead. This girl had been blessed with the power of restored virginity after each childbirth. In exchange for two hundred white horses each with a black ear, Gālava offered Mādhavī successively to Abhayada ruler of a principality near Pratishṭhāna, Divodāsa king of Kāśī, and Uśīnara king of Bhoja. She bore a son to each and passed on, an intact virgin, to the next.

Gālava then presented the maiden to his master Viśvāmitra who accepted her and was satisfied with six hundred horses instead of eight hundred that he had asked for. By Mādhavī the sage had a son named Ashṭaka to whom he bequeathed his hermitage and his horses when he retired to the forest. Gālava sent Mādhavī back to her father and then joined Viśvāmitra in the forest. Mādhavī's father arranged a *svayaṁvara* (bride's choice) for his daughter, and she finally selected as her husband King Haryaśva of Ayodhyā and went with him into exile.

In some legends Gālava is the father of the physician Dhanvantari. The name Gālava occurs as that of a teacher of the White Yajurveda, and also of a grammarian* predecessor of Pāṇini.

Books

See under Mythology.

GAMBLING has been a popular pastime in India from ancient days. Wagers are made on any event whose outcome cannot be ascertained: whether one bird or another will be the first to fly off a tree; whether a sleeping animal, when it awakens, will move off to the right or the left; whether rain will fall

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on a certain day or not; any sort of contingency can be made the occasion for a wager.

Two kinds of gambling are distinguished, namely, *dyūta*, in which inanimate elements such as dice are manipulated or moved by the players, and *samāhvaya*, employing animals or men, as in racing. In general, however, gambling in the past was associated with certain sedentary or board games, particularly those decided by the throw of dice.

Dice games figure in several Hindu festivals and formed part of the ancient *rājasūya* ceremony; they are believed to have been originally of cosmological significance. The dice (*aksha*) were usually the nuts of the *vibhītaka* tree (the *beleric myrobalan*) with or without pips. A die was cast on a board marked with squares or designs, and points were counted according to the space in which it rested. Six-sided dice marked with pips were also known but seldom used; oblong dice with four scoring sides were much more common. In this case the names of the four *yugas* were given to the four sides: *kṛita* (four), *treta* (three), *dvāpara* (deuce) and *kali* (ace).

The gods of the Hindu pantheon were exceedingly fond of gambling, and whiled away many an aeon playing dice. According to Purāṇic legend Śiva once lost a game while playing with his wife Pārvatī. Pārvatī lost to Kārttikeya who himself lost to Gaṇeśa. In the meantime Śiva started sulking because Pārvatī had defeated him. To placate Śiva's hurt feelings Vishṇu arranged for the estranged couple to have another game on the festival of Dīpāvalī. During the game Śiva quietly entered the die himself and caused Pārvatī to lose the game. She was angry at first until the joke was explained to her by Vishṇu. Delighted, she ordered that games of dice should henceforth by played on Dīpāvalī to ensure success throughout the year, a custom kept up in India to this day.

The *Atharva-veda* gives a quaint method of ensuring success in gambling. A pit is to be dug on a certain auspicious night and refilled on another appointed night, and the ground levelled and smoothed to the refrain of mantras. The gambler then takes the dice, which have been previously steeped in honey and curds for three nights and days, and inaugurates the gambling place by throwing dice over the spot.

The *Lament of the Gambler* is the subject of a beautiful poem in the *Ṛig-veda* which describes the distress caused by this vice. In spite of divine sanction the widespread evils of gambling were strongly censured by the lawgivers. Manu equated gambling with open theft, and others declared that it destroyed truth, honesty and wealth. Cheating was common, so much so that the Ṛig-vedic word *kitava*, 'gamester', came to mean 'cheat' in classical Sanskrit, and the word *dhūrta*, 'gambler', became synonymous with rogue. The plot of the *Mahābhārata* is based on the great gambling match, where the Pāṇḍavas lost all to their cousins and were forced to go into exile. King Nala* lost everything he possessed in a game of dice.

One of the best-known dice-games was *chaturaṅga*, 'four-corps', i.e. of an army, played on a board marked with squares, on which were placed pieces representing a king, elephant, chariot and four footmen, whose moves were determined by the throw of dice. Later the dice were abandoned and the game, taken over by the Persians as *shatranj*, subsequently passed into

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modern games as chess. Opinion is divided as to the home of chess, India, Persia and China being cited as the land of its origin.

One story goes that the originator of the game was Śesha, Prime Minister of Śrīrām, who invented it in order to demonstrate to the king's son, a dissolute prince, that without the support of his people, a king is brought to a pitiable end. Śrīrām was so pleased with the game that he ordered chess-boards to be placed in the temples. He then bade Śesha name any reward he desired. Śesha requested that a grain of rice be placed in the first square of the chess-board, double that number in the second, and double that number again in the third, the number to be progressively doubled till the last square was reached, and the final measure of grain be given to him. The king protested that such a small recompense was quite inadequate, but when Śesha remained adamant he gave orders for this to be done. When the treasurer calculated the amount of grain required he came to the king and tremblingly declared that he was unable to fulfil the order. In explanation he said that while the first square required one grain of rice the second two and the third only four, the sixteenth would require 32,768 grains, or the contents of one pint measure. In the fortieth square this would be equal to the contents of a full corn-store. In the fiftieth square to 1,024 stores or the number of corn stores one might find in a large city. The sixth-fourth square would require the full contents of the granaries of 16,384 cities. Since there were not so many cities in the kingdom, nor even in all the kingdoms of the world, he could not comply with the order. The king was delighted with the wisdom of Śesha and bestowed upon him many rich gifts, declaring that his ingenuity in making the extraordinary request exceeded even his talent in inventing the divine game.

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GAMES. India has been the home of a wide variety of games, sports and recreations, both indoor and outdoor. Indian festivals, dramatic performances, full-moon nights, the beginning of the monsoons, and similar occasions, all provided opportunities for sports and amusements, water-games, water-squirting, swinging*, gambling, animal fights, acrobatics, athletics, wrestling matches and so forth.

Intellectual games and puzzles were popular from early times many of which have retained their popularity to the present day. They included composing and solving riddles; completing an unfinished message; deciphering cryptograms; mathematical puzzles; tongue-twisters; completing three lines of a quartrain where one line (generally the last) is given; extemporizing

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verses beginning with the last letter of a verse previously recited by someone else; repeating a verse after someone else has recited it once. It was common for competitions in philosophical discourses to be held at the courts of rulers, or for poems, either *kāvyas* or *champūs* to be submitted to a committee of brāhmin judges, the final judgment being passed by the king, who awarded the winner a suitable prize.

Other pastimes included chess, various gambling* games, dice-throwing, guessing the number of small stones held in the closed hand; throwing seeds into the air and catching them before they fell; finding the middle finger when entwined with the others and partly concealed in the fist (*pañchasamaya*); searching for hidden coins in a heap of grain; removing twigs from a pile without disturbing the remainder.

Children's outdoor games included hopping over diagrams made on the ground, like hop-scotch; playing with marbles and small balls; games with stick and stub, like tip-cat; blindfolding, like blind man's buff; hide and seek; whirling with arms outstretched; skipping and other rope games.

Handbooks on love and courtship list a great number of games for lovers. Playing 'house' was a favourite pastime with young people. Or, in the words of Vātsyāyana, 'the man should make flower-garlands in the woman's company and indulge in such games as making wooden or mud toy-houses and rag dolls, and in cooking with sand and pebbles'. More intimate frolics belong to love-play and form part of the subject of erotics*.

Team games too were played by the score. Among the best-known of this kind was polo, originally a popular kshattriya sport only slightly different from the modern game, with two teams of mounted horsemen, goal posts, wooden sticks and a ball of wood. The game itself is of Scythian origin and was taken over by the Persians; the term polo survives in the Balti polo and the Tibetan *pulu*. An ancient game, popular with the Pauṇḍras, consisted of two teams 'pelting each other with sticks and hurling brick-bats'. For obvious reasons this sport was not generally recommended.

Military games were as a rule prearranged to show off the prowess of a ruler or crown prince. Experts at the bow and arrow, chariot, mace, discus, dagger, sword, or spear, were invited to participate in the contest. The king or prince first displayed his prowess and the other contestants followed. It was, of course, imperative that the expert's skill fall short of the king's or prince's.

There is also some evidence of the staging of gladiatorial games and contests of strength and endurance which took place in an amphitheatre before an audience seated on platforms surrounding the arena. Sporting events like running and jumping alternated with wrestling (to the extent of broken limbs), boxing with bare fists; fighting with staves and swords. A passage in the *Mahābhārata* refers to one such event: 'O king, there arrived by thousands, boxers from all quarters in that festive gathering, possessing gigantic bodies and immense strength.' In later times combatants were arranged in opposing groups and at a given signal charged forth to fight to the death. The victors were rewarded and the families of those killed were compensated. Legends of Kṛishṇa's early life tell of a large-scale gladiatorial contest organized by Kaṁsa with the object of disposing of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma.

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Animals and birds were also made to perform, race, dance and fight for the entertainment of princes and populace. Horse races, elephant races and fights, ram fights, buffalo races and fights, quail fights, cock fights, are frequently described in kāvyas and other Sanskrit works. Hunting, especially the wild boar, tiger and, among lesser game, the hare, was popular with the nobility. Hawking remained the hallmark of the aristocracy.

Books

See under Sociology.

GANDHĀRA, ancient name for the country between the lower Kabul valley and the upper Indus, roughly embracing the region of modern Kandahar in Afghanistan. Hindu legend assigns to the cities of this area a hoary antiquity, their founders being ancient serpent kings or the sons of patriarchs of a remote past. Taksha (or Takshaka) a Nāga prince, was said to have first conquered Gandhāra, and the towns Takshaśilā (modern Taxila, see below) and Attock are named after him. Taksha is derived from Takkha a name of Central Asian derivation, and is so preserved in Pāli. Another legend has it that the son of the great Bharata, named Pushkala, founded the city of Pushkalāvatī (Charsaddā, near Peshāwar) which became the capital of Gandhāra.

The country was famous for its breed of fine horses and its long-haired sheep, but the *Mahābhārata* refers to the Gandhārans as fit only to tend animals, as descendants of *mlechchhas*, and a despised people of offensive habits such as that of consorting with their own sisters. Despite this, Gandhārans enter conspicuously into Aryan genealogies. A princess of Gandhāra was one of the wives of Ajamīḍha, forebear of the Kurus, and the famous Gāndhārī was the daughter of Subala king of Gandhāra.

From earliest times the region was one of great historical importance for India. Its chief towns lay in the path of invading tribes, and it fell successively to waves of early Mongolian, Aryan and Scythian races before it became part of the Persian empire. It was subsequently conquered by the Bactrians, Parthians*, Kushāns, Śakas and Huns. Gandhāra became the focal point for the synthesis of Mesopotamian, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Greek, Central Asian, Hindu and Chinese cultural trends, and if a Hebrew tablet recently unearthed there is of any significance, of Jewish culture as well. The cosmopolitan character of its civilization may be gauged from the religions practised there. Persian fire-altars, Śiva liṅgas, Taoist images, Egyptian and Greek gods were all found in Gandhāra. But the predominant religious influence was Buddhist.

Gandhāra thus became the birthplace of a remarkable civilization that grew out of the merging of these many nations, but it bore, despite the diverse features of its hybrid origin, a distinctive Hellenistic stamp. Says A. B. Keith, 'The existence of a Greek and Eurasian population in Gandhāra for a couple of centuries at least cannot be ignored'. In fact, Greek influence lasted from 250 BC to AD 450, during which time it left a permanent impress on Hindu art and civilization.

Gandhāra culture had its roots in the Bactrian Greek period (250–90? BC), but it continued to flourish during the period of the Kushāns (165 BC to

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AD 100). By this time the majority of the higher classes were Buddhist by persuasion but the main inspiration of their art and architecture remained Hellenistic. For the Kushāns carried on the Bactrian tradition and imported artists on a considerable scale from Graeco-Roman Asia. The best works of Gandhāra art were 'born of Buddhist piety utilizing Yavana technique' (IV, p. 393), and the period is aptly spoken of as Graeco-Bactrian or Graeco-Buddhist. Subsequent Śaka and Parthian conquerors who occupied Gandhāra largely kept up the existing tradition, and the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra in this remote outpost of the Alexandrian world was still thriving long after it was dead everywhere else.

Greek artists and sculptors formed part of the colonial equipment of the Bactrian and Kushān armies, and the Greek architects who designed the poleis and public buildings left their legacy for Indian artists to follow. The Greek Agesilaus who built the magnificent stūpa of the Kushān king Kanishka* near Taxila, and designed his relic casket shaped like a lady's jewel-box, and the Greek artist Dhenukakati (Xenocrates) (*c.* 70 BC) referred to in inscriptions at Kānheri and Kārle were two among the many Greek architects employed in India.

Most of the local centres of Gandhāra art such as Taxila, Peshāwar, Bāmyān, Jalālābād, Hadda, lay in the direct path of the invaders, some of whom, like the Huns, destroyed whatever came in their way, and standing monuments are not abundant, but those that exist show the unmistakable impress of the Hellenistic world. This impress is seen in many Mahāyāna monuments in Gandhāra. In Sirkap (Taxila) we find a medley of architectural motifs: Buddhist *chaitya* arches and *toraṇas*; a palace on the Assyrian pattern; Iranian fire-pillars; the Scythian double eagle, along with Greek pediments and mouldings, and columns of the classical Ionic order. In Takht-i-Bahai the ruins consist of a stūpa, monastery and assembly halls, with the roofs of the chapels composed of alternating cupolas and vaults. The temple of Jandial is predominantly Grecian, built like a Hellenic temple, with Ionic capitals. Of great interest are the heads on the bas-relief sculptures at Hadda, which vividly reproduce the racial types of the neighbouring peoples of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

It was in Gandhāra that the idea of representing Buddha as a man was first conceived and evolved. Hindus had certainly modelled their gods in human form long before the time of Alexander, but it is known that prior to the Gandhāra period the Buddhists never depicted the Blessed One in human form but invariably used symbols (*see* sculpture). The Gandhāra Buddha is stylistically Hellenic, his features Greek rather than Indian, his robes draped in the Graeco-Roman manner, and his face suffused with an aura of imperturbable calm.

Although Gandhāra art achieved its supreme masterpiece in the Buddha image, its spirit, realism and grace were beautifully reflected in thousands of other creations, all traceable to the Hellenistic tradition. We find sculptures in the round and in relief depicting the life of the times; musicians, dancers, jesters and acrobats, all splendidly illustrating one aspect of that spacious age. There were also smaller objects of art in silver and other metals, such as ladies aids, dainty caskets for cosmetics, pallets on which unguents were

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mixed, engraved cups, vases, and trinkets of various kinds, decorated with Greek and Roman motifs. Northwest India was flooded with this art, which is evident from the large number of objects which have survived, for they are not to be counted by a few scattered specimens but in hundreds. The full impact of this architectural, sculptural and metal work on the Indian artist is not easy to estimate. But one demonstrable area of influence is seen in the school of Mathurā, which owes its inspiration mainly to Gandhāra, and whose sources have fed some of the major schools of Hindu Art for at least five centuries.

But the most significant contribution from Gandhāra lies in the field of education. One of the greatest educational centres of the ancient east was established at **Taxila** referred to above. Within four centuries Taxila had become subject to the Macedonians, Mauryans, Bactrians, Parthians, Kushāns and Śakas, 'and from these widely differing civilizations, extending from Greece to Western China, and from the steppes of Russia to the Bay of Bengal, she must have inherited much of the culture and arts peculiar to each' (I, p. 51). Taxila became a Buddhist centre of international renown and one of the most famous cities of ancient India. Its university, referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was even more famous than Banāras; the citizens of Banāras sent their sons to Taxila for instruction in the eighteen branches of learning, including Buddhist doctrine and Vedic grammar. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions a Gandhāra king as a Vedic teacher.

All were admitted to study in Taxila without distinction of caste or creed. A student could bring with him only a pair of sandals, an umbrella and a robe, and he paid a nominal fee. Poor students were admitted free. The university specialized in medicine, law and the occult sciences, but painting, sculpture and handicrafts were accorded a special place. Pāṇini, Patañjali, the physicians Ātreya and Jīvaka, Kauṭilya father of political science, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Amarasiṁha all came from Gandhāra or were educated there. Kauṭilya also refers to a school of political philosophers called Ambhiya who predated him and were associated with Taxila.

There has been a tendency among Indian scholars to dismiss Gandhāra as of small consequence in the history of Indian art and culture. But that Gandhāra was indeed a vital and vigorous centre for the diffusion of Greek thought and teachings admits of no doubt whatever. As Dr Charles Fabri reminds us, 'Seven hundred years of Hellenistic influence even in a small portion of India is no small matter'.

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GANDHARVA, the musicians of paradise. In the Vedas the 'celestial Gandharva' was a god endowed with a knowledge of divine mysteries, a measurer of the trackless spaces of the universe, who regulated the passage of the

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heavenly bodies. In later myth the term was used collectively for the musicians and singers of Indra's heaven. The *Atharva-veda* refers to 6333 gandharvas. They are sometimes spoken of as tall and handsome, and sometimes as small and elf-like, and sometimes like beasts (see below). They were 'melody-imbibing' beings (*gāna-dhara*) born from Brahmā's nose, but the generally accepted myth is that they were the children of the sage Kaśyapa by his wife Arishṭā (or Munī).

In the Purāṇas the sage Nārada is said to be the ruler of the gandharvas, and in the *Mahābhārata* it is Dhṛitarāshṭra who is spoken of as their king. The chief of these beings is CHITRARATHA who looks after the garden in Kubera's paradise* which is named Chaitraratha after him. Another prominent gandharva is VIŚVĀVASU who is believed to claim every bride before the husband consummates* the union. Yet another is TUMBURU who taught singing to men and was known as the first *gātu*, 'singer' in the world.

The gandharvas dwell in VISMĀPANA, 'astonishing', an aerial city that appears and disappears at intervals, and is described as being filled with luxury and splendour. But most of the gandharvas serve in Svarga, Indra's heaven, where they attend the gods at their banquets and keep the divine company entranced with their exquisite music and song. They are also the custodians of the celestial cellars and in charge of the preparation of the *soma* juice.

They often visit the earth, haunt the air, the mountains, the forests, and have the power to work illusions in the evening twilight and can cause madness. They sometimes engage in combat with mortals. They are skilled in various secrets, like the mysteries of medicine and healing and understand the influences of the heavenly bodies. They have a strange power over women and are great voluptuaries; their very presence provokes horripilation (*pulaka*) and thrills of unimaginable delight in females. Their heavenly mates are the *apsarās**. Some derive their name from *gama* (sexual intercourse) and *dhara* (maintaining).

In the *Mahābhārata* the Gandharvas are described as a wild race dwelling in the hills, and references to their mode of marriage*, their free sexuality and their love of wine, women and song, suggest a carefree, happy people. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* gives the story of their struggles against the Nāgas (*see* Māndhātṛi). In the *Atharva-veda* they are described as shaggy beings with half-animal forms (like the Greek satyr) who seek to seduce women in the guise of ape, goat, deer or hairy dwarf.

Books

See under Mythology.

GĀNDHI, MOHANDĀS KARAMCHAND (1869–1948), reformer and politician was born at Porbandar in Kāṭhiāwār. He received his early education at Rājkoṭ, married at thirteen, left for England to study law at the age of eighteen, passed his law examinations and was called to the bar in 1891. Two years later in 1893 after his return to India he went on a legal assignment to South Africa where he championed the cause of the Indian settlers there. It was there that he conceived the idea of uniting religion, and ethics, with

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politics. In 1915, after twenty-one years in South Africa, mostly spent in Durban, he returned to India to start the campaign for India's independence, collecting in his hands the various threads of the independence movement that had been guiding the Indian masses and the Indian intelligentsia from the latter half of the nineteenth century. In that year he established his headquarters or āśram at Sabarmatī near Ahmadābād. After a struggle lasting for more than three decades he saw his dream of independence come true in 1947, only to fall to an assassin's bullet a few months later.

Much of Gāndhi's philosophy, expressed both in English and Gujarāti, was based on the stuff and substance of Indian thought, and many of his revolutionary theories were rooted in ancient Hindu tradition. To the end of his life he retained many of the ideals and beliefs of the orthodox Hindu. He revered the cow* and regarded cow-protection as 'one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution, and the gift of Hinduism to the world'. He condoned and defended idolatry and refrained from using his influence to stop it since he considered it a harmless aid to worship. He clung to the belief in *avatāras*, holding that God has manifested himself several times. He believed in the saving power of the name of Rāma and in salvation through Kṛishṇa.

Gāndhi called himself a *sanātani* Hindu, for he upheld in his own personal life many of the 'eternal' Hindu ideals. He commended the virtue of continence and ceased to have sexual relations with his wife after the birth of his last child. Marriage he regarded as a concession to weakness, and sexual intercourse as a criminal waste of vital fluid. 'Marriage is a fall as birth is a fall', he said; a dictum that aroused much fierce criticism. Accepting the need for *vairāgya*, 'dispassion', simplicity and poverty, he renounced all worldly possessions, although he was never in actual need of any material things, these being taken care of by his devoted followers. His *tapas* (austerity) was expressed in the form of fasts, often undertaken for political ends, and he frequently resorted to a 'fast unto death' if some demand he made was not granted. He experimented in various forms of simple diet and helped to spread many of his private fads among his followers. Since he had vowed never to take cow's or buffalo's milk, his goat remained a part of his entourage.

Contrary to popular concept Gāndhi was a firm believer in the caste system, but modified it by saying that 'the castes define duties but confer no privilege. They do not and should not restrain social intercourse, interdining and intermarriage.' He himself belonged to the third of the four Hindu castes, the vaiśya or *bania*; he was pronounced an outcaste for having gone across the 'black waters' to England, and he remained an outcaste to the time of his death. A large part of Gāndhi's social philosophy was devoted to the uplift of the depressed classes, the fight against untouchability, social welfare, rural progress, and inter-caste harmony. The huge population of India's social outcastes (*pañchama**) he designated as *harijan*, 'children of god', a term borrowed from the writings of the Vaishṇava saints; built *āśrams* (retreats) for them and founded communities of service to them. Some of this was no doubt the result of his desire to strengthen the outer fringes of Hindu society, consisting of the untouchables and outcastes who were ceding in large

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numbers to the Islamic and Christian promise of equality and a new life as a result of the intolerance and oppression of Hindu orthodoxy.

The Ājīvika* notion of *svabhāva* (selfness or self-sufficiency) became a keystone of the Gāndhian structure. In religion it found expression as *svadharma*, 'one's own religion'. Though Gāndhi claimed to believe in the fundamental truths of all great religions he was strongly opposed to proselytizing because of the superior spirituality of the Hindu dharma. The same idea found its reflection in *svarāj*, 'self-rule', which again was only the political aspect of a doctrine whose economic side was *svadeśi*, 'one's country', i.e. living on the produce and manufactures of one's own land, without depending on outside (specifically British) imports. One direct result of this was the 'weaving of one's own cloth', which provided a symbol for renascent India in the *charkhā*, spinning wheel*, a symbol likewise of his opposition to mills and machinery. The development of cottage industries and the production of handspun and hand-woven cloth, called *khādi* (or khaddar) was Gāndhi's panacea for curing the ills and removing the poverty of India. It also gave a badge to the movement in the 'Gāndhi cap', actually a head covering of Śaka origin (*see* dress).

*Ahiṁsā** or non-violence was another facet of ancient Hindu dharma that Gāndhi exploited to the full, an adoption facilitated by the fact that he came from Gujarāt where the Jain influence had always been strong. Gāndhi brought ahiṁsā from the sphere of religion to the realm of politics, trimming it to the exigencies of the particular situation he was confronted with. Seldom in his career did ahiṁsā have any reference to an active compassion, but served rather as a doctrine of expediency used purely as a political tool, and expressed in the *hartāl* (strikes, closing of shops, cessation of work), in movements of 'passive resistance', 'civil disobedience', and 'non-violent non-cooperation'. Said Gāndhi, 'I placed ahiṁsā before the Congress as a political weapon, to be employed for the solution of political questions'. An unarmed majority could not do otherwise than adopt the expedient of the weight of their own numbers, so that it developed into a form of brute force.

It must be remembered that although he inevitably took over so much from ancient Hinduism, Gāndhi also borrowed widely from European thought. When he went to England for his studies he tried to conform, like other Indians of his time, to Western ways. These simple and superficial adaptations did not however change his personal habits. He took dancing lessons, wore a top hat, tried to learn the violin, studied French and Latin. He smoked a few cigarettes but did not take to the habit. He even paid two innocuous visits to brothels. These activities may have been the required experiences of that era, and Gāndhi like any model undergraduate simply followed suit. But many of his deeper attitudes, even his personal principles had their source in European thought and he frequently found his convictions strengthened through the reading of English works.

For instance, he had no deep convictions about the virtues of vegetarianism except his own childhood revulsion which was so great that when he once tried beef he brought it up. Refusing to accept this weakness he tried again some days later and was able heroically to keep it down. This natural dislike and his regard for his mother, to whom meat-eating was abhorrent,

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were the only reasons why he kept off meat. Once, however, while dining in a vegetarian restaurant in London he came across a book, Salt's 'Plea for Vegetarianism', which he read and re-read. This and the appeal of his Bayswater vegetarian friends won him over completely, and he became henceforth what he called 'a vegetarian by choice'.

He was introduced to the *Bhagavadgītā* by English Theosophists, and first read it in Sir Edwin Arnold's translation. Only after that did he come to regard it as his book. But he was also deeply attached to the Sermon on the Mount. 'Today', he said, 'supposing I was deprived of the *Gītā*, and forgot all its contents, but had a copy of the Sermon on the Mount, I should derive the same joy from it as I do from the *Gītā*.' His favourite hymn, which he frequently used at his prayer meetings, was Newman's 'Lead Kindly Light'.

The merits of *brahmacharya* (continence) were brought home to him by a quotation from Ruskin about Mrs Gladstone, and he became aware of the economic and moral benefits of handspinning and austerity from Ruskin and Tolstoy. The works of Max Müller first gave him an interest in his own religion. His system of educational reform which was called *nai tālim* (new education) was based on the Tolstoyan notion that it should 'grow out of the atmosphere surrounding us in the country and in response to it'. The first school at Sevagram (Wardha) became the pattern for subsequent institutions of the same kind. It developed a self-supporting system of practical education with stress on subjects like weaving, farming and handicrafts. All the fundamental concepts of the nai talīm were based on such Western schemes as 'Learning Through Activity', 'The Project Method', and the Lanbach System.

Gāndhi's political philosophy was to an appreciable extent moulded by Western theories too. Says M. N. Roy, 'The Christian Socialism of Charles Kingsley and his followers anticipated Gāndhism by more than half a century'. The phrase 'civil disobedience' which gave the British administration in India their worst headache was borrowed from Henry Thoreau. Gāndhi fully recognized the value of Indianizing whatever foreign notions he took over, since that made them familiar to his people. Thus while in South Africa he inaugurated a Passive Resistance Association but soon felt that the name should be changed to an Indian one. So in 1907 he offered a prize in his journal *Indian Opinion* for the most suitable Indian equivalent for 'Passive Resistance', and from this competition was born the term *satyāgraha*.

Satyāgraha, the compulsive power of truth, or soul-force, became the watchword of his movement in India and elsewhere. Gāndhi declared that all his life had been 'an experiment with truth', and that the search for truth was the chief object of his life. This awareness of the power of truth was first brought about by his reading of Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* during his first year in South Africa, and according to Sheean, 'its effect upon him was profound, and remained present in his consciousness to the end'. Another work that left a deep impression was Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, which a friend gave him during a journey to Durban, South Africa. He sat up all night reading it in the train, entranced by its stirring appeal for justice and equality, which was to form the basis of his economic theory. He himself

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confessed that 'It brought about an instant and practical transformation in my life'.

Such were a few of the influences that helped to shape the character and destiny of the greatest Hindu of modern times. His genius lay in his ability to adapt what he borrowed from the West to suit the Indian milieu in which his revolution was being effected. He knew better than any Indian politician the responses he could expect from his people. Because of this insight he was easily able to take up where the long line of his predecessors in the movement for freedom had faltered or gone astray. He was well aware of the veneration that the ascetic receives from the Hindu, and he may well have exploited his own unprepossessing appearance in the 'naked sādhu' role with this in view. He had only to discard his Western garb and don the simple loincloth to become the living embodiment of the sannyāsi and the peasant.

Those who think of the 'Mahātma', as he was called by his people, as a simple-minded saint who went about preaching and practising the highest Hindu *dharma*, do not do justice to his sharp and hard-headed bania mind. His penny-pinching habits never left him and he could drive a hard bargain both in his private affairs and his public relations. His great friend, the Rev C. F. Andrews, spoke of his 'infantile confusion of thought', but if he was sometimes muddle-headed it was only because he was all too human.

The British rulers knew full well that behind his exasperating naivety and apparent simplicity lay concealed a mind of uncommon shrewdness that could pursue its course 'with relentlessness and cunning'. For his overwhelming triumph lay in the fact that he understood not only the emotional springs of his own people, but had a clear and unemotional grasp of the workings of the minds of the alien British.

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GAṆEŚA, elephant-headed son of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is said that the divine couple upon seeing a pair of elephants mating decided to enjoy each other 'in the elephant mode', as a result of which an elephant-headed deity was born. His birthday is celebrated by Hindus in the *Gaṇeśa Chaturtī* festival*.

In some legends Gaṇeśa is the son of Śiva and Durgā, or is created by Pārvatī alone. The story goes that after the birth of Kārttikeya, the gods realizing how powerful a child of Śiva and Pārvatī could be, begged Śiva not to beget any more offspring upon his wife, and to this the god agreed. One day in Śiva's absence Pārvatī playfully fashioned an image of a boy from the scurf and impurities of her body, and commanded him to guard her room while she was bathing. Just then Śiva returned and wished to enter but the boy barred the way, and Śiva in anger cut off his head. In other versions his

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head is destroyed by the envy of the gods, or burnt by an inadvertent glance of Śani (Saturn), or by a demon entering his mother's womb before his birth and devouring his foetal head. To console Pārvatī the head was replaced by Śiva (or Vishṇu) with the first head that came to hand, which happened to be that of an elephant (in some legends Indra's elephant). In a later conflict with a *ṛishi* (or with the hero Paraśurāma) to whom he denied access to Śiva while the latter was meditating, Gaṇeśa lost one of his tusks.

Gaṇeśa is depicted as a pink, corpulent, pot-bellied, snake-encinctured, elephant-headed god, with one tusk, riding on or attended by a rat. He has four hands which hold a shell (or water lily), discus, club (or axe), and a *modaka* (a sweetened riceball, his favourite food). On one occasion a snake frightened him and he fell precipitately off his rat; his enormous belly burst open and a large quantity of the modaka sweetmeats on which he had just feasted rolled out. He stuffed the balls back into his belly, caught the snake and tied it around his tummy to keep it intact. The moon who had witnessed the whole episode laughed heartily and incurred the wrath of Gaṇeśa.

His wives were Siddhī, Buddhī and Pushṭī, whom he won from his rival, his brother Kārttikeya in a bet. The brothers were to race around the world. While Kārttikeya struggled around the earth Gaṇeśa sat at home studying old texts on geography, which he later quoted to prove that he had been around, and so won the race. In another story he just made a circumambulation of his father Śiva and won the race by claiming that he had circled the Lord of the Universe.

Gaṇeśa originally appears to have been a bringer of catastrophe, madness and misfortune, who inspired dread, but these qualities were later transferred to his aspect as Vināyaka (see below). From the early medieval period Gaṇeśa began to be generally honoured and regarded as a god of good luck and wisdom, a remover of obstacles and a patron of learning. The sage Vyāsa was supposed to have used Gaṇeśa as an amanuensis while he dictated the *Mahābhārata*. Gaṇeśa's name is invoked at the commencement of all undertakings and is found inscribed at the beginning of all literary works by the devout. Even in homage paid to other deities Gaṇeśa's name is always placed first, thus: 'Salutation to the five gods*, with Gaṇeśa at the beginning'. If a merchant gets into financial difficulty or goes bankrupt he shows his annoyance by turning his Gaṇeśa image upside down.

Gaṇeśa is the Lord (Īśa) of the Gaṇa, a group of semi-divine spirits or godlings*. Hence he is also called Gaṇapati (Gaṇa-Lord) or Gaṇeśvara (Gaṇa-God). An important cult known as the *Gāṇapatya* devoted to the worship of this deity and his companions the Gaṇas began to flourish from about AD 650. The cult knows no caste distinctions and is especially popular with the outcaste and depressed classes.

The veneration of the Gaṇas was associated from early times with the worship of a spirit called VINĀYAKA, whose name is often used synonymously with Gaṇapati. In some texts he represents the leader of the Gaṇas, appointed by Rudra to obstruct the actions of men; in others he is the remover of obstacles. His mother is Ambikā, an aspect of the Mother Goddess Śakti.

The Vināyaka (they are also referred to collectively and are said to be between two to six in number) often put a spell on those who displease them.

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As a result royal princes do not inherit the kingdom, girls do not get grooms, wives do not bear children, students do not succeed, and all undertakings end in failure. When these spirits possess a man, as they are believed to do, he writhes on the ground, pounds the earth, eats grass, dreams of water, feels he is moving in the air, and imagines he is being pursued. A person who shows any such symptoms is made to bathe in water brought from four places in which a little earth from the four quarters is dissolved. The Vināyaka are invoked and propitiated with food and other offerings in order to remove the spell or end the haunting.

The Gāṇapatya worshipper meditates on Gaṇapati as the ruler and sustainer of the universe. Members of the cult are branded on both arms with a hot iron, with marks representing Gaṇapati's face and a tusk. One Gāṇapatya sect combines Śakti worship with Gaṇapati who then has five esoteric aspects which are related to the five emanations of the divinity. The left-hand form of worship resembles that of the Kaulas. The Gaṇapati image meditated upon is then extremely obscene, and the god is shown seated on a toad instead of a rat; the rites are attended by the drinking of wine and promiscuous and perverse intercourse.

Devotion to Gaṇapati was also practised by Buddhists, although here the form was mainly Tantrik, with meditation on the figure of two intertwined elephant-faced deities. The accompanying secret rituals were as profligate as those of the left-hand Hindu sects.

Gaṇeśa is also known as: Ākhu-ratha, 'rat-charioted'; Dhūmra-ketu, 'grey-shaped'; Eka-danta, 'one-tusked'; Gaja-ānana, 'elephant-faced'; Gaja-vadana, 'elephant-mouthed'; Gaṇa-pati, 'Lord of the Gaṇas' (see above); Gaṇeśvara, 'God of the Gaṇas'; Heramba, 'glutton'; Kari-mukha, 'elephant-faced'; Lamba-karṇa, 'long-eared'; Lambodara, 'pendent-bellied'; Loka-bandhu, 'people's friend'; Pillayar (a South Indian name); Su-mukha, 'beautiful-faced'; Śūrpa-karṇa, 'winnowing-basket eared'; Vakra-tuṇḍa, 'twisted-trunk'; Vighneśa, 'Obstacle Lord'; Vināyaka, 'Leader' (see above).

Books

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(*See also under* Mythology.)

GAṄGĀ, the goddess of the sacred river Ganges, has a name of Austric origin, and is one of the many 'native' goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. She is mentioned only twice in the *Ṛig-veda* and does not occupy a prominent place in the other Vedas, but assumes a position of great importance in the Purāṇas. Gaṅgā was the daughter of Himavat the personification of the Himālaya mountains, and Menā, and was a sister of Pārvatī, Śiva's wife. She often assumed human shape and sported in her river.

It so happened that one day eight godlings called *Vasu* accidentally flew past the sage Vasishṭha while he was absorbed in meditation, and he cursed them to be born among men. Hastening to the goddess Gaṅgā they besought her to become their human mother, to which she agreed provided that each of them bestowed an eighth part of his power on her own son. She now had to

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look around for a suitable earthly mate. She first chose the handsome king Pratīpa descendant of Bharata, and sitting upon his right thigh asked him to marry her. Pratīpa replied that since she had sat on his right thigh which is the place for one's children, and not on his left thigh where one's consort sits, he could only accept her as the wife of his son *Śāntanu*, and not as his own wife.

Gaṅgā therefore appeared to the young prince Śāntanu as he was walking on the banks of the Ganges near the site now called Garmukhteśvar. He immediately fell in love with her and asked her to marry him. She consented on condition that he would never get angry with her no matter what she did. He gave her his promise and the couple were married. She bore eight children each of whom she threw into the Ganges so that they might speedily return to their celestial state. Śāntanu controlled his temper but when his eighth child was cast away his pent-up wrath burst forth and he upbraided his wife. The goddess reminded him of his broken pledge and left the earth, waiting only long enough to leave him with the fruit of their final union, the ninth child who was their own and was endowed with all the virtues of the eight godlings. This child was Śāntanava who later became famous under the name of Bhīshma*.

The Vasu who were reborn as the children of Gaṅgā and Śāntanu were the counsellors and attendants of Indra, and were regarded as personifications of natural phenomena. Their names are Pratyūsha, 'light'; Prabhāsa, 'dawn'; Anila, 'wind'; Anala, 'fire'; Dhruva, the pole star; Soma, the moon; Dhava, 'earth', and Āpas, 'water'. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the Vasu are listed among the Ādityas, and in the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma is given a place among them after he is slain.

For the names of Gaṅgā *see* Ganges.

Books

See under Mythology.

GANGES, sacred river of the Hindus, is personified as the goddess Gaṅgā*, a name of Austric derivation. Originally the river Gaṅgā was confined to the celestial regions, flowing from the toe of Vishṇu to the various paradises and giving fertility to the spheres of heaven. How the Ganges was brought down to earth is told in the story of Bhagīratha, who by means of severe austerities obtained permission from the gods for the river to descend to earth so that its sacred waters might flow over the ashes of the sons of his great-grandfather Sagara*.

The river came down in a mighty torrent and would have flooded the earth had not Śiva allowed it to flow through his hair and so break the fall. From the head of Śiva it flowed down as the Sapta-sindhava, 'seven streams', or the seven sacred rivers* of India. There was a slight interruption in its progress when the offended sage Jahnu drank up the river because it flooded his sacrificial ground, but all was well again when he allowed it once more to flow out of his ear. From the ear of Jahnu it came to earth on a day still celebrated as the festival* of *Gaṅgā Daśaharā*.

The water of the Ganges is regarded as an elixir. Taken daily it confers

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immortality. A bath in it purifies one of all sin. Applied to various parts of the body while performing a penance, by standing in the river on one leg from one new moon to the next, it can cure diseases of those parts and the organs. Voluntary death by drowning in the sacred stream assures one a place in paradise. Even consigning the bones and ashes of a deceased person to the river ensures his entry into bliss. The Purāṇas relate how a bone of a dead dog, while being carried over the Ganges by a crow, was accidentally dropped into the holy waters, as a result of which the dog was instantly translated to heaven.

The main tributaries of the Ganges are the Gūmtī (ancient Gomatī), Gogra (*see* rivers), Gaṇḍakī (associated with Vṛindā*), Son and Kosi. Gaṅgotri and Badrīnāth (the site of one of Śaṅkara's monasteries) in the Himālayas lie near the source of the Ganges. The chief towns on its banks are Hardwār* where the river descends to the plains, Allāhābād where the Ganges meets the Jamnā, Banāras sacred city of the Hindus, and in ancient days, Pāṭaliputra. At the island of Sāgar near the mouth of the Ganges, the river is believed to enter the nether regions. Hence the island of Sāgar is also sacred and a centre of pilgrimage.

The river Gaṅgā and the goddess are also called Alaka-nandī (from the 'locks of Śiva'); Bhadra-soma (blessed drink); Bhāgīrathī (from Bhagīratha); Deva-bhūti (heaven produced); Gāndinī (ever singing); Hara-śekharā (Śiva crest); Jāhnavī (from Jahnu); Khāpagā (flowing from heaven); Kumāra-sū (since she was the mother of Kārttikeya); Mandākinī (gently flowing); Tripathagā or Triśrotāḥ (triple-flowing, i.e. through heaven, earth and hell).

Books

See under Geography and Mythology.

GĀRGYA, an unidentified tribe of ancient India believed to be of foreign origin. The hypothesis of the Greek derivation of names like Gārgya, Garga and Gargī has been put forward. The tribe is named after Gārga son of Vitatha. According to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, 'From Gārgya sprang Śina (or Śini) from whom were descended the Gārgya and Śainya, who although kshattriyas by birth became brāhmins and great ṛishis'. One of their descendants was Gārgya son of Bālākī, a renowned teacher, grammarian and Vedic scholar, and the founder of a depraved Pāśupata sect.

Another famous member of the tribe was KĀLAYAVANA (kāla-yavana, 'black Greek') son of Garga. He has not been satisfactorily identified, and little is known about him, except that he was a mysterious mlechchha (foreign) king who led an army of barbarians to Mathurā. Unable to withstand so formidable a foe Kṛishṇa lured him into the cave where the mighty Muchukunda (*see* Māndhātṛi) lay in his long sleep. Kālayavana accidentally stumbled over the prone figure, and Muchukunda opened his eyes and flashed forth the dread fire which instantly reduced the barbarian king to ashes.

Kālayavana is believed by some to be a scion of a Greek dynasty long established in India; he has a number of devotees who worship him as a god,

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while condemning Kṛishṇa as an impious and merciless tyrant, a ravisher of women, and a treacherous enemy.

Books

See under Mythology.

GARUḌA, a mythical bird, the offspring of the sage Kaśyapa by Vinatā daughter of the mahāṛishi Daksha. He was hatched from an enormous egg five hundred years after his mother laid him. Half giant and half eagle, with the body and limbs of a man, he had the head, beak and talons of an eagle. Such was the radiance that shone from his presence that the gods mistook him for Agni, god of fire, and worshipped him. He is depicted with a white face, red wings and body of gold.

There was great enmity between the two wives of Kaśyapa, Vinatā the mother of Garuḍa, and Kadrū the mother of the Nāgas (serpent people), as a result of which Garuḍa inherited his mother's dislike for snakes, and he became famous in legend as a destroyer of serpents. For a time his mother was held in bondage by Kadrū and her Nāga brood, and in order to purchase her freedom Garuḍa flew to heaven and stole the *amṛita* or nectar of immortality from the gods which he hastened to hand over to the serpents in exchange for his mother. Indra discovered the theft and gave chase. In the terrible battle that ensued Indra was worsted and his thunderbolt smashed, but he was able to snatch away the goblet of precious liquid just as the serpent king was about to drink from it. One drop however spilled on the ground which the serpent licked up and thus gained immortality and a divided tongue. Garuḍa afterwards became the vehicle of Vishṇu.

Garuḍa's eldest son by Śyenī, 'falcon', was JAṬĀYU, who was king of the vultures and a friend of Daśaratha the father of Rāma. According to the *Padma Purāṇa*, Daśaratha once challenged Śani (Saturn) to combat for causing pestilence and famine, and Śani cast a fiery discus at his aerial chariot and sent the king hurtling back to earth. Jaṭāyu instantly swooped beneath him and bore him safely down on outspread wings. Jaṭāyu was also a witness to the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. He followed them in hot pursuit and there was a fierce struggle in mid-air watched by the inhabitants of all the unseen worlds. Jaṭāyu destroyed the demon king's chariot and severely wounded him, but Rāvaṇa in turn dealt him a mortal blow and Jaṭāyu fell headlong to earth. Rāma, going in search of Sītā came across the dying vulture king and heard from him the story of Sītā's abduction. When he died Rāma and Lakshmaṇa performed his funeral rites and his soul ascended to heaven in a chariot of fire.

Jaṭāyu's brother *Saṁpāti* was the son of Garuḍa by Unnatī (or Vināyakā). Saṁpāti boasted that he could soar to the sun, and in an attempt to do so scorched his wings and fell on a mountain top where he was found by Hanumān. He informed the monkey chieftain of the direction Rāvaṇa had taken when carrying off Sītā, whereupon his wings were suddenly and miraculously restored.

Garuḍa is also known as Amṛitāharaṇa (nectar-stealer), Dakshāya (from Daksha), Gaganeśvara (sky-lord), Garutmān (winged), Khageśvara (king of

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birds), Kāśyapi (from Kaśyapa), Nāgāntaka (destroyer of serpents), Pannaganāśana (destroyer of serpents), Śālmalin (taloned), Suparṇa (beautifully winged), Surendrajit (vanquisher of Indra), Tārkshya, Vainateya (from his mother), Vināyaka.

Books

See under Mythology.

GAUḌAPĀDA (fl. AD 725), *advaita* (monistic) philosopher, the preceptor of Śaṅkara's teacher Govindapāda. Śaṅkara himself owed much to him. Gauḍapāda wrote a commentary on Sāṁkhya, and in his 'Kārikā' set forth the principles of advaita, expounding the theory of the identity of Brahma and ātman, the significance of *māyā**, and so on. He was deeply influenced by Buddhism, particularly Yogāchāra philosophy.

An exponent of a very strict form of monism, he denied the possibility of change or the validity of causation. 'There is no destruction, no creation, no one in bondage, none striving for release, none liberated. This is the absolute truth'. Gauḍapāda taught the doctrine of *ajātivāda*, 'non-origination', i.e. that the Absolute, being self-existent, is never the creator; and that the world, being only an appearance is never created. The world has no end because it has no beginning. It therefore does not exist, for obviously, what is non-existent in the beginning and in the end, is non-existent in the middle as well.

He stressed the sole and ultimate reality of Brahma, and the relative character of everyday experience. As a firebrand (*alāta*) burning at one end, when moved rapidly round in a circle, creates the illusion of a ring of fire, so it is with the multiplicity of the world. The object of philosophy he maintained was to 'Quench the Firebrand' (*alātaśānti*).

Gauḍapāda held that our dream experiences are on a par with waking experience, although waking and dreaming may be mutually irreconcilable. Within their own spheres they are both coherent, dream experiences being as coherent in the dream state, as waking experiences in the waking state. They are both equally real and, in an absolute sense, equally unreal. Through the similarity of waking states to dreams, and the difficulty of fathoming the relation between them; in other words, through the inapplicability of the laws of causality, Gauḍapāda establishes the illusory character of the world of experience and from there proceeds to establish a system of pure and absolute monism.

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(*See also under* Advaita and Philosophy.)

GAVĀMAYANA (*gavām-ayana*, 'cow-way', also translated 'the way of the sun') the name of an ancient *sattra* or sacrificial 'session' lasting a full year, performed with the intention of strengthening the power which makes the

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sun move in its orbit. It is of singular interest because of the great solstician (generally winter) sacrifice known as the *mahāvrata* (*mahā-vrata*, 'great-rite') which brought the proceedings to a close. The precise order of the rite is not known but it included several curious archaic features, among them the beating of an earthen drum to drive away the demons who were trying to overpower the sun. Fragments of *sāmans* (chants) and *stotras* (hymns of praise) of a very early date also survive.

The mahāvrata also included a mock struggle between a fair complexioned vaiśya and a dark-complexioned śūdra for the possession of a round, white ball wrapped in a skin, which always ultimately fell to the vaiśya, a struggle interpreted as representing the triumph of the sun over the winter. The skin of a barren cow was hung up on a tree and pierced with arrows. There followed the ritual swaying of a priest in a swing, which symbolized a bird flying to heaven in a celestial ship. A circle of girls with water pitchers danced around the priest and around the ceremonial fire, and were likewise referred to as birds flying to heaven. The priest then touched a hundred-stringed harp with the branch of a fig-tree, invoking the three winds, *prāṇa*, *vyāna* and *apāna*.

Among the archaic elements of this ceremony several related to fertility magic. There was much railing by the participants, and a dialogue of ritual abuse between a brāhmin priest, a young celibate student, and a *māgadha* or bard on the one hand, and a *puṁśchalī* or prostitute on the other, culminating in sexual intercourse between her and the priest. The mahāvrata was said to have been one of the characteristic sacrifices of the Vrātyas*, whence its name.

Books

See under Sacrifice.

GAYA, a town in Bihār sacred to Hindus and Buddhists. Originally called Gah-i-Kaiwan (Saturn's residence) it was an ancient place of Maga worship and remained so for many centuries. The surrounding countryside is still referred to by its inhabitants as Maga. An inscription dated AD 1137 found in the Gaya district mentions Magian or Persian priests of the Śakadvīpa caste, who built sun temples in many parts of India, and in Gaya today we find relics of the sun temple, the sun cult and the Śakadvīpa brāhmins (IV, p. 27).

According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which contains much material on the sanctity of Gaya, the town received its name from the *asura* Gaya who was so holy that all who touched or even saw him were assured of a place in heaven. Yama god of the underworld complained that this state of affairs was beginning to empty hell, so Vishṇu instructed Brahmā to perform a sacrifice on Gaya's body. The asura when approached, readily agreed and lay on the ground so that his body might serve as an altar. The gods performed the sacrifice and then proceeded to transfix the demon to the ground so that he might never move from there again. But the asura still moved even though the elephant god Gaṇeśa sat on his neck and Vāyu the wind god held down his feet, and Yama placed a stone on his head and sat upon it. Then Śiva danced

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on his back the mystic *tāṇḍava* dance and Gaya lay still, but once the dance was over he stirred again, until Vishṇu came to add his weight.

The demon protested against the ingratitude and baseness of the heavenly hosts, and the gods realizing that he was indeed a holy and powerful asura asked him to make a request, but urged him to remain where he was. Gaya agreed to abide there; the place was named after him as he desired, and was declared to be one of the holy cities of the earth, and so it has remained to this day. In some legends Gaya was killed by Vishṇu.

Gaya and its environs belonged to the ancient kingdom of Magadha, and became a seat of Buddhist worship, the Buddhists taking over many of the places already hallowed by Magian worship. (The town of Budh Gaya seven miles south of Gaya still retains its Buddhist associations and has a famous stūpa*.) Most of the Buddhist shrines have long been converted to Hindu worship.

Pilgrims resort to Gaya for *śrāddha* ceremonies, since Vishṇu decreed that all who performed these ceremonies there would be translated, along with their ancestors, to heaven. Gaya contains a Vishṇupād (*pāda* or footprint of Vishṇu) on a small stone which is an object of great veneration. Near by stands an *akshya-baṭ* or immortal banyan tree to which offerings are made.

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GĀYATRĪ, the second wife of Brahmā*, was probably an apotheosis of a *gopī* (milkmaid) of the Ābhīra* tribe, whose legendary marriage to that deity symbolized the growing alliance between the Aryan immigrants and the non-Aryan inhabitants of ancient India. Brahmā was said to have married her hurriedly as he needed a substitute when his own wife Sarasvatī was late for an important sacrifice at which her presence was imperative. For this affront Sarasvatī cursed the god to be worshipped not more than once a year. Gāyatrī is also called *Sāvitrī*, though some legends make a distinction between these two goddesses.

The most famous of all *mantras** or invocations in Hinduism, found in *Ṛig-veda* III, 62, 10, is named after her the *Gāyatrī-mantra*. It is also known after her other name as *Sāvitrī-mantra*, and because it is addressed to the sun-god Savitṛi there is yet another variant, the Savitṛi-mantra. It was composed by the non-brāhmin sage Viśvāmitra*, and may have represented the confession of faith for non-Aryan converts to the new Aryan religion. The mantra with its accents reads as follows:

Oṁ (*see* mystic syllables)
bhúr bhúvaḥ sváḥ (called *vyā-hṛiti*, *see* mantra)
tát Savitúr váreṇyam
bhárgo devásya dhímahī } (three octosyllabic lines constituting the main
dhíyo yó naḥ prachodáyāt } body of the mantra)

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One out of several dozen translations given for this invocation reads as follows:

O that glory-of-Savitṛi most-excellent!
The effulgence of the Divine let us meditate upon!
May it inspire us with understanding!

Originally a simple invocation to the sun to shed its blessings on the earth, it came to be regarded as a mystic formula of universal power, constituting the most sacred verse in the Hindu scriptures. It holds the key to divine knowledge and is accorded the title of VEDAMĀTṚI, 'mother of the Vedas', since it is believed that its syllables contain the substance of all the four Vedas. It is the duty of every brāhmin to repeat it mentally every morning and evening and also on certain other occasions. It is regarded as so holy that copyists often refrain from transcribing it lest its effulgence reduce them to ashes.

Books

See under Mantra and Mythology.

GEMS, called *ratna*, 'bestowed' (because given by the gods without effort on the part of man) represent the most potent species of the mineral* world, and are frequently objects of great veneration. Their study, called *ratna-parīkshā*, 'jewel science', is elaborated in the famous medieval works of Buddhabhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa-paṇḍita. The prototypes of all jewels appeared from the deep when the gods and demons churned the ocean to obtain *amṛita*, the nectar* of immortality. Among these jewels was *kaustubha*, which was taken by Vishṇu and worn on his breast, and a pair of earrings which Vishṇu gave to Aditi; they were later stolen by the *asura* Naraka, but recovered and restored to the goddess by Kṛishṇa.

Because of the active part played by the serpent Vāsuki in the churning operations, a great quantity of gems was given to the Nāga kingdom, whose legendary capital Bhogavatī is paved with jewels. In Hindu mythology the expanded hood of the cosmic serpent Śesha is called *Maṇidvīpa* (*maṇi-dvīpa*, 'jewel-island') a realm filled with large brilliant gems of many hues. In its centre glows the *chintāmaṇi*, 'thought-jewel', the stone that grants all desires; fragments of the same stone adorn the heads of lesser serpent kings. Another wonderful jewel, the *divya-ratna*, 'divine-gem', which originally belonged to Brahmā, is now in Indra's paradise of Svarga, and is likewise capable of granting all wishes.

Other mythical stones are: the *sūrya-kānta*, 'sun-beloved', a stone said to be formed from the condensed rays of the sun; it is believed to have great healing efficacy, particularly in counteracting 'cold' diseases; the *dahanopala* (*dahana-upala*, 'burning-stone'), sacred to Agni, can cure fevers of all kinds; the *chandra-kānta*, 'moon-beloved' formed of the condensed rays of the moon, has a cooling influence.

The deity presiding over all gems is Kubera*, whose chief treasure consists of nine mystic *nidhi* or jewels, although what these are is not known. On this analogy there were said to be nine main varieties of precious stones, the

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nava-ratna, generally named as follows: pearl (*maṇi* or *muktā*); diamond (*vajra* or *hīra*); coral (*vidruma*); ruby (*padma-rāga*); emerald (*marakata*); sapphire (*nīla*); topaz (*pushpa-rāga*); crystal (*sphaṭika*); and *gomeda*, 'cow-fat' (unidentified). The pearl, though of organic origin, is usually considered with the gems. It is ascribed to the god Vishṇu, as his tears, or to Śiva as his sperm. The emerald is considered a powerful antidote to poison. The ruby or *padma-rāga*, 'lotus-passion' is the queen of all stones. A good ruby should never be worn along with a bad one. The ruby is also called *kuruvinda*, 'the gain of the Kurus', from which are derived the Hindi term *kurund*, and the English corundum, a hard mineral substance of the same class of gems as the ruby and the sapphire.

According to Hindu lore, gems are the congealed influences of the planets and heavenly bodies, the crystallized products of invisible rays operating within the crust of the earth. They therefore retain the powers of the planets in a highly concentrated form. A Hindu 'family' gem was never allowed to be seen by any outsider, and was handled only on rare occasions. Such family gems are handed down from generation to generation; they are never sold, whatever the state of the family fortunes; they are large and fabulous and on occasion may be donated to a temple to adorn the deity. Mostly they are kept as heirlooms, and seldom seen even by the members of the family. They may be worn on special occasions for a few hours.

'Personal' gems on the other hand are often worn but only by the person to whom they belong and by no one else; they are also handed down as heirlooms. A personal gem is said to warn its owner of an impending calamity, or to presage good fortune by changing its colour; a darker or lighter hue auguring respectively a bad or good time.

Gems are believed to have the power to cure diseases, to increase strength, to counteract evil influences. They are worn as amulets against sickness and are sometimes, though rarely, powdered and drunk. Often different varieties of the same gem are classified according to caste; thus there are brāhmin, kshattriya, vaiśya and śūdra rubies.

While specific gems have their intrinsic virtues or maleficent emanations, these are thought to be augmented by the presence of certain marks or defects in the stone, and such marks should be carefully looked out for before a gem is accepted for personal use. In bright gems, especially diamonds, the following are the chief marks: *rekhā*, 'scratch', such a blemish attracts poisons and exposes the wearer to the likelihood of snake and scorpion bites; *bindu*, 'drop', a dark or blood-coloured circular spot, endangers the wearer's life and property; *chheda*, 'slit', an interior crack, brings about the loss of a friend or dear one; *kalaṅka*, a stain, results in defamation of one's name and loss of honour; *kāka-pāda*, 'crow's foot', small cracks radiating from a point, brings death and ruin; *trasa*, 'crack', a break in the stone, this is very inauspicious and 'can even dethrone Indra'.

The marks on dark stones, especially the ruby, are as follows: *dvi-chhāya*, 'two-shades', brings about the death of friends; *virūpa*, 'deformed', like a bird's foot, brings humiliation; *saṁvegā*, 'violence', a mark like a rift, brings a wound from a weapon; *asovana*, 'as if dipped in milk', draws down calamities; *kokila*, a mark like a drop of honey, is inimical to life, wealth and fame;

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jara, 'discoloured', brings loss of wealth; *dhūmra*, 'smoky', attracts lightning strokes.

The diamond or vajra is the monarch of all gems. India has from earliest days been renowned for the size and brilliance of her diamonds. The fabulous Golkondā mines were known throughout the world from countless legends and travellers tales. One of the most famous of Indian diamonds was the Koh-i-noor, for long linked with the fate of kings. It was supposed to have first belonged to an ancient aboriginal king, then passed to the Aryans, and through a succession of rājas down to modern times. Alā-ud-dīn the Delhi Sultān took it as part of the king of Mālwā's treasure in AD 1304. It was known to be with the Moghuls till 1526 when it came into the hands of Ahmad Shāh and later of Ranjīt Singh (*see* Jagannātha). When the British annexed the Panjāb, all the state jewels of Lahore were confiscated by the East India Company, and in 1850 the Koh-i-noor was presented to Queen Victoria, to become one of the crown jewels.

Another famous diamond, the Great Moghul, found in 1650, was acquired by the emperor Aurangzeb and after that disappeared from history. No one knows where it is now. The Pitt (or Regent), the largest and most beautiful diamond in the world, passed from the British to the French. Napoleon I wore it in the pommel of his sword, considering it a talisman of his career.

Many stories are told of the priceless jewels stolen from Indian temples, and while the majority are no more than fantasies a few at least are true. Thus the Orloff diamond once formed the eye of a Hindu god; it was stolen by a French grenadier of Pondicherry who managed to pass off as a brāhmin (IV. p. 96) and sold to an English sea captain who in turn sold it to a Jew. It was subsequently bought by Prince Orloff for presentation to Catherine II of Russia.

Other tales tell of the great curse attached to certain diamonds, the most notorious example being the Hope diamond, which came from the Kistna river mines in South India. It was stolen from an Indian temple by Jean Baptiste Tavernier in 1642. Tavernier suffered disgrace and ended his days a penniless exile, killed by a pack of mad dogs. The diamond, purchased by Louis XIV, was inherited by the ill-fated Louis XVI who was executed. It disappeared during the Revolution, reappearing some time later in the possession of a Dutch diamond cutter named Rudolf Fals. Fals's son stole the diamond; the father died of grief and the son committed suicide. It was then bought by an English barber, Henry Hope, after whom it was named. Next, it passed to Hope's grandson whose wife eloped with another man. The grandson sold the diamond, died destitute, while his runaway wife ended up as a scrubwoman. The next owner, a New York dealer named Josef Frankel went bankrupt. The stone was sold to Abdul Hamid, 'the Damned', of Turkey, who gave it to his favourite mistress. She shot herself and he was deposed and exiled. The diamond went to a Greek broker, Simon Montharides, who was killed along with his wife and child in a fall from a precipice. It now came into the possession of a French jeweller, Jacques Colet, who went insane. A Russian prince Fyodor Kanitovski bought the stone and presented it to Mlle Lorens Laduc of the Folies Bergére. The next day he killed her; he himself was stabbed to death. Eventually it was acquired by the American

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multi-millionairess Mrs Edward McLean. Her son met his end in an automobile accident, her daughter took an overdose of sleeping pills, she herself became estranged from her husband and died in a mental institution. On her death in 1947 the Hope diamond was bought by Harry Winston a New York jeweller who, ten years later, for some unknown reason, despatched it by mail (three dollars postage; one hundred and fifty dollars insurance) as a donation to the Smithsonian Institute.

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GENDER. Although the Absolute is regarded in Tantrik philosophy as one and indivisible, it is manifest in the process of 'becoming' as a duality named Śiva and Śakti, representing the warp and woof of the fabric of existence, or the two poles about which the cosmos revolves.

In the phenomenal world this polarity is universally found in the 'gender' of things, which implies not only difference in sex, but in 'opposites' (*viparyaya*) with an all-inclusive application. The human body being a true microcosm* enshrines all the opposites within itself. Tantriks hold that a reconciliation of these polarities for the attainment of a harmonious unity can be achieved by solitary meditation or *bindu** techniques uniting the opposite forces of *kuṇḍalinī* and *sahasrāra*; or by sexual congress uniting male and female in the act of *maithuna*.

Tantrik texts give detailed catalogues of deities, objects, qualities and states of body and mind, arranged in opposites covering the animal, vegetable, material and immaterial worlds. A brief sample list follows.

Male	*Female*
	Deities
Śiva	Śakti
Sūrya (sun)	Chandra (moon)
Ravi (sun)	Śaśin (moon)
Mihira (sun)	Indu (moon)
Purusha	Prakṛiti
Agni	Soma
Yamunā	Gaṅgā
Kṛishṇa	Rādhā
	Body
Right half of body	Left half of body
prāṇa (cardiac breath)	*apāna* (rectal breath)

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Male	*Female*
piṅgalā (right nāḍi)	*iḍā* (left nāḍi)
right nostril	left nostril
śarīrin (soul)	*śarīra* (body)
sahasrāra (cerebral plexus)	*kuṇḍalinī* (basal plexus)
aham (I, the Self)	*idam* (this, the rest)
pravṛitti (the active state of the mind)	*nivṛitti* (the mind in repose)
retas (semen)	*rajas* (menstrual blood)
śukra (white constituent of semen)	*rakta* (invisible red constituent of semen)

Miscellaneous

dakshiṇa (right)	*vāma* (left)
rasanā (tongue)	*lalanā* (uvula)
dhamana (blowing)	*chamana* (sipping)
chamana (pouring)	*dhamana* (tube)
vajra (thunderbolt)	*padma* (lotus)
vyañjana (consonant)	*svara* (vowel)
karuṇā (compassion)	*śūnyata* (the Void)
kāraṇa (cause)	*kārya* (effect)
grāhaka (clasping)	*grāhya* (clasped)
the syllable *ha*	the syllable *tha*
the mantra *kāli* (darkness)	the mantra *āli* (female)
the consonant *ka*	the vowel *a*
the sound *vaṁ*	the sound *e*
kāma (lust)	*kalā* (beauty)
upāya (stratagem)	*prajñā* (art)
daṇḍa (pole)	*garbha* (womb)

Buddhist

aśoka branch	ambrosia vase
flame	moon crescent
flame	*kalaśa* (jar)
yang (Chinese)	*yin*
yab (Tibetan)	*yum*
tao (Chinese)	*teh*

Books

See under Tantrism.

GEOGRAPHY. Indian geography was for long burdened with the incubus of mythology. The earth was called the island of Jambu, the innermost of the seven ring-like continents of Hindu cosmology*, and was divided into various *varsha* or regions. The centre of the island was situated directly under the heavenly region of Ilāvṛita which cast its protective shadow over it. This central spot was known, after its prototype in paradise* as Ilāvṛita, and

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many of the other varsha in Jambu also bore the names of their celestial prototypes.

To the east of the earthly Ilāvṛita lay the region called Bhadrāśva, and to the west Ketumāla. Due north lay Ramyaka, beyond which was Hiraṇmaya; and in the extreme north was Uttarakuru. South of Ilāvṛita lay Harivarsha, further south Kiṁpurusha (or Kiṁnara) and in the extreme south lay Bhārata, or India.

The name Bhārata (Bhārata-varsha or Bhārata-khaṇḍa) one of the early names for India, is derived from the patriarch Bharata. It embraced the whole northern part of the subcontinent, and was traditionally divided into three zones called *krāntā*, 'steps', all of them calculated from the Vindhya range of mountains. They are (1) Vishṇu-krāntā, which extends from the Vindhyas eastwards to Chattala (Chittagong), and includes Bengal; (2) Ratha-krāntā, from the Vindhyas to Mahāchīna (Tibet) including Nepāl, and (3) Aśva-krāntā, from the Vindhyas to the Great Ocean, which is the region of the Deccan.

The territory settled by the Indo-Aryans, i.e. northern India, was variously named. Thus Āryāvarta (or Āryadeśa) the land of the Aryans was used by Manu and the lawgivers for the Indo-Gangetic plain. Brahmaṛishi-deśa covered the areas of Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pañchāla and Śūrasena. Brahmāvarta, home of the early Aryans was the territory between the Ganges and Jamnā. It later included the country of the Pañchālas (Meerut to Allāhābād), Kurukshetra (between Delhi and Meerut), and the land of the Matsyas (modern Jaipur).

Another common division of Bhārata is that into seven or nine *khaṇḍa* or parts, which are inconsistently named and most of which are now unidentifiable. They are (1) Gabhastimat, probably East Bengal and Assam, (2) Kaśerumat, West Bengal, (3) Tāmravarṇa, probably Bihār, (4) Saumya, probably modern Orissa, (5) Indradvīpa, Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, (6) Nāgadvīpa, southern Panjāb and Uttar Pradesh, (7) Gāndharva, probably modern Sind, (8) Kumāraka, the regions conquered by Alexander, (9) Vāruṇa or Gujarāt.

In later times Bengal and South India were added to the sacred areas of Bhārata, and the whole sub-continent called *Āsetu-Himāchala* i.e. from Setu (or Rāma's bridge, between Ceylon and India) to the Himālayas.

Among the devices used to indicate the location of territories was the image of a tortoise (*kūrma*). One imagined a large tortoise straddling the country, with its head over Bengal, which represented its open mouth, its right forefoot over Kaliṅga, its left over Magadha, its belly over northern and central India, its right hindfoot over Saurāshṭra, and left over Rājputāna, its tail pointing to the northwest. This *kūrma-vibhāga*, 'tortoise-distribution' of geographical regions occurs in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and is a survival of ancient geography, which may have been in existence even prior to the Aryan advent in India. The use made of this figure varied to some extent, the areas indicated sometimes stretching from Assam to Afghanistan, and from Tibet to Ceylon, but the head of the tortoise always pointed eastward.

Employing the tortoise analogy the geographical areas of ancient India were roughly distributed as follows:

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Prāgudya, 'east-northern' regions, where the nose of the tortoise lay, would cover Kāmarūpa in modern Assam, and the ancient countries of Lauhitya (modern Gauhāṭi), Prāgjyotisha (Cooch Bihār) and Kirāta (Khāsi Hills).
Prāchya (or Pūrvadeśa), 'eastern'; the head of the tortoise, covered modern Bengal i.e. the ancient areas of Vaṅga (Dacca), Aṅga, Gauḍa, Suhma and Rāḍha.
Magadha, the region of the neck, shoulders and breast, included the area of modern Bihār i.e. the ancient areas of Videha (Dārbhaṅgā), Magadha (Paṭṇa and Gaya) and Puṇḍra (Jamshedpur).
Utkala, the right forefoot; the areas of Utkala (Orissa) and Kaliṅga (Vizagapatam).
Madhyadeśa, the 'middle country' covered by the belly of the tortoise, included the whole of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rājasthān, i.e. the ancient countries of Malla or Vajjī, Kāśī, Kosala, Vatsa, Pañchāla and Chedi in modern Uttar Pradesh; Kuru, Śūrasena and Nāgadvīpa in the Panjāb; Matsya in Rājputāna; and Marubhūmi the Rājputāna desert.
Pratīchya, 'western', the right rear foot, covered the regions of Gujarāt. It is sometimes spoken of as Vāruṇa, and included Lāṭa, Ānarta, and Kachchha (Kāṭhiāwār, Surāshṭra).
Aparānta, 'west-end', the extreme west, in the tail of the tortoise; covered modern Sind and Baluchistan, the ancient area called Sindhu. In some accounts it is also applied to the southwest coast and associated in legends with Paraśurāma.
Udīchya (or Uttarāpatha), 'northern', the left rear foot of the tortoise, included the whole north-western region of Madra, Kekaya, Gandhāra, Kaśmīra (Kashmīr), Kāmboja, Kāpiśa, Vāhlīka, and Ketumāla.
Parvatāśrayin, on the left side of the tortoise, comprised the territories of Kañchana and Mahāchīna, stretching from the Tarai in the Himālayan foothills, Kāṅgṛa and Kumāon, to Nepāl, Sikkim, and Bhutān. The left forefoot would cover these regions.
Dakshiṇāpatha the 'southern regions', spanned Avanti, Bhoja, Vidarbha Mūlaka, Aśmaka, Mūtiba, Āndhra.
Dakshiṇāgra, 'southern tip', for long a sort of terra incognita, embraced Tamilakam and the territories of Chola, Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Laṅkā (Tāmraparṇa, Taprobane, Siṁhala, i.e. modern Ceylon).

Both the terms India and Hindu are of foreign derivation. The western boundary of the early Aryan settlements was the river called by the ancient Indo-European word Sindhu, meaning river, and today known as the Indus. The Persians pronounced the word as Hindhu, and named the inhabitants Hindu. The Greeks dropped the hard aspirate and changed it to Indos, and both they and later the Romans used the term India to designate the entire northern part of the subcontinent. The terms Hind and Hindustān (Hindu-country) is derived from post-Islamic Persian usage.

In few countries in the world has the influence of the physiographic environment on history been more apparent than in India. The stupendous Himālayan range in the north, and the Hindu Kush and Sulaiman ranges in the north-west and west helped to fence off the subcontinent from the rest of

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Asia and nurtured a distinct type of culture. The richness of the Indo-Gangetic plains has attracted nomads and invaders from the barren plateaus of Central Asia from time immemorial. The absence of strong maritime powers in ancient times resulted in the Indian racial streams being constantly fed overland from the great reservoir of the human race, the Central Asia steppe. Their mode of entry has generally been through the narrow mountain defiles of the Hindu Kush (such as the Khyber Pass), and the Sulaiman range (such as the Bolan Pass). Along these routes came the Indo-Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Parthians, Śakas, Kushāns, Huns, Afghans, Arabs, and the armies of Mahmūd of Ghazni, Tīmūr, Bābar, Nādir Shāh, and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

If they descended to Sind the path of the invaders was checked in the south by the Ocean and in the east by the Thār desert of Rājputāna, so they were forced to follow the Jamnā and Ganges valleys by way of the narrow neck of fertile land between the northeastern part of the desert and the foot of the Himālayas. This plain of Pānipat forms, as it were, a natural cockpit and here were fought, besides countless skirmishes, several of the great battles that decided the fate of India, starting from the legendary Mahābhārata war at Kurukshetra not far from Pānipat, and continuing through to the medieval period in the fields of Thānesar. The three chief battles of modern times fought in the Pānipat area occurred in 1526, when Bābur defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī and established the Moghul empire; again in 1556 when Akbar crushed Hemu, general of Ādilshāh, and in 1761 when Ahmad Shah Durrānī broke the Māraṭha power.

The fertile Jamnā-Ganges basins were a natural basis for empire building, since they could support a large population. The British were able to exploit the wealth of Bengal and Bihār and were thus enabled to contend against the French, whose possessions in the Carnatic were not rich enough to form the nucleus of an empire. Sind has neither natural resources nor is it well placed strategically, so the first Arab kingdoms established in that province had not the means to expand to the interior of India, and Arab aggrandisement came to an inevitable halt in the eighth century.

Because of its geographical position and the vast distances from the northern plains and poor communications, the Deccan has for centuries had a more or less separate history from the rest of India. The empires of Aśoka and Samudragupta extending to the Deccan were weakly administered from the northern capitals, and the virtually autonomous rule of the local rājas was taken for granted. Even the Moghuls, despite their more efficient administrative machinery, experienced immense difficulty in controlling their provincial governors who were practically independent. A united India was in fact impossible until the development of communications after 1857 facilitated centralization.

(*See also* Articles under Mountains, Rivers, Towns).

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GOD. Although certain forms of metaphysical speculation notably Sāṁkhya and Buddhism do not posit a Divine Being and may be called atheistical or *nāstika**, most Hindu philosophical systems have a concept of deity in some form or other. The most abstract of these concepts is found in certain of the Upanishads where God is conceived as a transcendent being or Ultimate Principle called Brahma.

Brahma (with a short final *a*, or Brahman, neuter) in the Vedas means devotion, magical formula or the Veda itself. The term is used for the Absolute, or the Ultimate Principle, beyond which nothing exists or has any reality. In the Upanishads, Brahma is said to be beyond all description. Whatever is said of him may also be rendered as *neti, neti* (not this, not that); hence many of the epithets and titles of Brahma are in the negative, e.g. Achala (immovable), Achyuta (imperishable), Achintya (inconceivable), Aja (unborn), Akshara (imperishable), Akshaya (indestructible), Aliṅga (without marks or attributes), Amūrta (incorporeal), Anādi (without beginning), Anir-vāchya (beyond expression), Apaurusheya (impersonal), Asat (non-being), Avāchya (indescribable). Avikārya (unchangeable), Avināśi (indestructible), Avyakta (unmanifest, not known as He is), Avyaya (undiminishing), Nirguṇa (without attributes), Nirdosha (without defects), Nirviśesha (undifferentiated or unparticularized), Nishkriyā (without action, i.e. not the Creator), Nishprapañcha (undiversified, i.e. into manifested or phenomenal elements), Nishkala (without parts, undivided), Nitya (eternal), Parama (transcendent), Sarva-Gata (all-pervasive), Sanātana (ancient), Sarvajña (omniscient), Sarva-śaktimān (omnipotent), Svataḥ-pramāṇa (self-evident), Svayaṁ-bhu (self-existing), Vyāpaka (all-pervading, omnipresent).

In a lesser concept of his absoluteness, Brahma represents the Supreme Experience, the effulgent and universal Awareness. The chief 'qualities' of this stage of the Brahma-concept are generally given as a trinity, namely: *satyam* (truth), *jñānam* (knowledge), and *anantam* (infinity); or *satyam* (truth), *śivam* (goodness), *sundaram* (beauty); or *sat* (being; the term *asat* or 'non-being' given above, implies the passive or unknown condition of this transcendent *sat*), *chit* (the universal consciousness), *ānanda* (bliss). In later Vedānta, Brahma is called Sat-Chid-Ānanda or Sachchidānanda, in a fusion of the last three attributes, which represents a transcendent state of universal potentiality.

The titles given to Brahma are now suggestive of these attributes, thus: Adhyātma, Super-Soul, the Supreme Soul, the Soul of the Universe; Bodhichitta, Wisdom-Mind, the Supreme Mind, a term frequently found in Buddhist writings; Parama-Brahma, the Supreme Absolute; Paramādvaita, the Supreme non-Duality or the Absolute Unity; Paramātman (*paramātman*; Supreme Soul), a pantheistic World-Soul, as distinguished from the jivātman or personal souls* of individual living beings; Parāsaṁvid, the Transcendental Intelligence; Śabda-Brahma, the Brahma of the Word, like the Logos of the Gnostics; He is the power behind the prayer and the spell; Sattva, the Ultimate and Absolute Being.

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The Supreme Soul receives no worship but is the object of that profound meditation which Indian sages practise with the purpose of being finally absorbed into and united with It. Hindu philosophy in its highest form might be said to be an enquiry (*jijñāsā*) into this Brahma. Brahma in his Absolute state is also *nish-kriyā* (see above) and as such is not believed to be responsible for Creation, being utterly transcendent to this world.

At some stage in the course of the divine emanation known as *ābhāsa*, 'shining forth' (which represents the present, appearing, active and immanent phase of the Universal Consciousness) Brahma sets in motion the process of evolution or unfoldment. The Upanishads express this by saying that by an act of willing, Brahma became plural through uttering the formula '*aham bahu syām*' (May I be many!), thus bringing the manifest world into existence. Having brought the world into being he sustains it and finally reabsorbs it. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* speaks of Brahma as *tajjalān*, 'that (*tat*) from which the universe is born (*ja*), into which it returns (*lā*), and by which it is vitalised (*an*). (III, 14, 1.)

It is to be remembered that this is *māyā**, the mere sportive diversion of Brahma; that he neither needs nor desires aught else than Himself, and that the whole panorama of nature and the whole host of heaven are illusions, for He alone is Real. Brahma remains unchanged, even as the sun sends out his rays without losing anything of his nature.

At a further stage in the emanative process we observe the emergence of two Principles, which in some schools like Sāṁkhya are the Ultimate Principles, having some of the attributes of Brahma, and are therefore said to be eternal, indestructible, self-existing and so on. These principles are termed *Purusha* (Cosmic Spirit) and *Prakṛiti* (Cosmic Substance), from which the universe is further evolved. Another such Absolute Duality used in Tantrism is termed *Śiva-Śakti*.

The concept of God as held by most men is not that of Brahma or the Absolute and Universal Consciousness. Man has generally a much more anthropomorphic idea of divinity, which in effect is a continuation of the emanatory process of Brahma. The steps in the process of cosmic evolution are variously expounded in the different philosophies and the sectarian schools of thought. The majority agree that the Creator (Kartṛi, 'maker') of the universe is not Brahma, but one of the beings brought into existence either by the active flashes of His power, or by the ceaseless process of emergence.

These beings are the major deities of Hinduism, the gods of the sectarians and idol-worshippers, who think of their god in concrete terms as *saguṇa* (*sa-guṇa*, 'with attributes'), in contra-distinction to the abstract *nirguṇa* Brahma mentioned above. Such are Brahmā (long final *a*, masculine) of the Purāṇas, Kṛishṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Śiva of the Tantrik texts, or Durgā of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; deities who supervise the affairs of the world, and mete out rewards and punishments. An understanding of the mind of this phase of deity is also the subject of Hindu speculation (*see* psychology).

These gods are known by 'thousands of titles' (*sahasra-nāma*), mostly descriptive of their particular qualities, many of which suggest an involvement with things of the world. The generic title may be said to be *Īśvara*

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(or *Īśa*), 'Who is able', i.e. the personal deity as generally conceived; and its several compound titles such as Parameśvara or Parameśa, 'Supreme Lord'; Amareśvara, 'Immortal Lord'; Yajñeśvara, 'Lord of Sacrifice'; Vajreśvara, 'Thunderbolt Lord'; Maheśvara, 'Great Lord'.

Other divine epithets are Janārdana, 'mankind tormenting', a title given to Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa, Śiva and other major deities; Parameshṭhin, 'who stands in the highest place'; Purushottama, 'highest of persons', indicating his supremacy over all mankind. The names of God often undergo some curious transformations. Thus, God will be remembered and invoked by the Vaishṇavites, as Vishṇu when taking medicine; the same god will be remembered as Janārdana when eating; and as Padmanābha when retiring for the night.

The titles of these 'aspected' deities are also frequently used interchangeably with the titles of the Absolute Brahma cited above: *Ajita*, 'unconquered', since the god is thought of as struggling with demons and ogres (Brahma, it will be noted, is above such encounters); Animisha, 'unwinking', the sleepless, ever-watchful deity; Nirmalatva, 'unsullied' even by involvement in the affairs of the world; Skambha, 'pillar' or 'fulcrum' of the world, a word that occurs in the *Ṛig-veda*.

The early gods of the Vedic period were sometimes worshipped in twos, as a united pair. Such were Dyāvāpṛithivī, a combination of Dyaus, sky, and Pṛithivī, earth; Mitrāvaruṇau, Mitra and Varuṇa; Indrāgni, Indra and Agni; and Indravishṇu, Indra and Vishṇu. In later times such combinations symbolized a syncretism of two sects. The deity Harihara (Hari-Hara, Vishṇu-Śiva) represented a synthesis of two deities commonly regarded as opposed. A South Indian version of this duality was Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, a composite of Śiva and Vishṇu.

Some of the leading Ṛig-vedic deities were grouped in triads. Thus the three spheres were ruled by three gods named together, e.g. Savitṛi (sun), Indra (the heavens) and Agni (fire). Or, Sūrya (sun), Vāyu (wind) and Agni (fire). But the trinity of later Hinduism, which superseded the above Vedic triads was known as **Trimūrti** (*tri-mūrti*, 'three-forms') consisting of Brahmā (the Creator), Vishṇu (the Sustainer), and Śiva (the Destroyer). Certain subordinate deities such as Dattātreya combined the qualities of the divine triad.

Popular Hinduism has sometimes addressed its worship to a larger group of gods. One such form is found in the ritual called *pañchāyatana* (*pañcha-āyatana*, 'five-abodes') which requires the invocation of a divine pentad, practised by many *smārta* brāhmins of syncretic sects. The five deities are represented by little images, or by five different kinds of stones, or by certain marks made on the floor. They are (1) Gaṇeśa, who is usually invoked first with the formula, 'Veneration to the five divinities, with Gaṇeśa at the beginning', (2) Vishṇu, (3) Śiva, (4) Durgā, and (5) Sūrya. One of these gods, not necessarily Gaṇeśa, is regarded as the special patron of the worshipper, and his stone is placed in the centre while the other four are placed in a square around it.

The *Ṛig-veda* refers to 'the thirty-three gods', a number believed to have a symbolical meaning, and said to represent the eleven deities presiding over each of the three spheres, although more than thirty-three gods are actually

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named in the *Ṛig-veda*. This number recurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and according to some scholars includes the eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, Dyaus the sky god and Pṛithivī the earth goddess. Though thirty-three in number they are also referred to as the *Tridaśa*, 'The Thirty'.

The Ṛig-vedic practice seems to have been to invoke different deities as if each were paramount. Max Müller calls it *henotheism*, according to which the worshipper, while ascribing supremacy to all the gods, treated for the moment as being alone supreme the particular god he was addressing at the time.

Hinduism remains syncretic in this respect. A Hindu may still choose from among the many gods in the Hindu pantheon the deity of his preference as his patron god, and to this *ishṭa-devatā*, 'chosen god', he offers special prayers, although not excluding from his homage any of the other Hindu gods.

The major deities are called *deva* (*cf.* Latin *deus*) from the root *div*, 'shine', since the devas were the bright and shining ones. In Zoroastrianism the term applies to the evil beings who opposed Ahura Mazda, a transposition in meaning which has been variously explained (*see* Aryans). The term *devatā* is generally used for the godlings* or gods of inferior status. Village deities are known as *grāma-devatā*.

A persistent feature in the Hindu concept of divinity is that it is manifestly polytheistic; the gods being worshipped in the form of iconographic representations, idols* or symbols*. Hindus have worshipped and still worship practically every object on earth and in the heavens, on land and on sea. They have paid homage to stones, trees, pools, rivers, the sky, sun, moon, planets, stars, animals (especially cows, monkeys and snakes), birds, men, the male and female generative organs, ghosts, demons, departed ancestors. They worship tombs, statues, pictures, sketches, implements of trade, symbols and signs. They have deified and worshipped ancient heroes like Arjuna and Hanumān, their own saints, the prophet Muhammad, sufi holy men, European soldiers (whose shrines may be offered fowl, cheroots and brandy). They have propitiated and worshipped deities who preside over smallpox and other diseases.

The Hindu pantheon includes gods taken over from the aborigines, from Iran, from Buddhism, from Tibet, and from the demonology of all the races with whom the people came in contact. It has been rather sweepingly stated that the Hindus have 330,000,003 deities, presumably one god for each Hindu, but this figure is also said to be an extension of the 33 gods of the *Ṛig-veda*. This is sometimes reduced to 3,339 or 3,303 gods, in which again the mystic number 33 recurs.

Another feature of orthodox Hinduism is the belief that certain gods have incarnated in various forms on earth. This incarnation is known as the *avatāra*, 'descent' of the god, in which a part of the divine essence is embodied in the animal or human form taken by the deity. Thus Śiva in order to test Arjuna appeared in the form of Kirāta*. The origin of the avatāra concept is obscure. It cannot be found in the Vedas, and may have come from Iran. But the *Bāhram Yāsht* itself shows traces of Chinese influence and the idea may have ultimately had a Central Asian source.

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The term avatāra has special relevance to the legends concerning Vishṇu. The god Vishṇu became incarnate in order to conquer an evil being, to stem the growth of wickedness, and to cause men to turn to righteous paths. One of the most important of these avatāras was his assumption of the form of of Kṛishṇa. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Kṛishṇa says, 'Whenever the law fails and lawlessness arises, then do I bring myself to bodied birth. To preserve righteousness, to destroy evil, to establish law, I come into birth age after age.'

An analogous term is *vibhāva*, 'resplendent', a theophany or manifestation of the deity in an effulgent or radiant form, such as the divine visions of Śiva or Śakti vouchsafed to their worshippers. The term used for the different aspects of a divinity under which he may be manifested is *vyūha*, 'range', which also applies to the emanations of the godhead. Just as the term vibhāva is popularly used by the Śaivites, so the term vyūha is peculiarly Vaishṇavite, and describes the deity (Vishṇu) as manifested in Vasudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa (Balarāma), Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The extension of the godhead, such as in the five forms of Existence, namely, Supreme Being, Absolute Knowledge, Individual Soul, Mind and Self-Consciousness, is also spoken of as *vyūha*.

In recent times various theories have been put forward by European and Indian authorities regarding the significance of the Hindu gods, and of Hindu mythology* in general, with interpretations of the various divine types and the legends connected with them. The symbolism* of Hindu legend, and of the powers, weapons, consorts, stances, and emblems of the Hindu deities have also been the subject of considerable speculation.

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GODLINGS. The term *devatā* is commonly applied to the lesser gods and spirits of the Hindu pantheon. These are often divided into separate classes, such as village deities, water spirits, tree spirits, disease demons, and so on. Many subordinate deities dwell in groups (*gaṇa*) and are referred to as *gaṇadevatā* whose paradise* is situated in Gaṇaparvata near Kailāsa. These group-godlings comprise the retinue of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Vāyu and other gods.

In the Hindu scriptures classification of their names and numbers differs widely. The chief groups are: **Ābhāsvara,** sixty-four godlings of obscure origin and function; **Āditya*,** apart from the major gods of this name there are a number of subordinate godlings also called Āditya; **Anila,** forty-nine godlings associated with Vāyu* or Anila the wind god; **Gaṇa,** specifically the

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group of godlings ruled by Gaṇeśa; they are also attendant deities of Śiva; **Guhyaka,** servitors of Kubera*; **Kushmāṇḍa,** 'gourd', part of Śiva's entourage; **Mahārājika,** 220 or 236 petty deities of obscure origin and purpose; **Maruts,** the children of Diti*, associated with the wind-god and with Indra; **Rudra,** eleven to fifteen deities who accompany the god Rudra*; **Sādhya,** personified the Vedic prayers and rites. Children of Dharma by his wife Sādhyā daughter of Daksha they were between twelve and seventeen in number; **Tushita,** twelve or thirty-six subordinate deities, sometimes identified with the Ādityas; **Vālakhilya,** the sons of the mahāṛishi Kratu*; **Vasu,** eight children of Gaṅgā, associated with Indra; **Vidyādhar,** 'knowledge-grippers', benevolent spirits between earth and sky who attended Indra; **Vināyaka,** two to six in number, companions of Gaṇeśa; **Viśvadeva** (or Viśvedevāḥ), 'all-gods', a comprehensive term for a group of nine to twelve deities of inferior status, though sometimes applied collectively to the major gods.

An important class of spirits are the **Grāmadevatā,** 'village gods'. The majority are aboriginal deities of local status included among the lesser divinities of Hinduism, although some of them, like Khaṇḍobā* and Mīnākshī* became important in their own right. The grāmadevatās are generally female deities widely worshipped in rural areas as guardians of pools, lakes and trees, e.g. *vṛiksha-devatā* (*see* plants). Many are forms of Durgā or Umā.

Most of these goddesses have features common to the Mother Goddess Umā, and bear the name or title of mother, such as Ammā, Mā, Ambā, Ambikā, Mātā. Thus the goddess Mahāmbā (also called Mombā, Mumbā or Bimbā) after whom Bombay gets its name, is believed to be a corruption of Mahā-ammā, 'Great Mother', whose worship was widespread in western India. A prehistoric tank and an ancient temple dedicated to her were demolished in 1737 when the town was enlarged and another temple and tank built for her elsewhere a few years later.

In South India an aspect of the Mother Goddess is worshipped as Ellamā (or Elammā), a guardian of the South. She is sometimes represented with the torn-off head of a brāhmin in her hand, which is interpreted as the victory of the Dravidian element over the Aryan in the Deccan.

The Mother Goddess is frequently a goddess of fertility. An example is seen in the cult of Tipammā whose worship is accompanied by obscene rites. At her annual festival at Seringapatam, her image is taken out in procession together with the image of a male deity, both nude. Till recently the two idols were animated by mechanical means to simulate the motions of union, to the accompaniment of ribaldries directed at the public by one of the temple servants chosen for his wide vocabulary of obscenity. In another form this goddess is Huligammā, likewise a fertility deity, worshipped in the Deccan by eunuchs and male priests dressed as women. The tribal goddess *Koṭṭavī*, 'nude'*, tutelary deity of the Daityas, later associated with Durgā, personifies the Mother Goddess as courtesan.

The goddess as the giver of bountiful harvests and the provider of food is *Ammā-pūrṇā*, mother of plenty, who subsequently became Anna-pūrṇā, 'food-filling'. There is a temple dedicated to her near Banāras. The similarity of her name and that of the ancient Roman goddess Anna Perenna has fre-

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quently been pointed out. Assisting in the fertility of the soil is Karīshiṇī, 'possessing dung', a goddess of cowdung, who is said to be a form of Lakshmī. Her sons were Kardama (mud) and Chiklīta (slime).

A goddess of whose worship only a trace now survives was *Nana*, once venerated in north-west India. She was originally the Sumerian or Elamite Mother Goddess Nāna, the Bactrian Nanaia, the Persian Anahita. Nana's name first appears on Śaka coins about the first century BC with her face and name stamped on them, and numerous such copper coins were for long current in India. As Nana-shao she later figures on Kanishka's coins. From her name come the Panjābi word *nānak*, meaning a coin, and also the name Nānak. Nainī, patron goddess of the Kulu valley, and Bībī Nānī the terrible goddess of Baluchistan, are variants of this ancient deity. Hinglāj in western Baluchistan is the place where, according to Hindu tradition, the forehead of Satī* fell, a belief that preserves this Mother Goddess association.

A number of village deities preside over childbirth: Sinīvālī is the goddess of fecundity and easy delivery; Shashṭhī, 'sixth', injures new-born infants and is especially dangerous on the sixth day after the child's birth (*see* pregnancy). Her familiar is a black cat.

Village goddesses are commonly associated with animals: Mānasā (or Mānasā-devī) is the serpent* goddess of Bengal; Dakshiṇirāi, is a tiger-deity, greatly feared and revered in rural Bengal; Vishaharā a poison goddess rules over serpents*.

Some are dread purveyors of disease and sickness. Such are Śītalā, 'cool', goddess of smallpox, propitiated in eastern, western and central India. Her vehicle is the ass; consequently a remedy for smallpox is said to be asses' milk. Actually there are seven Śītalā sisters of whom the most evil is Chamariyā. They live on *nīm* trees. There is a shrine dedicated to Śītalā situated in one of the ghāṭs in Banāras. The South Indian counterpart of Śītalā is Jyeshṭhā whose worship is extremely ancient. Māriyammā, 'death-mother', rules over diseases that bring death, especially smallpox. Hāritī and Olābībī are also names of smallpox goddesses. In Buddhist legend Hāritī was a herdsman's wife who was forced to dance at the king's festival although she was pregnant and so lost her child. She became a demon and killed children in her blind rage until converted to *ahiṁsā* by the Buddha. Polerammā, consort of Śiva is the goddess of plague. Hayagrīva, god of fever is depicted as short, red-faced, big-bellied, with a snake coiled around his neck and a hideous scowl on his face. Barahin (or Barahin-devī) goddess of dropsy has a ghāṭ dedicated to her in Banāras where she is worshipped by sufferers with swollen feet and hands. Others of the same class are Marakī, who brings cholera; Kṛityakā a wicked fairy or witch who torments with fevers; Mātaṅgī consort of Śiva who causes elephantiasis; Ghaṇṭiku god of itches and skin ailments worshipped in Bengal.

Nirṛiti, 'non-right', goddess of darkness and evil presides over the physical decay that precedes death. She has a man for a vehicle. The punishment for a *brahmachāri* (celibate student) who went to a woman used to be a midnight sacrifice of a one-eyed ass to Nirṛiti. The penitent had to wear the pelt and buy his food for seven days confessing his sin. Nirṛiti is sometimes spoken of as a male deity, as one of the Rudras, and a *lokapāla* of the southwest direction*.

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Included among the devatās are various vengeful 'fiendesses' known collectively as **Ḍākiṇī** who attend on Kālī and feed on human flesh. Many evil spirits of this class are named through all the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet, thus: Kākiṇī, Khākiṇī, Gākiṇī, Ghākiṇī, etc. Some are associated with the *chakras*, directions, and the different hells.

A large number of benevolent godlings go by the collective name of **Kshetrapāla,** 'field-guardians', who guard villages or field boundaries and are usually set up in the northeastern corner of the village, facing east. Generally depicted nude they have three eyes and are six or eight-handed. The **Dvārapāla,** 'gate-keepers', are larger figures placed outside temple gates and palace entrances.

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GOPĪ (or *gopikā*), cowgirl, milkmaid, wife of a cowherd, a term specifically used for the village girls of Vṛindāvana who were the constant companions (sakhī) of Kṛishṇa. The word *gopī* is of Kolarian derivation and the cult of Kṛishṇa and the gopīs may have had an antecedent aboriginal history.

Kṛishṇa's love for the gopīs is the subject of countless legends in vernacular literature. He displayed his amorous prowess quite early, for an oft repeated incident tells how when Yaśodā once made an excuse for some prank played by Kṛishṇa saying that he was but a child, the gopī maidens looked at one another knowingly and smiled, since he had even at that age made himself agreeable to them all. On another occasion, which is frequently represented in Indian art, he stole the clothes of the bathing gopīs and climbed up a tree, refusing to deliver them until they came to him. When they came out of the water trying to shield their nakedness with their hands he laughingly insisted that they first raise their hands before he returned their clothes.

Some of Kṛishṇa's titles, hyphenated forms of *kanyā* (virgin), *kīsori* (adolescent girl) and so on, indicate his preference for girls of tender age, but married women were no less in his favour. Women were maddened with love for him and irresistibly entranced by the playing of his wonderful flute. When the gopīs heard the sound of his flute on moonlight nights they left their husbands and their work and came out to dance the *rās-līlā* dance* with him. All these women had a full share of his love, for he was able to make each one believe that he loved her most by the simple expedient of multiplying his body, a device used by the sage Saubhari before him.

His dances with the gopīs sometimes lasted for six months during which time he roused them to ecstasy and gratified their passions to the full before he sent them back. Through the spell-binding power of Kṛishṇa, when they returned home no one was aware that they had not been there all the time.

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When the sage Nārada went to find out how Kṛishṇa satisfied his more than sixteen thousand female adorers he discovered the delusive power of the god, for he saw Kṛishṇa simultaneously roistering with each of the gopīs, engaged in an amorous encounter with Rādhā, reclining at ease with Rukmiṇī, playing dice with Jāmbavatī, having his body rubbed with oil at the house of Satyabhāmā, and sleeping beside the lovely Kālindī.

Chief of the gopīs and the favourite mistress and consort of Kṛishṇa was *Rādhā*, wife of the cowherd Ayanaghosha, who was lured from her husband's side by the wiles of the boy-god. In later legend she was said to be the incarnation of Lakshmī. One story has it that Kṛishṇa became two; one half male, Kṛishṇa, and the other half female, Rādhā. In yet another version she is an innocent virgin whose 'eyes' remain closed till Kṛishṇa opens them. He was the first object she saw, and thereafter she saw nothing else, for he appeared in whatever she looked upon. She became the symbol of perfect, unselfish devotion, not, however, unalloyed by pangs of bitter jealousy at his infidelities.

The Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult celebrating the sacred and profane, the divine and carnal love of this exalted pair, is widely prevalent especially in north India and Bengal, and is a popular theme with poets and artists. Much was added to the theme by local folk-lore. In many of the vernacular poems where their love life is extolled Kṛishṇa appears as an unabashed ravisher of women, and Rādhā becomes his victim through her virginal ignorance of the implications of sex. Even in the well-known *kāvya* by the Bengali poet Chaṇḍidās, Kṛishṇa is, according to J. C. Ghosh, 'utterly unscrupulous, and seduces Rādhā with all the cunning and crudity of a village lout'. The medieval poets in the vernacular never tire of describing the idyllic raptures of the divine lovers as they sport under the *kadamba* blossoms or in the *tamāl* groves of the Yamunā. Rādhā lives only for Kṛishṇa and yearns for him with burning desire, longing ever to be merged with him limb to limb and soul to soul. On her way to keep her tryst with her beloved she is described with 'tender breasts and itching genitals', with thoughts inflamed like a forest fire. The physical intimacies of many of the love scenes do not bear translation. The more metaphorically-minded find a mystical interpretation in their love, representing, they believe, the soul of man yearning for union with the divine.

Rādhā first begins to receive notice about the tenth century AD. She is not mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā* and is entirely absent from early Sanskrit literature. The cult of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa found its fullest, if also perhaps its most erotic, expression in the masterpiece of Jayadeva* (*c.* 1100) after which it began to occupy a position of great importance in many Vaishṇavite sects, especially in Bengal. It never attained popularity in South India and Mahārāshṭra, where the more devout did not look kindly upon the relationship, and preferred the more acceptable status of Rukmiṇī. In the fourteenth century an attempt was made in the *Brahmā-Vaivarta Purāṇa* to present Rādhā as Kṛishṇa's legal consort so that their love would not be adulterous but conjugal, but the idea did not prove successful and this work is rarely heard of.

By the thirteenth century certain Vaishṇavite sects like the *Vishṇu-*

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svāmi worshipped Rādhā along with Kṛishṇa. The *Sahajīyā* sect stressed the spiritual polarity of the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa concept and made it applicable to their personal lives through rites in which both men and women participated, often to their moral detriment. The Rādhā aspect of this creed rather overbalanced itself in several cults of which the most bizarre was that of the *Sakhībhāvas*.

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(*See also under* Kṛishṇa.)

GORAKHNĀTH (fl. AD 1120) the most renowned of the Nāthas* was born somewhere in the northwest of India in a place not known although frequently identified with a village named Gorakhpur after him. He was born, it is said, from the sweat of Śiva's breast. According to another version Śiva had union with a cow *in ano*, and from the evacuated seed was created the child Gorakhnāth. He became a disciple of the aged Matsyendranāth* whom he rescued from the toils of the female enchantresses in the mysterious kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna. In the service of his master he lost an eye but acquired powers exceeding those of his famed guru.

A profuse magical folklore has grown up around him and his followers. The cult he founded was notorious for the unspeakable perversion of its rites, which included homosexuality, necrophilia, scatalogy and bestiality, and for its utter disregard of convention. His name is supposedly derived from *ghor*, meaning ordure, and Gorakhnāth is thus 'Lord of Filth'. Others interpret ghor to mean 'terrifying', alluding to the nature of their cult rituals and the malignant powers developed by the followers. The fact that the cult members did not hesitate to eat the flesh of the sacred cow suggests a more likely etymology for his name, namely, *go-raksha* (cow-eater). The name Gorakh is very common in northern India and Nepāl, and the ruling dynasty of Nepāl as well as the Gorkhas derive their name from the same origin.

Gorakhnāth wrote a number of verses embodying his teachings, some of which have survived in a modified and much diluted form in the Panjābi language. He is the author of the lost treatise, *Haṭha Yoga* and the extant *Goraksha-śataka*. His followers were responsible for a large number of writings on magic and alchemy and the cult came under severe censure for its left-hand occultism by Guru Nānak.

Gorakhnāth founded the order of the Kānphaṭa Yogis (*kān-phaṭa*, 'ear-split'), so named because at the initiation ceremony the disciple's ear cartilage was split to permit the insertion of enormous earrings. The Kānphaṭa Yogis believe that the operation opens a mystic nāḍi or channel and assists in the development of yogic powers. During the ceremony a knife is driven into the ground and vows are taken over it by the initiate, among them a vow to protect the ears*. The rite also includes a symbolic slaying of the neophyte, the washing of his entrails, and the hanging of his body on a tree.

The tree most closely associated with the Kānphaṭas is the *tintiḍī* (English

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tamarind, from Persian *tamar-i-hind*, 'date of India'), also called *amlikā*, 'sour', because of the sourness of its pods. In the grove of Gorakhnāth at Shīrāla in the Sātārā district is a group of five tamarind trees presided over by a gigantic old tamarind. The trunk and branches of this tree are scarred all over in natural lines and cracks which are said to be characters written by the presiding deity in an unknown tongue. The name of every Kānphaṭa Yogi is believed to be magically inscribed on this tree immediately on his initiation.

When a yogi of this order dies he is not cremated but buried in a sitting posture of meditation as if still in *samādhi* (trance). Hence the tombs of such yogis are known as *samādh*, and from this custom the burial or cremation places of great men among the Hindus came to be called *samādhs*. The tombs of Kānphaṭa Yogis are often surmounted by a liṅga and yoni symbol.

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GOTAMA, *ṛishi* of the Aṅgiras family, famous in mythology as the husband of the beautiful Ahalyā. One legend states that the god Indra desired the sage's wife and to this end secured the help of Chandra the moon, who assumed the form of a cock and crowed at midnight. Gotama thinking it was time for his morning devotions went to the riverside, while Indra stole in and lay with Ahalyā. When Gotama discovered the deception he cursed Indra that his body might be covered with a thousand apertures like the female yoni to remind him of his sinful deed. Later these were changed to eyes, and Indra is frequently depicted with his body covered with eyes.

In order to punish his wife, Gotama made her invisible so that neither she nor anyone else might delight in her beauty. Later, realizing that through the magical power of the gods she might be visible to them, he changed her to stone, declaring that only Vishṇu incarnate could restore her to life. The *Rāmāyaṇa* relates how Rāma while out in the Daṇḍaka forest accidentally touched the stone block with his foot and thus revivified the woman.

Another version of this legend tells that when Gotama caught his wife in her infidelity he turned to his son *Chirakāri* and ordered him to kill his mother. Now the boy was a notorious laggard and pondered over everything before doing it; he carried out his daily duties in such a slow manner that he was popularly referred to as a blockhead. On receiving the order from his father he nodded and slowly wandered to the forest to think out how he could reconcile his duty to his father with his love for his mother. Even as he sat thus inactive for days his father repented and wished for his wife to return from the land of the dead where he thought she had been dispatched. Finding that she had not been slain yet, he cried aloud, 'O Chirakāri, blessed art thou

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who has saved me and thy mother. Today indeed art thou a blessed *chirakāri* (slow-doer)'.

Another of Gotama's sons was the ṛishi *Śaradvant* (also known as Śaradvat or Gautama), whose austerities aroused such trepidation in heaven that Indra was obliged to send down the *apsarā* Jānapadī to distract him. When the *ṛishi* beheld the lightly-clad creature a shudder passed through his frame and his seed was driven from his body. The sage fled from the scene, but his seed, splitting in two as it fell into a cane-brake, gave rise to twins. King Śāntanu while out hunting found the twins and out of compassion (*kṛipā*) brought them up as his own, naming them Kṛipa (also known as Śāradvata), and Kṛipā (or Kṛipī). In the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Kṛipa and Kṛipā are the children of Śaradvant's son Satya-dhṛiti and the nymph Urvaśī. Kṛipa became a member of the king's council at Hastināpura and was one of the three surviving Kaurava warriors who made the murderous night attack on the Pāṇḍava camp at Kurukshetra* for which crime he was cursed with longevity*. Kṛipā became the wife of the mighty brāhmin Droṇa and the mother of Aśvatthāman, the Kaurava general.

Books

See under Mythology.

GRAMMAR, or *vyākaraṇa* formed an integral part of *bhāshikā* or language studies, which from early times held an important place in Hindu education. Says A. A. Macdonell,

'The Sanskrit grammarians were the first to analyze word-forms, to recognise the difference between root and suffix, to determine the functions of suffixes, and on the whole to elaborate a grammatical system so accurate and complete as to be unparalleled in any other country'.

The greatest of the grammarians was **Pāṇini,** but there is evidence that he only represented the maturation of a long line of Sanskrit grammarians. According to tradition the subject was first taught by Brahmā to Bṛihaspati, the priest of the gods; Bṛihaspati passed it on to Indra; Indra modified it for human needs and taught Bharadvāja. This **Aindra** school of grammar, named after Indra, was pre-Pāṇinean, though its name appears to be post-Pāṇini and Pāṇini himself does not mention it.

Among the grammarians cited by Pāṇini, 'whose works he most probably consulted' (I, p. 341) were: Śākaṭāyana, of probable Śaka origin, who is quoted by Yāska, and a fragment of whose work has been discovered. Says Pāṇini, 'All grammarians rank next to Śākaṭāyana'. Śākalya, who may also have been a Śaka, was a grammarian, etymologist, theologian, founder of a school of Vedic studies, and, according to tradition, a contemporary of Yājñavalkya* by whom he was crushingly defeated in debate. Śākalya was also called Veda-mitra and Deva-mitra; Āpiśali, whose treatise dealt with the long and short vowels. Other predecessors of Pāṇini were Gārgya*, Gālava* and Sphoṭāyana, who were also probably foreigners, either Greek or Persian in origin.

There have been over a dozen distinct schools of Sanskrit grammar but the

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chief triumvirate in this branch of study were PĀṆINI*, KĀTYĀYANA*, and PATAÑJALI*. Grammarians of lesser stature were Vyāḍi (AD 580) who was a philosopher; and Kauṇḍinya who was said to have offended Śiva but was saved by Vishṇu, and was thus also called Vishṇu-gupta.

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GRASSES (Sanskrit *yavasa*) of several species termed sacred, played a prominent part in Vedic ritual. They were strewn on the place of sacrifice, especially around the vedi or altar, and upon them the offerings were placed and the god invited to take a seat when he came in answer to the priestly summons. The sacrificial seats for the priest and the *yajamāna* were also strewn with rushes and grasses. From rushes and reeds were made the cushioned pallet of Hindu ritual and the meditation mat of the brāhmin, and they are used in brāhminical ceremonies to this day.

In order to obviate the danger of demons attending the sacrifice, one tuft of grass known as *prastara* was consecrated as a decoy, and when presently the avid demons had occupied their place on it, it was thrown into the fire. Immediately thereafter one blade of grass, representing the yajamāna was drawn out of the remaining grass couch, purified with *mantras*, and also thrown into the fire to placate the demons.

During the ceremonies a tuft of grass was often held in the hand, and on completion of the rite the sacrificial vessels were wiped with grass. In certain rites the sacrificer's wife had to wear a garment of *kuśa* grass and nothing else. The fact that grasses, reeds and rushes were so extensively used in sacrificial ceremonies suggests that it was a custom born in the riparian lowlands. This has led some scholars to the conclusion that 'a characteristically Gangetic outfit would seem to have been the stock from which the brāhmin ritualism started' (II, p. 48).

The best known variety of sacred grass is the *darbha*, or *Poa cynosuroides*, belonging to the genus borage, also spoken of as *kuśa* grass. It has long leaves tapering to sharp needle-like points, which have become proverbial (*see* Veṇa). Hence the term *tṛiṇa*, 'piercing', is popularly used as a synonym for grass. Darbha grass appeared when the gods and demons churned the ocean of milk to obtain *amṛita*; it was actually the hair on Vishṇu's turtle back which was rubbed off during the operation. Darbha grass was always used in rites performed for the *pitṛis*. On the eighth day of the moon in the month of *Bhādrapada* (August-September) an annual festival called *darbha-ashṭamī* is held in its honour. By making an offering of darbha grass on this day immortality is said to be secured for ten ancestors. A circlet of three, five, seven or more stalks of this grass plaited together worn on the ring finger of the right hand is called a *pavitra*, believed to be a powerful amulet. Darbha grass may be picked and stored before use and hence is sometimes called *barhiḥ*, 'plucked'.

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The *dūrvā, panicum dactylon,* is a variety of five-bladed millet grass also used for ceremonial purposes. Being a hardy species it is regarded as very auspicious because of its long life. Dūrvā grass, unlike kuśa, cannot be collected and stored beforehand.

The *muñja,* or *saccharum munja,* is a type of sedge, rush or reed-grass, the fibres of which are twisted into a girdle in the *upanayana* ceremony and worn by the twice-born.

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GREEKS were spoken of in Sanskrit writings as *Yavana, Yona, Yauna,* and *Yonaka* (from Ionian) and were said to be descended from Turvaśu. They themselves seem to have heard of both North India and the Deccan in a vague way from Homeric times. It is likely that the second or eastern race of Ethiopians mentioned in Homer referred to the Dravidians of southern India. According to Greek tradition northwest India was invaded and conquered by their legendary deities, Heracles and Dionysus, and Alexander reputedly found the descendants of those who accompanied these gods when he came to that region in the fourth century BC (*see* Nysa). A Yona state is mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya* as flourishing in the time of Buddha.

Hecataeus of Miletus (*c.* 500 BC) is the first known Greek writer to mention India as such. In a fragment of his lost work, preserved by other writers, eight Indian names occur, including that of the Skiapodes who, as the oft-repeated legend about them goes, used their gigantic feet as umbrellas, and their immense ears as blankets in which they could wrap themselves against the cold.

The earliest Greek writer on India whose account has survived to the present day is Herodotus (484–525 BC), born about four years after the death of Buddha, in the town of Halicarnassus, not far from the home of Scylax, the Greek navigator whom Darius the Great had commissioned in about 510 BC to explore the Indus to its mouth. Herodotus relates the unexplained legend of the gigantic ants (dogs?) that guarded the Indian gold, and described a religious sect whose followers ate nothing that had life, probably a reference to the Jains.

A century after Herodotus comes the record of Ctesias who was taken prisoner by the Persians in the battle of Cunaxa (401 BC), and became physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon at whose court in Susa he resided for twenty years. His hearsay narrative is uncritical in the extreme, tending to the fabulous. Megasthenes (306–290 BC) who was Greek Ambassador at the court of Chandragupta, left a detailed account of the Mauryan empire, but this record is unfortunately only extant in fragments.

The people of northwest India had direct contact with the Greeks as early as the sixth century BC, when Ionian officers in Persian employ, and Ionian traders and travellers visited the Panjāb. The Greek settlers of Nysa* and the Branchidae had lived on India's northwestern frontiers for centuries.

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Persian rulers often deported the Greeks of various recalcitrant city-states to Bactria. Indo-Greek contact became fuller after the invasion of Alexander, especially so during the Seleucid* period, and the Mauryan kings maintained close ties with the Greeks. Indeed, Aśoka* may have been partly Greek himself. It is not improbable that the Greek governor who from his capital at Girnār administered Aśoka's western provinces was one of many Greek officials employed in the Mauryan administration.

Aśoka sent missions to the Greek kings of Macedonia, Egypt, Cyrene and Epirus. The Bactrian Greeks ruled the northwest for two hundred years. They conquered parts of Middle India as far as Mathurā and undertook military expeditions to the gates of Pāṭaliputra in the east. The names of thirty-nine Bactrian kings and two queens have been recorded and are known. Throughout this long period thousands of Indianized Greeks remained in India, eventually to merge with the local people and add their quota to the mélange of races which constitute the population of this subcontinent, and to add their influence to the making of Indian culture. This influence was exercised directly in some cases, but it was brought about in greater measure as a result of a growing minority of Greek descent or Greek sympathies who were able to make the Greek impact felt centuries after the last Greek had officially left Indian soil.

In order to appreciate the full extent of Greek achievements in India, it must be remembered that the areas of Greek conquest and the centres of their colonization were not just isolated outposts having no bearing on the native life that flourished all around, but that these areas came at all times under the forceful influence of Greek culture. When the Greeks came they brought their engineers, architects, town-planners, their physicians and philosophers, their art and drama, their language and literature. The self-sufficient children of Hellas, although they carefully observed and recorded the idiosyncracies of alien peoples, seldom imitated them either in language, custom or dress. The foreigners among whom they moved had to learn from them, since they disdained to learn from others.

A typical Greek colony started as a garrison and grew into a full-fledged *polis*, with Greek organization and civic forms, though not necessarily administered by Greeks alone. The population of these far-flung outposts was naturally mainly 'native', and gradually became hellenized. The Council, Assembly, the magistracy and the political and judicial administration were entirely Greek in character. The stadium and the theatre followed, and almost certainly a gymnasium, the nucleus of both physical and intellectual training. Many Greek cities in Asia Minor grew up in this manner and flourished for centuries after their foundation. Relics of some survive to this day.

It is therefore certain that the Greek foundations in India were similarly cells for the diffusion of Hellenistic ideas. Says Tarn, 'Any Indian who was a citizen of a Greek *polis* was bound to some extent to hellenize himself; he would have to learn enough Greek for purposes of daily life, and understand some of the Greek civic forms'. It is thought that the armies of Appollodotus and Menander were Indian armies with Persian cavalry, and only a nucleus of Greek infantry, and Menander's satrapies consisted of a handful of Greek

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administrators at the head of a mixed Indo-Greek bureaucracy. If so, it would confirm the assimilation of Greek influence in military affairs as well.

When the Greek rhetorician, Dion Chrysostom observed that the Indians possessed and used a translation of Homer, he may have been misled by the partial resemblance between the Greek and Sanskrit epics, such as the abduction of Helen and Sītā; the invasion of Troy and Laṅkā; the bending of the bow by Ulysses and Rāma. But Plutarch's statement that some Indians worshipped Greek gods was the expression of a simple fact, for in many instances the Indian citizens of the Greek *poleis* were sufficiently hellenized to take part in the official worship and to conform, outwardly at least, to official religious practice.

Besides absorbing Greek ideas as a result of direct contact with Greeks, India unobtrusively assimilated many features of Greek culture as a consequence of the gradual and inevitable indianization of many of the Greeks themselves. A cardinal factor in this process of indianization, and conversely of the hellenization of Indian culture, was the Buddhist religion. Perhaps a few Greeks became Jains; fewer still, like Heliodorus son of Dion, became Hindus. But the majority who adopted an Indian religion became Buddhists. Since the creed of Śākyamuni recognized no racial barriers, hosts of Greeks embraced Buddhism and became devout pilgrims of the Eightfold Path, for they found much that was congenial to their thinking in the cosmopolitan creed of Buddha.

According to the Ceylonese chronicles Aśoka converted great numbers of Greeks and dispatched a Greek Buddhist missionary to Gujarāt. In the caves of Nāsik, Junnar and Kārle, around Bombay, there are several inscriptions recording religious gifts by Buddhist donors, among them Yavanas or Greeks. It is clear from these records that the donors were men of substance, able to confer large and valuable donations; columns, cisterns, hall-fronts, and in a few cases even wealthy enough to bear the cost of excavating a whole cave and equipping it elaborately as a Buddhist shrine.

There can be no doubt that large numbers of Greek settlers were indianized and became quietly assimilated as a result of their absorption into Buddhism. The anonymous opinion recorded by Tarn, 'Somewhere I have met with the whole-hearted statement that every Greek in India ended by becoming a Buddhist', may be regarded as only a mild exaggeration. The literary classic, *Milindapañho** (150 BC) reflects one facet of this conversion for it shows how the great Bactrian king, Menander himself, becomes favourably disposed towards Buddhism. At the same time this Pāli masterpiece is a landmark in the study of the Greek period in India since it is distinctly Hellenistic in inspiration.

The Hellenistic influence is discernible in other aspects of Indian literature. It is found in Sanskrit prosody, for Jacobi suggests that the Prākṛit *doha* meter, which is dactylic in structure, can be traced to the Greek hexameters. It is found in the ideal of beauty and in its description in Sanskrit romance, which again is believed by some scholars to be un-Indian in character and indebted to the Greek romance. It is perhaps found in Indian fables, which according to Weber and Theodor Benfrey, were also inspired by Greece. These authorities forestall any criticism based on chronology by the assertion

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that the Greek fable is first hinted at in Homer, is clearly in existence at the time of Hesiod (*c.* 750 BC) and definitely appears in Archilochus (*c.* 700 BC) and Simonides (*c.* 500 BC). In India it first finds expression in the Jātakas (*c.* 450 BC). The eleventh century Muslim traveller al-Bīrūnī reports a tradition that ascribes certain Jātaka fables to Mau the Greek, while yet another reference from a Nepāli manuscript mentions a Yavana Jātaka.

Historical records by Greek hands were probably also in existence in India at an early date, for Bāṇa the court poet of Harsha alludes to a Purāṇa written by a Greek, but there is no certitude either about the work or its author. The *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, an astrological treatise of the first to third centuries, contains a chapter called the *Yuga Purāṇa*, often quoted for its famous account of the Greek advance into Pāṭaliputra. The existing text is in Sanskrit, but the work bears many traces of Prākṛitisms, and Dr Jayaswal, who devoted special attention to it, concludes that it must go back to a historical chronicle first written in Prākṛit, and represents the earliest known Purāṇa. Tarn holds the opinion that this chronicle in the *Yuga Purāṇa* is unlike anything Indian, for no Indian of that time, wrote or understood history, and he suggests that the author was influenced by Greek historical writing.

The Greek classics were probably known to the people wherever Greek influence was strong. The Persians and Gedrosians were familiar with the plays of Euripides and Sophocles, and Greek dramas must certainly have been known to at least the Indian intelligentsia in the Indian spheres of Greek influence. Philostratus relates that a brāhmin boasted that he had read Euripides (III, p. 59). Some of the Greek writings may have been known in the original, but others were in all likelihood familiar through translations. The Greek orator Dion Chrysostom remarked that the poetry of Homer was sung by Indians, who had translated it into their own language, to which Dr H. C. Raychaudhuri makes the following comment, 'The reference may be to the *Mahābhārata*, but the possibility of an actual translation of the Greek epic is not entirely excluded' (IV, p. 142). The *Mahābhārata* contains several Greek words, and if we are prepared to consider C. V. Vaidya's suggestion that 'Vidura speaks in Greek probably when he cautions Yudhishṭhira in a *mlechchha* tongue against residing in the inflammable house of Vāraṇāvata' (IX, p. 354), we may further infer that the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas knew Greek.

Here a rich field is opened up for speculation, which again cannot be profitably exploited for lack of data. But the similarity between Greek and Sanskrit probably covers a much more extensive field of borrowing than is apparent, especially in regard to literary forms, technical devices, prosodical rhythms and loan words.

Greek was widely spoken in northwest India during the centuries of Greek occupation. Among the intellectual classes it was perhaps as widely known as Persian was during the Moghul period and English during the British. Those Indians who aspired to high office under Greek rule were obliged to acquire the language, and many must have pursued their studies to include an appreciation of the Greek classics. The Greek foundations even as late as the Parthian era, offered opportunities for the study of Greek grammar and

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rhetoric (VIII, p. 43); and that Greek was certainly written in India we find from the existence of poems written in Menander's reign.

Among the Greek words that found their way into Sanskrit* we have terms connected with warfare, astronomy and literature. Significantly, the Greek words for 'pen', 'ink', and 'book' passed into Sanskrit. Parchment, made in the factories of Pergamum, was the common writing material in large parts of Asia, and was also exported to India as we know from a letter written on parchment in Greek sent with an embassy from a Pāṇḍya king of South India to the emperor Augustus in Rome.

Greek was alive at the time of the Kushān king Kujula Kadphises (*c.* 25 BC) and the coins of Wema Kadphises, after him, bear Greek superscriptions. Śaka written in Greek characters continued till the reign of Vasudeva (*c.* AD 176) after which time the Greek script ceased to be used. This would appear to indicate that Greek was still spoken at the beginning of the Christian era, and may well have continued as the *lingua franca* for traders from the West. We cannot determine how long Greek remained a living language in India; the question was learnedly debated in a symposium of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1913, but without any clear results. Perhaps it survived Kanishka and influenced the early Sanskrit writers who flourished in his reign. It is curious to note that the women of 'Surastrene' (Kāṭhiāwār and Gujarāt) long continued to use the Greek form of salutation.

Colebrooke, quoting a writer of the eighth century AD, classifies the current non-Hindu languages of the day as Yavana (Greek), Parasika (Persian), Romaka (Latin) and Barbara (Arabic), but at that time this could only have been true of the coastal trading communities. G. N. Banerjee says, 'The fact that Greek characters were still used on coins for two centuries after the last Greek dynasty had come to an end, shows that the language had a prestige in India, which any theory to be plausible must account for'.

As in language so in the arts, the contribution made by Greek craftsmen ranged over a wide field and started from an early period. Speaking of Seleucid times G. S. Ghurye observes, 'From the cultural point of view this is by far the most important period of Indian history. Greek influence penetrated the imperial court at Pāṭaliputra'. Later Greek influence, and we include here the Roman too, was not confined to northwest India, the centre of Greek occupation, of which we see the efflorescence in the Gandhāra* school, but extended to all those areas where Greek traders* had settled, near the mouth of the Indus, in Barygaza, and even in South India.

The new designs and forms they introduced, and the excellence of their workmanship had a considerable effect on the indigenous Indian arts. Their motifs were copied by native artists, and Greek models were widely imitated at the courts of Indian kings and potentates. It is even possible that Greek workmen were employed in decorating the palaces and temples (II, p. 11). This imitation is discernible in Indian coins, pottery, terra cotta figures, in the work of the goldsmith, the jeweller and the armourer. But it is above all in sculpture that the mark of the Yavanas can best be seen, both in the selection of types and attitudes and in the costumes and arrangement of drapery. The four-horse chariot of Phoebus, the quadriga, a familiar motif

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in Greek colonial art of the Middle East and Bactria, was often stamped on the coins of those regions. The Sūrya panel on a Bodh Gaya column of the Śūnga period on which the sun-god appears to be driving a four-horse chariot is, according to Sir John Marshall, manifestly copied from a Greek model.

But not in such broad outlines alone do we see the Greek hand; but in the details of feature, in little unassimilated motifs, in tiny replicas hidden away. When the expert concludes, after detailed comparative study that the drapery of the *yakshīs* in the bacchanalian group from Mathurā (probably the first century BC) is partially Greek, we can appreciate how difficult and complex must be the task of untangling the foreign elements from the indigenous and detecting origins in the work of craftsmen as skilled in copying and assimilating as are the Indians. The Mathurā school which is now known to be derived from Gandhāra represents the formative phase of later Gupta art, and shows unmistakable signs of Hellenistic and Roman influence.

These are the main aspects of Indian life upon which the enterprising sons of Hellas left their mark. From the time of Alexander they continued obtruding themselves upon India in an uninterrupted series of conquests, maritime expeditions, raids and mercantile adventures. Northern India was for more than two and a half centuries under the government of Greek rulers, and when this dominion came to an end, it remained for two centuries more under kings who were either partly Greek or who had been nurtured on Greek ideas. The association of the Yavanas with Indian affairs did not cease with the establishment of Scytho-Parthian and Kushān supremacy. There is evidence to show that the services of qualified Greeks were gladly accepted by the rulers of the country. Greek influence also continued to be intermittently felt as a result of the sea-borne commerce from Alexandria, which continued in full swing till AD 400. Also, many small Greek principalities in the secure mountain regions of the northwest became isolated during the Śaka invasions, and their ruling families merged with some native line. Besides, thousands of Greeks settled in India itself, married Indian women, became converts to an Indian religion, and thus acted as a leaven in the communities of their adoption.

Greek and Sanskrit records speak of the large number of Greek merchants who came to the Koṅkaṇ and Malabār coasts, attracted by pepper, 'the passion of the Yavanas', in the words of a much-quoted Tamil poem. In fact there existed Graeco-Roman colonies in the far south of India in the early centuries of the Christian era. South Indian ports were thronged with Greek (and Roman) traders* who came to carry away pepper, ginger, cinnamon, rice, ivory, precious stones, especially beryls and diamonds, fine silks and cotton fabrics. Impressed by the splendid bearing of the Western race, Dravidian kings frequently employed as bodyguards those of them who desired to remain in India.

We do not know the final destiny of these and countless other Yavanas, but it has been conjectured that they were in time completely absorbed into the Indian population, undoubtedly contributing much to the culture of the communities into which they were assimilated. A legendary opponent of Kṛishṇa was the barbarian chieftain Kālayavana (*see* Gārgya) whose name,

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'Black Greek' would suggest just such a naturalization, but in most cases there are no names to enlighten us.

There is no record of what happened to the Bactrian Greeks who twice invaded Sāketa (near Ayodhyā), Pañchāla (Rohilkhaṇḍ) and Madhyamikā (near Chitor) and besieged Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra. These were referred to in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. Like other invading tribes from the north-west (e.g. the Magas) the Yavanas may well have penetrated deep into eastern India by way of the Gangetic plains.

Dr C. V. Vaidya, historian of medieval India believes it not improbable that the Yavanas sailed down the Ganges and came by sea to Orissa*, and even established Yavana kingdoms in the central part of India as may be proved not only from inscriptions but the Purāṇas themselves (X, p. 319). They may have proceeded still further eastward, as relics of their sojourn in Assam are said to be discernible in the legend of Bhāgadatta of Prāgjyotisha. History also records the existence of more than one dynastic family in the Deccan having foreign or Yavana blood, of whom the Vākāṭakas* were perhaps the most illustrious. According to Sir William Hunter the Yavanas of Orissa were dispossessed in the fifth century by the Keśāris and sought a new home in the Āndhra* country where they are spoken of as the Kaiṅkilā (white-leprous) Yavanas. Vaidya suggests that under the guidance of the Yavanas the Hindus went to Java, and some authorities partly attribute to them the sudden outburst of creative colonizing in Hinterindia*, accounting among other things for the Hellenic features of certain bas-reliefs of the great Buddhist cathedrals of Angkor.

Although much remains to be done in reducing these speculations to certainty there can be no doubt from the evidence even now available that the Greeks and their descendants penetrated to many outlying areas of India and that their influence irradiated over practically every important sphere of Indian life. From Indian sources, from relics buried in forgotten towns*, from Greek chronicles, from the evidence provided by the history of mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, warfare, trade, medicine, drama, Sanskrit, science, art, architecture, and several other areas of Indian achievement, we find the ubiquitous potency of Greek genius, and realize how in countless different ways the Greeks brought to India new techniques and vital inspirations.

Several times have Sanskrit writers admitted that Yavanas were not only formidable in war and of mighty prowess, but also possessed of supernatural intelligence and worthy of honour as if they were ṛishis. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the *sarvajñā yavanāḥ*, 'the all-knowing Greeks'. Indeed, if it is not true to say that nothing moves in this world that is not Greek in origin it is at any rate a pardonable hyperbole.

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GṚITSAMADA, a 'kshattriya *ṛishi*' who according to different Purāṇic versions was the son of Śunahotra, descended either from Aṅgiras or Bhṛigu, or from Purūravas of the Lunar line of kings. In the *Mahābhārata*, Gṛitsamada is the son of Vītahavya king of the Haihayas* and a kshattriya who became a brāhmin.

A legend relates how on one occasion the *asuras* (demons) were lying in wait for Indra hoping to ambush and destroy him, but Gṛitsamada assumed the guise of the deity and pretended to perform a sacrifice. He was seized by the asuras and carried off. Gṛitsamada then recited a hymn proving that Indra was a different person, and kept the asuras puzzled until Indra came to his rescue with reinforcements.

Several hymns in the second *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛig-veda* are attributed to Gṛitsamada. His son *Śunaka* was the father of *Śaunaka* who is mentioned in the *Ṛig-veda* as the originator of the four castes, and in other traditions as the author of an *anu-kramaṇi* (Vedic index), a *prāti-śākhya* (Vedic textual treatise), and various legal, grammatical and ritualistic works. He is besides the reputed author of what is called the *Ṛig-vidhāna*, relating to the 'destiny' or magical efficacy of the Ṛig-vedic hymns and verses, though much of this work is at least as recent as the time of the Purāṇic writings. Śaunaka was a disciple of the sage Uddālaka*, and for a time served as the *hotṛi* (family priest) to king Janaka of Videha (*see also Mahābhārata*).

Among Śaunaka's own pupils was *Aśvala*, author of a *śrauta-sūtra* (book on Vedic ritual), a *gṛihya-sūtra* (domestic ritual) and compiler of a Brāhmaṇa. He also founded a Ṛig-vedic *śākhā** or a school of Ṛig-vedic studies, named Āśvalāyana after him.

Books
See under Mythology.

GUHILA. According to legend, a descendant of a Maitraka* Valabhī prince, named GUHIL (*c.* AD 590) or Guha, accompanied by a group of Rājput* warriors, came to the area known as Medapāṭa (later Mewār), and established there a small principality known after him as Guhila (also Guhilot or Gehlot). In some accounts descent is claimed for the Guhilas from the Solar line of kings; in others the founder is said to be related to the Sasanian king Khusrau I (*see* Iran).

In about AD 728 BAPPA RĀWAL the then Guhila chief defeated the *mlechchhas* (? Arabs) and took a town which he named Chitrakūṭa (later Chitorgaṛh or Chitor). Bappa Rāwal's life-story is connected with the Bhīl tribe who are

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supposed to have reared him, and many of the Bhīl and Guhila legends are interwoven. At the installation of a ruler a Bhīl tribesman used to apply blood to his forehead from a cut finger.

During the eighth and ninth centuries the Guhilas acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratihāras*, but in AD 940 the Guhila chief threw off the Pratihāra yoke and established his headquarters at Aghata (Ahar) in modern Udaipur, ruling as an independent 'rānā' the region around Mewār. The capital was later moved to Chitor. For over three centuries the fortunes of the Guhilas fluctuated with the strength or weakness of their neighbours. A sept of the Guhilas living at Sisoda, known as the Śiśodīya (or Śeśodiya) also came into prominence during this period, and their history is closely linked with that of Chitor.

In 1303 Alā-ud-dīn Khilji attacked Chitor. It was said that he was partly motivated by a desire to possess the beautiful Padminī, wife of a member of the rānā's family. The rānā himself after resisting for two months stole out of the city and surrendered to Alā-ud-dīn. But his kinsman continued to defend Chitor and when the last hope of saving the fortress faded, all the Rājput women went in procession to a great pyre especially built for the purpose in an underground cave and threw themselves into the flames, in the terrible rite of *jauhar*. The Rājputs died fighting heroically to the end.

In 1535 Bahādur Shāh, Sultān of Gujarāt attacked Chitor, and the Rājputs again faced with defeat, went out to meet death on the battlefield where 32,000 warriors were slain. In the incredible jauhar that followed 13,000 Rājput women gave up their lives to safeguard their honour.

In 1527 the ruler of Mewār, Rānā Sangha, had lost the battle of Khānua to the Moghul emperor Bābur, and Mewār virtually passed to the Moghuls, a fact later confirmed by the fall of Chitor to Akbar in 1568. In spite of the heroic resistance of Rājput chiefs like Jaimal and Patta, the fortress was taken. On this occasion 1,700 women immolated themselves. After this third defeat the Śeśodīya remnants retired to Udaipur, 'the Venice of the East', seventy miles west of Chitor, which became their new capital.

The Rānā of Mewār was at last forced to submit to Jahāngīr in 1616. The Marāṭhas all but completed the disintegration of the Śeśodīyas and they were only saved through British intervention in their affairs.

Books

See under Rājputs.

GUJARĀTI, a modern Indo-Aryan language derived from a late dialect of Saurāshṭri, spoken by about twelve million people in Gujarāt. Intermixed with the native speech of the Ābhīra* and Scythian Gurjara tribes, it emerged in its distinctive form in the twelfth century AD. Up to the seventeenth century it was part of a single linguistic group with Rājasthāni.

Prior to the emergence of a national vernacular Gujarāti writers used Sanskrit as the medium of expression. Such were Bhaṭṭi (seventh century) and Māgha* (eighth century), both authors of *kāvyas*. By the twelfth century the towns of Ujjain and Dhāra became noted as centres of literary activity, largely owing to the patronage of the Paramāra and Chālukya kings. The

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court mainly favoured Sanskrit writers and there was a spate of pretentious kāvyas and endless eroticism. The period was redeemed only by the work of the Jain scholar Hemachandra* (d. 1172) who represents the culmination of Jain influence on Gujarāti writing. With the coming of Islam a new trend of bardic poetry arose, enshrining the exploits, real and imaginary, of the heroes who resisted the tide of the Muhammadan invasion.

Alongside the formal styles, but rooted in the people and springing from the soil, the vital literary tradition of the Gujarāti village flourished in various forms: the *rasak* or village song, the *phagu* or love narrative, the *rasa* or heroic and romantic narrative, and the *garbha* or melodious village song which accompanied the graceful garbha dance of Gujarāt.

By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Jainism began to fight a losing battle with Hinduism as a source of inspiration, and mythological tales of the Epics and Purāṇas became the literary fare of the people. The outstanding poet of the fifteenth century was **Narasiṁha** (1414–80) or Narasinha Mehto, rather too lavishly called the Father of Gujarāti Poetry, much of whose talent was devoted to describing the 'erotic wars' between Kṛishṇa and the *gopīs* (milkmaids). A greater literary figure was the poetess Mīrābāi* (1499–1547) who wrote tenderly of her 'bridal devotion' to Kṛishṇa, but she is claimed by Hindi* literature.

A century later we have the 'Vedāntic' poetry of the goldsmith-poet **Akho** (1591–1656) who wrote over seven hundred *chhapa* (six-line stanzas) on a variety of religious, philosophical and social themes. His younger contemporary **Prem-ānand** (1636–1734), the greatest poet of Old Gujarāt, sang his own mellifluous poems before enraptured audiences, and although lacking in depth his rich rhythms still delight the Gujarāti reader.

Bhakti (devotional) songs, *advaita* (monistic) hymns, heroic and fanciful tales continued to be written in abundance, without leaving any impress on the literary life of Gujarāt. 'Life', says one Indian critic, 'was decadent from 1700 until the advent of the British' (III, p. 327). As a sample there is the work of the most notable poet of his day, **Dayarām** (1777–1852) who wrote Vaishṇava lyrics, employing with great dexterity all the Kṛishṇa-gopī clichés of his predecessors. For all his talent his was a decadent muse and he may justly be termed the last of the old school.

The modern period began in 1818 when Gujarāt came under British rule, and the Western educational system was introduced. The impact was similar to the British impact on Bengali* literature, and socially, politically and culturally, Gujarāti life was quickened by the freshening breezes from the western world. It was against this background that Gujarāti literature emerged in its modern garb.

Narmadā-śaṅkar (1833–86) writer of Byron-inspired verse and memorable prose; and **Dalpatrām** (1820–98) satirist and poet, were the first of the moderns and both ardent supporters of social reform. They were followed by a host of others who studied in the universities set up on western models and were nourished on the poetry of the Romantic Revival and the prose of J. S. Mill and Ruskin. Poets now saw Gujarāt anew with the eyes of Wordsworth and wrote lyrical plays in impassioned Shelleyan verse. The new aspirations of the university man were classically exemplified in a great epic

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novel written by **Govardhanrām** (1855–1907) also called Govardhanrām Tripathi, which is one of the literary masterpieces of modern India.

The influence of these social reformers reached its climax in Mohandās ('Mahātma') Gāndhi* who bestrode the Gujarāti literary scene no less than he dominated Indian political life. His simple style of writing and his dedication to political and social reform remain the mainspring of Gujarāti literature. Imitators of T. S. Eliot and James Joyce have a limited audience and are still but whispers in the wilderness.

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GUṆĀḌHYA (AD ?50–300?) author of a famous collection of tales known as the *Bṛihatkathā*, 'Great Story', written in the Paiśāchi dialect and regarded as one of the major classics of Indian literature. His birthplace has been variously given as situated on the Godāvarī river, in the Vindhya mountains, in Mathurā, in Nepāl, Ujjain, Kashmīr, Gandhāra, or Kekaya in north-western Panjāb.

Guṇāḍhya's neglect of Sanskrit in favour of an indigenous vernacular as a medium for his writing is explained by the legend that as a result of a rash wager he was precluded from using the sacred tongue. The tradition that he chose Paiśāchi because he was more familiar with that language is generally accepted as the more reasonable explanation.

Legend relates that the original work consisted of 700,000 couplets, describing the history of the world from its beginnings, and comprising the whole secret lore of the pre-Aryans. The revelations had been whispered into his ear in a series of inspired dreams by primordial beings who desired that the ancient wisdom should be preserved among men. The latter part of the book was composed by the poet himself to bring it up to his own times. Guṇāḍhya presented his manuscript to a king named Sātavāhana but the monarch disdained to accept the gift because it was couched in the plebian Paiśāchi tongue.

Armed with his rejected manuscript Guṇāḍhya ascended the top of a hill and by the light of a fire began for the first time reading the text aloud. As he read of the beginning of all things the mountains trembled, the sky became overcast and the earth shook. Completing the first part he dropped it into the flames. He then read of the gods and their deeds, and the gods themselves came hovering around to hear the potent verses. He read of the secrets of Creation, the birth of the universe and the modelling of man. On and on he read and as he read he burned his mighty book. He came to the secrets of the animal kingdom and the mystery of plant life, and the trees bent down towards the sage and the birds wept silently.

Learning about the extraordinary phenomena King Sātavāhana hastily sent messengers to obtain the book. By then only a few thousand verses remained, mainly concerned with the history of kings, the romance and adventure of ordinary mortals. This fragment is the *Bṛihatkathā*.

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Such is the legend. The facts are that even the original fragment is lost, and the existing Sanskrit versions are taken from translations dating from the fourth century AD on. Stories from Guṇāḍhya's masterpiece are included in other Sanskrit works, such as the *Śloka-saṁgraha* of Budhasvāmin (*c.* AD 800), also incomplete, and the works of Kshemendra and Somadeva*.

Books

See under Sanskrit.

GUPTA, one of the greatest dynasties of India. There are said to be two Golden Ages in Indian history. One is the legendary period stretching back to the timeless past of ṛishis and epic heroes, and the other is the age of the Guptas. 'The Gupta Age', writes Dr Barnett, 'is in the annals of classical India what the Periclean Age is in the history of Greece'.

The Gupta dynasty is not related to Chandragupta, the great Maurya emperor, and there is only a very tenuous connection between the Gupta kings and the few stray Guptas mentioned in the scattered inscriptions of the period immediately preceding their own. The dynasty arose after a century of disorder following the break-up of the Kushān empire.

Of humble origins, the Guptas were probably Jāts, a people of Scythian and Hun affinities like the Rājputs. For a time a number of them held office under the Śaka Sātavāhanas, and one of them built a temple for Chinese pilgrims and may have been a Buddhist himself. All through their imperial career the Guptas intermarried with the Nāgas, Dravidians and other pre-Aryan tribes, and we are told of the presence of Kushān, Scythian and other foreign women in the royal harems. The acquisition and consolidation of power through advantageous matrimonial alliance was a distinctive feature of Gupta interstate policy, and several Gupta kings had foreign mothers.

The founder of the Golden Age was an adventurer of lowly birth, whose name has come down to us as **Chandragupta I** (AD 320–328). The tradition of his rise to power has been enshrined with a fair degree of accuracy in a recently discovered Sanskrit play entitled *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, written by Kiśorikā, a probably contemporary authoress who was apparently acquainted at first hand with the events she portrayed. Befriended by the king of Magadha (in modern Bihār), Chandragupta rose to prominence at the court of Pāṭaliputra, and secured the support of the powerful local Lichchhavi* clan by marrying the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī. He then turned against his adoptive father and usurped the throne, assuming the title of King of Kings.

His eldest son, who succeeded him, was displaced by the second son, **Samudragupta** (AD 330–379), a brilliant military strategist who set forth on a *digvijaya* or career of conquest, 'violently uprooted' eleven kings and extended his realm from the frontiers of the Kushān empire in the northwest to the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Vindhyas in the south. He shifted his capital from Pāṭaliputra to Ayodhyā as being more central for the administrative control of his far-flung provinces. In celebration of his countless victories he held an *aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice, and gloried in the title 'Exterminator of Kings'. But he was also a patron of learning and himself a

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kavi-rāja, 'poet king', of some excellence. Most of our information about Samudragupta is derived from the famous Allāhābād Pillar Inscription on which one of his devastating campaigns is recorded on a partly obliterated palimpsest, which originally bore an inscription of the pacifist emperor Aśoka.

Samudragupta's weakling son, **Rāmagupta,** ruled for a short time, and reputedly met his death at the hands of his brother **Chandragupta II*** (380–413). Despite this act of fratricide which hastened his accession to the throne, Chandragupta turned out to be an extraordinary ruler whose reign remains one of the most glorious in Indian annals. The son of Chandragupta II by his wife Dhruvadevī was **Kumāragupta** (415–455), notable for his patronage of Buddhism, and for his liberal endowments to the great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā. During his reign and that of his son **Skandagupta** (455–467) the White Huns commenced their depredations. For a time Skandagupta held them back, but his successors were unable to stem their onslaughts. The Huns steadily annexed province after province and the vast empire began to crumble. By the beginning of the sixth century various branches of the Guptas broke off and continued to rule tiny principalities in different parts of north India and nothing but the shadow of the old empire remained.

The two centuries of early Gupta rule mark the climax of the Hindu imperial tradition. The Guptas inherited and perfected the Mauryan administrative system, and the Chinese traveller Fa-hien (401–410) gives a glowing picture of the prosperous, well-governed dominions of the Gupta emperor. The Gupta age was the classical period of Sanskrit literature, the age of Kālidāsa, Bhartṛihari, Daṇḍin and Bāṇa, and the dramatists Śūdraka and Bhavabhūti. Hinduism emerged in its present form; the lawbooks were compiled, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* redacted, and the Purāṇas given their first shape. It was the time when the astronomer Āryabhaṭa, the mathematician Varāhamihira, and the surgeon Suśruta produced their masterpieces. Hindu architecture struck out on its own, and Hindu sculpture reached its zenith. The famous Iron Pillar of Delhi forged at this time shows what advances were made in the science of metallurgy.

Although zealous Hindus themselves, the early Guptas favoured Buddhists, endowing their monasteries and seats of learning. The Buddhist jurist Vasubandhu, councillor of Samudragupta, served as the chief architect of the Gupta administration. Following his example every one of the Gupta kings chose advisers from among the Buddhists, and several of the later Guptas were themselves converted to Buddhism. It is to be remembered that many of the most eminent Buddhists, in spite of their Indianized names were foreigners, not native Indians (*see* Buddhist History), and indeed the foreign influence on the Gupta Age is ubiquitous and striking. There is cumulative evidence that the extraordinary intellectual and artistic output of the Gupta period was in large measure the result of cultural and trade contacts with the empires of Rome and Persia.

On the establishment of the so-called Second Gupta Empire, **Ādityasena** (fl. 670) performed a great *aśvamedha* ceremony, one of the most lavish of its kind. But instead of auguring greater glory it merely ushered in the final decline in the early eighth century of India's last Golden Age.

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GURU, a spiritual preceptor or cult leader. In the early educational* system of India the guru received pupils in his own *āśrama* or hermitage. The pupil (*chela* or *śishya*) gave him implicit obedience, worked for him in the household and paid him great reverence.

In sectarian belief a deity is regarded as the founder of a particular order, and he is thus the *ādiguru* or 'first guru' of that order. The living guru is believed to be the embodiment of the founder-deity and he is thus the last in a line of succession starting from the god (*see* initiation). As he is the deity incarnate, salvation is possible through him alone. After his death one of his disciples, earlier selected by him, becomes the guru. The leaders of all sects are thus said to be initiated either by the sectarian god during a theophany or by another leader.

The need for a guru is dictated by several considerations. Important truths do not come through study of books or independent intellectual contemplation, but are the result of inherited wisdom handed down from inspired leaders. The esoteric truths of the cult can therefore only be transmitted by one who had been divinely appointed to receive them in the first instance. The guru is the only living flame of such truth and he alone can charge the unlit wick of the disciple, duly dipped in the oil of cult teachings, with the divine light. The secrets of the cult are 'stored' in the guru and the mere formality of teaching these truths or uttering the words of a *mantra* will not convey enlightenment unless done so by the guru. Practical initiation is thus impossible without a guru. Many meditative techniques are difficult and even dangerous, requiring expert and experienced guidance; the same applies to practical disciplines, which can only be taught by qualified mentors (*see* physician). The selection of a proper guru is therefore imperative in cult practice. Whether the chosen guru will accept a particular chela is another matter.

Celebrated gurus in the cultic hierarchy sometimes receive more homage than the deity. For instance, the reverence in which Chaitanya is held exceeds that paid to Kṛishṇa. Even where images of deities are prohibited those of the guru are allowed and even encouraged. Frequently the living guru himself is actually worshipped. Lights are waved before him, incense burned in his presence, hymns are sung and prostrations made. A form of *charaṇa-pūjā*, 'foot-worship', is also performed by making offerings of flowers and money at the feet of the guru. In some cases reverence proceeds to even more curious forms. The guru's feet are washed and the water in which this is

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done is passed around to his followers who drink it. More rarely, betel or fruit is offered to him to chew and the masticated bolus is returned into the hand of the chela who proceeds to swallow it himself. When the guru expectorates the disciples even try to intercept this for a similar purpose. In India today there are scores of individuals who are worshipped as the living god, with a following varying from ten to a lakh (one hundred thousand).

In some sects when the guru toured his jurisdiction his disciples vied with one another for the privilege of entertaining him, and when he selected a house it was not unusual for the male members of the family to depart and leave their women for his pleasure. The follower was duty bound to allow his wife or daughter to surrender herself to the guru if he should so desire (*see* Vallabha). The spread of education and the vigorous opposition of enlightened Hindu reformers have to a large extent checked these follies.

The term guru has a much more elevated connotation among the Sikhs. It applies to the ten successive heads of their religion. The last of the gurus stopped the succession with himself, declaring that henceforward the Sikh holy book, the Granth, should be the guru. This 'Guru' Granth now receives almost divine homage.

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HAIHAYA (haya, a horse), the eponymous ancestor of the Haihaya people, was probably a Scythian chieftain. According to the *Mahābhārata* he was a descendant of Śaryāti, son of Manu Vaivasvata, who settled with his followers in Ānarta in Gujarāt. The Purāṇas make him the grandson of Yadu of the Lunar race and the ruler of a border or outlying frontier tribe of fierce nomad horsemen. There were five great divisions of the Haihaya tribe, namely, Tālajaṅgha, Vītahotra, Avanti, Tuṇḍikera, and Jāta (or Sujāta).

The Haihayas are often referred to in alliance with other semi-barbarous foreign tribes. They joined the Śakas, the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, and others to overthrow the kingdom of Ayodhyā, which was then ruled by Bāhu. They were in turn conquered by king Sagara*, son of Bāhu. Later the Haihayas under their king *Vītahavya* made incursions into the Doāb and took Kāśī (Banāras), the struggle between the Haīhaya and the Kāśī kings lasting many years. Vītahavya was at last defeated by the Kāśī prince Pratardana (*see* Divodāsa) and fled to the sage Bhṛigu for succour. Then by the mere word of Bhṛigu, Vītahavya became a brāhmin *ṛishi* and an 'utterer of the Veda'. His son Gṛitsamada* was also a highly esteemed ṛishi author of several hymns of the *Ṛig-veda*.

The Bhārgavas (Bhṛigu's descendants) became the priests of the Haihayas and priests and patrons lived in peace during the reign of Kṛitavīrya son of Dhanaka. He ruled with wisdom and justice and offered ten thousand sacrifices at each of which he munificently rewarded his bhārgava brāhmins. After Kṛitavīrya's death the Haihayas met with misfortune and turned to

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their brāhmin priests for help, but the brāhmins hid their money and refused assistance.

This resulted in bitter enmity between them and Kṛitavīrya's son Kārtavīrya (or Arjuna Kārtavīrya) the most renowned of the Haihaya kings. He was also known as Sahasrārjuna, the thousand-armed Arjuna. For his deep devotion to Dattātreya, that deity consented to grant him any boon he desired; Kārtavīrya asked for a thousand arms, a golden self-propelling chariot, the power of righting any wrong, the conquest of the earth, and death only at the hands of a man renowned the world over.

Kārtavīrya ruled with justice for 85,000 years and his realm was a model of peace and happiness. He was generous, self-restrained, and a zealous performer of the required sacrifices. He was also a great warrior, defeated the Karkoṭaka Nāgas who occupied Anūpa (near the mouth of the Narmadā), captured Māhishmatī and made it his capital. When Rāvaṇa king of Laṅkā attacked his territory Kārtavīrya invaded Laṅkā, took Rāvaṇa captive and confined him like a wild animal in a corner of the city. Later he released him. Kārtavīrya's conquest ranged as far as the Himālayas where he burned a hermitage of the ṛishi Jamadagni and was cursed by him. The version of the brāhmins who remember his long conflict with the priesthood is that he was a monster of tyranny, and they generally paint him in the blackest colours. He oppressed both men and gods and so affronted the deities that Vishṇu became incarnate as the great Paraśurāma* for the purpose of putting an end to his career.

The rule of the later Haihayas is associated with Mathurā and Saurāshṭra, both regions that have been the melting pot of races from time immemorial, and right through their history they continued co-operating with the semi-barbarian races of northwestern India.

Books

See Mythology.

HĀLA (AD ?500–1000?) a poet-king referred to in the Purāṇas as the seventeenth ruler of the Āndhras, and also known as Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana. He is the author of the *Sattasai* (Sanskrit *Sapta-śatī*, 'seven hundreds') a collection of songs comprising short vignettes in verse. For example: a wife resolutely ignoring the plea of her unfaithful husband who is on his knees begging to be forgiven, is moved to laughter and reconciliation when their child clambers on the prostrate husband's back; a woman keeps a tally on her fingers of the number of days her lover is absent, as the days pass she counts all her fingers and still he does not come and she can only weep; a woman's husband is on a journey, so she sends for her lover as she is fearful of thieves and dare not stay in the house alone.

Written in Mahārāshṭri Prākṛit, in a simple and natural style in the manner of the popular song, the work is full of charm and wit and often very moving, although not without occasional divagation into the licentious. It was frequently imitated by later Sanskrit and vernacular writers.

Books

See under Sanskrit.

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HAND. The Sanskrit synonyms for hand have varying significance conveying a multiplicity of purpose. The commonest word *hasta* implies that which helps to gain possession; others signify 'that by means of which one does things'; 'that which grips'; 'that through which we experience'; 'that which bestows tranquillity'; or 'having five branches'.

The chief function of the hand in esoteric Hinduism lies in the performance of *mudrās**, fixed gestures of ritual purport which are of prime importance in dancing, in sculpture and in religious symbolism.

Each finger poised singly for a ritual purpose has a certain meaning; used with other fingers in a *mudrikā* combination it takes on another and profounder significance. The symbolic pattern formed by the hand, deliberately posed, draws down power, and thus infused with potency the hand becomes the vehicle of divine impulses. In directed gestures power flows through the fingertips, bestowing gifts, giving strength and healing, restoring life, but also capable of wounding, blighting and killing. The fingertips are called *daiva*, 'divine', since they are especially sacred to the gods, as conductors of divine energy.

The hand is a guardian, warrior, and fragment of the *ātman*, and the imprint of the hand, by transferred intent, retains these attributes. Practised from ancient times in India is the making of *pishṭa-pañchāṅgula*, 'pasty five-fingers', an auspicious mark made by dipping the hand in coloured flour-paste and leaving imprints on the walls of the house, on the door, or on any object one wishes to protect, accompanied by suitable chants.

According to Hindu belief the fingers (*aṅguli*), thumb, and palm have their individual esoteric significance. The *tala* or palm represents the cosmic egg, or the ocean of milk, within which are contained all the blessings of the universe, symbolized by the fingers and thumb. The *aṅgushṭha* or thumb is the dominant limb of the hand; its element is ether and its function sovereignty. It is the seat of one of the *chakras** or plexuses. In some rites it symbolizes Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation and at one offering to the Manes the thumb is pushed into the food to drive away the greedy demons. The *pradeśinī*, 'applying', or forefinger, is the finger of delegated authority, the Prime Minister of the palm; its element is air; *jyeshṭha*, 'chief', the middle finger, is the finger of procreation, symbolizing the erect member, the phallus in action; its element is fire; *tṛitīya*, 'third', the ring finger, is the unclean or anal finger, the cloaca of the palmar kingdom; its element is water. In combination with jyeshṭha it bestows fertility; *kanikā*, 'virgin', the little finger, is the finger of the material world; its element is earth. It is sacred to the god Ka (Prajāpati) and hence is also called *kāya*.

Books

See under Body and Mudrā.

HANDICRAFTS. The sixty-four skills* with which the *nāyaka* or man-of-the-world* was supposed to be acquainted included handicrafts, where the human agent manipulated a particular material in the raw or unformed state and fashioned it into a thing of beauty or utility. Numerous treatises of a practical nature were written on these *kalā* or lesser artistic skills between the

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fifth and fourteenth centuries AD, which became the standard handbooks of the craftsmen.

The methods of compiling a *śilpa-śāstra* or craft manual were rigorously laid down for each profession. The physician Charaka discussing the comparative value of books on his own subject gives the rules that are to be sought in a good textbook. One should, he advises, choose a treatise: (1) that has been honoured by renowned and wise men; (2) that is suited to the understanding of the three kinds of pupils; (3) that is free from tautology and verbosity; (4) that is well compiled and rich in aphoristic wisdom, giving commentaries and abstracts in due order; (5) that treats of the subject concerned without deviating from it; (6) that is free from slang and provincialism; (7) that contains no obsolete or unfamiliar and unexplained terms; (8) that is couched in words of general comprehension; and (9) that contains abundant examples. 'Such a treatise, like the bright sun, dispels darkness'.

There are traditionally nine basic handicrafts, believed to have been originated by the divine artisan Viśvakarman who laid down their principles and expounded their techniques for the nine kinds of artisans. There were of course many more classes of artisans, based on caste considerations, who usually formed guilds, such as those of ivory-workers, silk-weavers, metal-workers, etc. Many of these guilds were extremely wealthy and played a prominent part in the life of the community, making contributions to the building of shrines and temples. The nine major categories are:

(1) **Svarṇa-kāra,** 'gold-worker' and jeweller, who works on precious metals and gems*, understanding their inherent properties, and skilled in fashioning ornaments*.

(2) **Śaṅkha-kāra,** 'shell-worker', who makes things out of shells and the bones of animals, including ivory, tortoise-shell, bone, horn, and mother-of-pearl.

(3) **Mṛitpacha,** 'earth-baker', who uses clay and other such substances, shaping and then hardening the product in the sun or fire. His work includes pottery, ceramics, glassware, tiles, terracotta, clay figures and bricks. Ancient India (*c.* 2500 BC) shared with many remote cultures the art of making both painted and terracotta glazed pottery. Today plain earthen pottery is usually used for domestic purposes. Glass production was known in India from at least 500 BC. Pliny refers to Indian superiority in the art of colouring glass which was, according to him, unsurpassed in the ancient world. The wearing of glass bangles, now ubiquitous in India, was due to Hunnish influence.

(4) **Kuvindaka,** 'weaver', who uses thread of cotton, silk, wool or gold, for making textiles*, brocades, silks, laces and embroidery work. Also mats of coir (Malayālam *kāyar*) or coconut fibre; cotton rugs (*darī*, Ang: dhurrie); floor rugs (*satrañji*); felt rugs (*namdah*); and woollen pile carpets (*gālin*).

(5) **Kāṇḍa-kāra,** 'stem-worker', including the māla-kāra, 'garland-maker', who uses fresh stems and flowers for his garlands; and the maker of reed and rush mats and baskets.

(6) **Charma-kāra,** 'leather-worker'. Contrary to popular belief, leather was widely used in ancient India. Śiva's mantle was a tiger skin; the hide of an antelope was the ascetic's mat; and the *Ṛig-veda* mentions leathern water-

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bags. Sandals, shoes, belts, and leggings used by various ancient tribes were made of leather.

(7) **Pratimā-kāra,** 'likeness-maker', including the chitra-kāra, 'picture-maker'; one who makes representations of gods (idols*), men and animals, i.e. the painter, and the takshaka, 'cutter', the sculptor in wood, stone or metal.

(8) **Sūtra-dhāra,** 'string-holder', a wood-worker or carpenter. By extension this category included wood-inlay, lacquered ware, the making of puppets, dolls and toys, papiermâché, gesso work, and to some extent furniture. The art critic A. Jacquemart declared that India was 'a land devoid of furniture' (IV, p. 43), and in fact little evidence exists of the use of furniture in ancient times apart from the bedstead, throne, stool and couch. The present Indian household confirms that furniture is rarely used except by the well-to-do. People generally sit and sleep on the floor, but the *chārpai*, 'four-legs' or simple wooden and string cot is sometimes used, for fear of snakes and scorpions. Woodcarving was introduced by the Chinese and carved screens were a feature of Buddhist shrines. The Moghul period saw some excellent lattice work and wood-carvings executed in mosques and the houses of the rich.

(9) **Karma-kāra** or smith, working with baser metals. This includes the *kāṁsya-kāra*, the maker of sacrificial and household utensils, the brazier, the maker of weapons and sundry metal implements. The art of damascening or decorating metalware with inlays or encrustation of flowery or geometrical designs in other metals, is called *koftgāri* and came to India via Iran and Afghanistan (IV, p. 28). Its chief centres today are Jaipur and Alwār where skilled artists still produce ceremonial damascened swords, daggers, shields and elephant goads. A variety of damascening was developed in the Muslim state of Bidār, whence it was called *bīdrī* work. Here the metal article, generally a dark metal alloy, is engraved with deep lines into which a fine silver wire is hammered, the whole being smoothly polished. Enamel work on gold, silver and brass is also done in many parts of India, the best kind, called *minakāri*, being produced at Jaipur. The colours are said to 'rival the tints of the rainbow in purity and brilliance'. The ground is first engraved, vitreous pastes of different colours are applied on this surface and the article is then fired. Enamelling appears to be of Central Asian origin and was introduced to India by the barbarian peoples.

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HANUMĀN, famous monkey-chief, the son of the wind-god (Pavana, Vāyu or Marut) and the *apsarā* Anjanā, wife of a monkey named Kesari. Hanumān plays an important part in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a helper of Rāma whom he served with steadfast devotion.

Hanumān is greatly extolled and idealized in Hindu literature, and his exploits form the subject of many legends. He is regarded as almost divine, with supernatural powers due largely to his celibacy. Even while he was still an infant, he intimidated the sun. He was learned in the scriptures, a perfect grammarian, and excelled in all the sciences. He could change his shape at will, had incredible strength and could also fly through the air. Many stories are told about his tail, which was of immense length. Once when his half-brother came to see him while he lay pretending to be ill, he was unable to lift Hanumān's tail to clear a path for himself.

During Rāma's search for Sītā, Hanumān decided to go to Laṅkā (Ceylon) where she was held captive, and explore the country for himself. Hostile demons tried to bar his progress but he dealt suitably with them, including Surasā, mother of the Nāgas, and Siṁhikā, mother of Rāhu. He leapt across to Laṅkā, using the mountain Mahendra as a spring-board, and appeared before the gates of Rāvaṇa's palace. Assuming the form of a cat he crept through the palace but could not find Sītā. Reassuming his own shape again, he wandered about till he found her in a grove of *aśoka* trees. She sat 'pale and trembling like a fallen star; hard to be seen, like the first digit of the waxing moon; bowed down with fasting, suffering and penance, like a flame enveloped in smoke'. He gave her Rāma's signet ring as a token of recognition and told her of Rāma's search, and promised to return again with him.

Before he left, Hanumān destroyed everything in sight, razing houses and uprooting trees as though they were grass until he was captured by Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, who brought him before his father. While addressing Rāvaṇa, Hanumān made a seat of his coiled tail and sat upon it, and each time Rāvaṇa raised his own throne Hanumān lengthened his tail and sat on a higher level. Rāvaṇa wished to have him executed, but Indrajit suggested what he thought was a better scheme by which he could be humiliated and sent back to Rāma in disgrace. An oil-soaked cloth was tied to his tail and set alight. But Hanumān, quite unharmed, charged through the city and the surrounding countryside, causing untold havoc and burning all the crops with his fiery tail. He then leapt over the ocean and apprised Rāma of all that had happened.

When, during the battle against Rāvaṇa, Lakshmaṇa and many other warriors were slain or wounded, Hanumān was sent urgently by Sushena the *vānara* (monkey) physician to fetch four *saṁjīvinī*, 'animating', or healing herbs from Mount Kailāsa (in some accounts Mount Gandhamādana). One herb was meant to restore life; another to remove broken particles from the body; a third to join fractured bones; and the fourth to rejuvenate and to restore the complexion. Hanumān sped away on his errand. Stopping to drink at a pool he was seized by a crocodile but he caught the creature and killed it, and from its corpse there arose an enchanting *apsarā* who said that she had been cursed by the sage Daksha to live as a crocodile until released by Hanumān. She warned him to beware of a certain asura* Kālanemi who,

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disguised as a mendicant, was planning to kill him, at Rāvaṇa's behest. Hanumān met the mendicant and slew him. On reaching Mount Kailāsa he was unable to find the herbs, so he brought the whole mountain with him and restored it when the physician had taken the herbs he required. It is said that since Hanumān had been asked to bring the herbs before moonrise, and as the moon was about to rise before he had completed his expedition he swallowed it and disgorged it after his task was over.

Hanumān accompanied Rāma on his return from exile, and received from him the reward of everlasting youth and longevity*.

Hanumān is also called Hanumat or Hanūmat, and is known by his patronymics as Māruti, Marutpatra and Ānili, and his metronymic, Ānjaneya. He is hailed as Laṅkādāhī, 'Laṅkā-burner'; Yogāchāra, 'master of yoga'; Rajata-dyuti, 'silver radiance'.

Books

See under Mythology.

HARDWĀR (*Hari-dvār*, 'the gate of Hari', i.e. Vishṇu), one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, lies at the foot of the Siwalik hills where the Ganges issues from the mountains and begins its course on the plains (hence also called Gaṅgādvāra). Once an ancient site of Magian worship and Maga* temples, its original name, Magapur, still survives as Māyāpur, a locality a little south of Hardwār. It was also known as Kapila, after the Vedic ṛishi who practised austerities there. The town was sacked in 1399 by Timur, and the name Hardwār was given to the rebuilt city after that date.

A footprint of Vishṇu called *Hari-ke-pairi*, impressed on stone is an object of great veneration among the devout. Nearby is a temple built over the scene of Daksha's* celebrated sacrifice, and also the place where Satī committed suicide. *Śrāddha* ceremonies to the ancestors performed on this spot are believed to be very meritorious.

There is an annual gathering of pilgrims on the first day of *Vaiśākha* (April-May) the day on which the river Ganges is said to have first descended to earth, and in the past there used to be hundreds of fatalities as people struggled to plunge into the water when the propitious moment arrived. The present *ghāṭ* was built by the British to prevent such accidents. The great *Kumbha-mela** is celebrated here every six years, with a larger *mela* every twelve years.

From Hardwār begins the route leading to the Himālayan pilgrim centres of Gaṅgotri, Kedārnāth and Badarināth. On the Ganges about twenty-four miles above Hardwār is Ṛishikesh (or Hṛishīkeśa, 'bristling-hair Lord' i.e. Vishṇu), where Rāma underwent his penance for the sin of killing Rāvaṇa.

Books

See under Towns.

HAREM. The question whether the ancient Indians kept their women in seclusion has not yet been conclusively resolved. Some scholars tend to the

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view that women have always had great freedom in those regions where the patriarchal system did not have so strong a hold, that is, in the southern provinces and eastern India, while in the north and west, where a patriarchal society prevailed, the seclusion of women was part of the established order.

Other authorities, culling evidence from Vedic and Epic writings contend that the harem was quite unknown in ancient India and that there is nothing to warrant the conclusion that women anywhere in India were ever kept sequestered. Far from being secluded they were permitted an extraordinary amount of freedom (*see* promiscuity) till at least the first century BC, by which time the wives of royalty and nobility alone began to be sheltered from the vulgar gaze.

The Epics, the *Arthaśāstra*, the early dramas and *kāvyas* do in fact suggest that women of the upper classes were generally separated from society. But they did not live in strict seclusion, and freely joined in social and religious occasions such as sacrificial ceremonies, religious debates, *svayaṁvaras*, marriages and festivals.

In Sanskrit the women's quarters were called *antaḥpura*, 'inner area', or *avarodha*, 'enclosure', which was a suite of apartments situated in a secluded part of the palace or house and entirely reserved for women. Here the female members of the household resided, the entrance being guarded by eunuchs, old men or female retainers. No one could enter this area except the master of the house, female relations and servants, and sometimes vendors selling flowers and trinkets who could converse with the women through a screen.

Under the polygamous systems that prevailed in many parts of India especially during the Epic period, the women's preserve often assumed formidable proportions. The seraglios of the rulers of Ayodhyā, Kāśī, Mithilā, and the Pāṇḍavas, and particularly that of Kṛishṇa, were spread over huge areas and often resembled townships.

In contrast to the harems of romance the antaḥpura of reality was frequently a squalid place. In medieval times women were shut away among the ugliest rooms in the rear of the house. These female quarters were often poorly lit, ill-ventilated, overcrowded and devoid of basic amenities. They were completely ignorant of the world outside and of the beauties of nature. 'It grew to be the envied boast for a Hindu woman to be able to assert that not even the eye of the sun had ever beheld her face' (I, p. 94). Modern enquiry into the life of harem women (Muslim, since Hindus have largely discarded the veil) reveals a tragic story of pale, tuberculous, enervated creatures living in a sordid, twilight world.

Buddhist and Jain writings and the work attributed to Kauṭilya give some indication of the routine of harem life in ancient India. Part of every day, generally after the midday rest, was reserved by the king for an 'official' visit to the harem, when he would talk to the womenfolk, listen to their complaints and find out their needs. Some time during the evening the chambermaid would inform the king whose 'turn' it was, and the king would accept from the chambermaid the gift or robe of the queen concerned. The obligatory order called first for the chief wife and then one of the lesser wives, four being the usual number of queens permitted a king. The king was obliged to consort with his four queens once every month, except during sickness, pregnancy or

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menstruation. The remaining time was left to the king's choice, since there was no priority among the concubines of his harem.

The sons of the king had their own harems, and the eldest prince inherited the royal harem on his father's death when he himself became king. In some parts of India (e.g. Vidarbha), according to writers on erotics, a king could cohabit with all the women except his own mother. Generally, however, the restrictions of consanguinity were taken into account, this matter being taken care of by the chambermaid, who also kept the court genealogist informed about the birth of children.

Protocol was determined not only by rank and preference but also by prudence. Many of the girls were sent to the king as gifts by enemy princes, ambitious relatives, jealous nobles, and scheming courtiers, hence not all the inmates of the harem could be trusted. They were often spies, intriguers and so-called poison-maidens whose embrace might mean death (*see* poison). Kauṭilya warns a king not to touch any woman unless her integrity is guaranteed by an old maidservant. He goes on to quote a number of instances where for lack of caution the king lost his life.

'Hidden in the queen's chamber, his own brother slew king Bhadrasena; hiding beneath the bed of his mother, the son killed king Kārūśa; mixing fried rice with poison, as though with honey, his own queen poisoned Kāśī-rāja; by means of an anklet painted with poison, his own queen killed Vairantya; with a gem bedaubed with poison his own queen killed Sauvīra; with a looking-glass painted with poison, his own queen killed Jālūtha; and with a weapon hidden under the knot of her hair his own queen killed Vidūratha'.

Vātsyāyana and other writers on erotics observe that since the women of a harem are not allowed to see any men except their common husband, who cannot possibly serve them all, they become physically dissatisfied and seek solace in curious and perverse* ways. Such methods include auto-gratification, mutual satisfaction, *maukhyā* techniques, unnatural aids (olisboi*) and bestiality*. Pet dogs and monkeys of the harem were specially trained for the role, and Kṛishṇa's more than 16,000 wives used to 'make little images' of him to ease their passion. The services of the eunuchs or aged males who guarded the premises were often sought, and the small element of masculinity still in them was activated to spark the necessary life in the jaded unfortunates in the harems.

But the most satisfactory method of all remained the smuggling into the harem of enterprising males. This was always a risky and complicated procedure and a number of writers on erotics devote a section or two to the matter. A man may be sneaked in with the help of maids after being dressed up as a woman, or he may be smuggled in in a vendor's box or basket. The best time for making a clandestine entry is when goods are being delivered, when artisans come in to repair or decorate the apartments, or when the master of the house is away from the capital and security is lax, or during a festival amid the general excitement. A man is advised to be careful if invited by a go-between to visit the harem. He should give liberal bribes to guards, hire spies, preferably females, to keep a watch at each stage of his

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progress. He should thoroughly examine entrances, the height of walls, subterranean passages and exits. If possible he should use magical means to make his entry safe, by putting guards to sleep, or removing them from their post by *mantras*. The whiskers of a mongoose, seeds of a gourd, the eyeballs of a serpent, cooked and made into a paste and applied to the eye with the proper spells, can make both man and his shadow invisible.

Because of the danger to his life, and the possibility of such adventurers entering his rightful preserve, the king or nobleman is also given some sage advice. He should keep a sharp look-out for intruders, set traps for them by sending out false invitations through domestics, and by making an example of a few to quench the rash spirit of others. He should see that his women avoid the company of ascetics with shaven heads or braided hair, as well as buffoons and prostitutes. Every woman in the harem should live in the place assigned to her and should never be moved elsewhere. No one responsible for the security of the harem should be allowed to become intimate with outsiders. The taking of commodities of any kind from or into the harem should be controlled, and only items marked with a seal should be allowed in or out after careful inspection.

It must be stressed that the custom of secluding and veiling women in India was at all times confined to a small section among the higher classes and never became universal, as it did in Muslim countries. In fact the more widespread use of the veil by Hindu women, notably in the north, was the direct result of the Muhammadan conquest. This was done in imitation of the conquerors who were obliged by Islamic law to veil their women, and was further strengthened by the fact that it served as a means of protection for Hindu women during the period of Muslim domination.

In north India the veil was called the *pardā* (Ang. purdah) from the Persian word meaning curtain, specifically the screen separating the women's apartments from the rest of the house. In Islamic usage the term for women's apartment is the Arabic *haram*, 'forbidden' (Ang. harem), so called because it was an area to which all males except the master of the house were denied access.

Generally speaking it would be true to say that the Hindu woman although she was to a certain extent restrained by the natural limitations of her sex from moving about with complete freedom, and although she did occupy a separate part of the house when sufficient accommodation was available, was not subject to the 'purdah system'. Today the antaḥpura and the harem are virtually extinct among Hindus.

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HARIŚCHANDRA, descendant of Ikshvāku, was the son of Triśaṅku*. The legend of his fortitude, patience and fidelity are related in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas.

The *Mahābhārata* states that he was raised to heaven for his great liberality

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and the regular performance of sacrifices. He married Śaibyā but she was barren, and Hariśchandra vowed that if he got a son he would offer him up as a sacrifice to Varuṇa. As a result a boy, ROHITĀŚVA (or ROHITA) was born to the couple. The king kept postponing the fulfilment of his vow and when he finally resolved upon it, his son refused to be the victim and escaped to the forest where he lived for six years. While there he met a brāhmin hermit and purchased from him his son Śunaḥśephas* to take his place as the sacrificial victim of Hariśchandra. Śunaḥśephas was however spared by the gods for his devotion.

Hariśchandra's fame rests on his long ordeal of slavery and degradation, steadfastly borne in fulfilment of his given word. The story goes that while out hunting one day he heard cries of feminine distress and on going to investigate found that they came from the Sciences who were crying out in fear at being mastered by the zealous sage Viśvāmitra. The sage was greatly vexed at the interference of Hariśchandra since his sacrifice had been interrupted and the Sciences had instantly perished. In expiation the king offered the sage anything he might ask, riches, his own family, his kingdom, even himself.

Viśvāmitra took him at his word and proceeded to strip the king of his realm and all his wealth, leaving him only a garment of bark, his queen Śaibyā and his son Rohitāśva. He smote the queen with his staff and hastened the departure of the stricken family from their own kingdom. Shortly afterwards Viśvāmitra appeared at Banāras where Hariśchandra had fled, and demanded the rest of the items promised by the king, and Hariśchandra, grieving deeply, surrendered his wife and son. He then sold himself to a hideous *chaṇḍāla* (outcaste) and gave the money of the sale to Viśvāmitra, thus fulfilling his last promise.

Vasishṭha family priest of Hariśchandra was so enraged at the inhuman treatment meted out to the king by Viśvāmitra that he cursed the latter to become a bird. Viśvāmitra, now transformed into a huge crane, in turn cursed Vasishṭha to become another monstrous bird, and these two birds fought so furiously that the whole earth was shaken, the fortifications of heaven imperilled, and countless creatures perished in earth, sky and sea. At length Brahmā ventured to intervene, restored them to their natural forms and implored them to desist and make peace.

Meanwhile Hariśchandra working in the chaṇḍāla's service was sent by his master to attend the burning of the dead at Banāras (the Śmaśāna of Hariśchandra in Banāras still marks the site) and to steal the shrouds off the corpses, which odious task the king performed for twelve months. Here one day a woman came to perform the obsequies of her son who had died from the bite of a cobra. It was none other than his wife. Husband and wife now resolved to die upon the funeral pyre of their beloved son. Having prepared the pyre Hariśchandra hastened to seek his master's permission to die, when the divine hosts, led by Indra, suddenly appeared from the skies and informed him that he had conquered heaven by his humility and good works.

Dharma, god of justice, then revealed that he himself was the hideous chaṇḍāla, his master. Hariśchandra's request for permission to take some of his faithful subjects with him was granted, and leaving his resuscitated son

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Rohitāśva to rule in his place, he, his wife and his selected followers ascended to heaven. Here, alas, prompted by the mischievous sage Nārada, the king began to boast of his merits and was expelled from paradise. As he hurtled downwards he repented and his course was arrested midway between heaven and earth. In this mid-region he and his followers still dwell in an aerial city called **Saubha,** 'blessed' (also called Khapura, Pratimārgaka, Traṅga and Udraṅka), a beautiful domain that in popular belief is still sometimes visible in the clouds. There is a legend that it was once captured by the *daityas* (demons) who transported it to the shores of the ocean, until it was recaptured and restored to the mid-empyrean by Kṛishṇa.

Rohitāśva the son of Hariśchandra was said to have founded the fort, named after him and still known as Rohtās, in Bihār.

Books

See under Mythology.

HARSHA (606–648) of the Vardhana dynasty was the first of the great rulers to emerge from the tumultuous period following the Hun invasions. He was an energetic warrior and began his career with a war against the Guptas of Mālwā to avenge the murder of his elder brother Rājyavardhana and the imprisonment of his sister Rājyaśrī. Having accomplished this mission Harsha was asked by his ministers to ascend the now vacant throne. He moved his capital from Thānesar to Kanauj*, and then set out on a course of consolidation and aggrandisement which lasted for six years during which time 'the elephants did not put off their trappings nor the soldiers their armour', although the long-current tradition of his having 60,000 war elephants is today discounted as fictional. He thus widened the boundaries of his kingdom which in due time extended over the greater part of northern India, from Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa near the Bay of Bengal to Valabhī on the Arabian Sea along the old frontiers of the Gupta Empire. Wherever his rule prevailed there was peace in the realm for the first time in several centuries. He assumed the title of Emperor of the Five Indies, namely Panjāb, Kanauj, Gauḍa (Bengal), Mithilā (Bihār), and Orissa. His southward drive was arrested by the Chālukyan king Pulakeśin II who defeated Harsha (*c.* AD 636) and so kept him north of the Narmadā. Towards the end of his reign in 643 he made an abortive attempt to subdue the Koṅgoda country of Gañjām and Puri.

During Harsha's reign the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (Hsuan-Tsang or Yuan-Chwang) visited India (630–44) in the course of his remarkably extensive wanderings, and left a brilliant picture of the kingdom; in fact the first full picture of ancient India that we possess. Among the towns described by him were Peshāwar, Taxila then practically in ruins, Pravarapura (near modern Srinagar), Jullunder, Mathurā, Prayāga (Allāhābād), Banāras, the university town of Nālandā, and of course the imperial capital Kanauj.

At this period Pāriyātra (modern Alwār) was under a vaiśya king; Matipura (Rohilkhaṇḍ) under a śūdra king; and Kanauj under Harsha, who was a vaiśya by caste. It is a matter for reflection that during what is known, not

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very accurately, as the Hindu period of Indian history, the most outstanding monarchs, Aśoka, Kanishka, and Harsha, should have been not Hindus but Buddhists. Speaking of the age of Harsha, Havell says,

'No civilization in the world's history can be said to have achieved perfection, but the fact remains that judged by the standards of culture, Indian cilization in the seventh century AD attained to a height which has not been exceeded by any other in ancient or modern times'.

Harsha gave liberal patronage to writers and scholars, among them the poet Bāṇa* (who left an account of the monarch in his *Harsha-charita*) and the poet Mayūra. Harsha himself was a poet and dramatist; he is sometimes referred to as Śrīharsha (not to be confused with the philosopher-poet who was the author of a *kāvya*). The three Sanskrit dramas attributed to him are: *Ratnāvalī*, 'Pearl Necklace', a story of the love of king Udayana of Vatsa for his queen's attendant, who ultimately turns out to be Ratnāvalī, princess of Ceylon; a second play, *Priyadarśikā*, also named after its heroine, is another 'harem tragedy'; while the third play, *Nagananda*, 'Serpent's Bliss', concerns the conversion by a Buddhist priest, of Garuḍa the serpent-eating bird, to the principles of *ahiṁsā* or non-injury.

Being a keen Buddhist, Harsha encouraged Mahāyāna much to the resentment of his brāhmin ministers who conspired to remove him. Their schemes came near to fruition when the pavilion in which the king was listening to religious debates was set on fire and later, when an attempt was made on his life by an armed fanatic. Though tolerant of the brāhmins Harsha was obliged to banish from his court over five hundred members of this extremist caste. But the intrigues against him continued and he was eventually assassinated, and his kingdom, the last Buddhist empire in India, brought to an end.

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HEAD. As the crown of the body, the seat of the major sensory organs and the etheric centres (*brahma-randhra* and *sahasrāra*), the head (in Sanskrit *śiras* and *śīrsha*) naturally receives special consideration, and many taboos relating to the head are observed in Hinduism. Its subtle glow visible around the heads of holy men as the *śiras-chakra*, 'head-circle' or halo, is often seen depicted in statues and pictures of Hindu deities.

In childhood a special ceremony called *chūḍā-karaṇa* or tonsure attends the first shaving of a boy's head, which is performed some time after the first year but before the completion of the seventh year. A day is chosen in that half of the year when the sun begins its northerly course, in the bright half of the month when the moon is in conjunction with an auspicious constellation. A fire is kindled, and four pots are placed at the cardinal points, containing rice, barley, sesame, and beans, symbolizing abundance. Prescribed

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mantras are recited while some hot and cold water is mixed, and the warm water rubbed on the child's head in a right to left motion and butter and curds applied to his head in the same way.

Three tufts of *darbha* grass are then held over him with the ends of the grass pointing towards the performer. The razor, which is made of *udumbara* wood is gently passed over the grass, then over the head, and a prayer addressed to the razor exhorting it to be harmless and not hurt the child. The father first cuts a tuft of grass and then a tuft of hair, and a barber then completes the operation with an ordinary metal razor. The cut hair is placed on a lump of bull's dung which is kept north of the burning fire. The child's head is then bathed in warm water.

A number of the conventions and hair taboos observed were said to have been introduced by *ṛishis* like Atri and Kaśyapa, and some by ancient kings like the Solar monarch Sagara*. From very early times it was customary to leave at least one lock of hair uncut and later this queue became obligatory, especially for the twice-born. It was believed that the small area of scalp covered by the tuft was the fissure of Brahmā (*see* chakra), the point at which the spirit penetrated the head at birth and would leave the body at death. In cultic practice too this scalp-lock, called *chūḍā* (also *śikhā, chuṭia, chaula* or *ṭikki*) was left in order that it might protect the aperture of Brahmā. Till recently this scalp-lock, like the sacred thread, was one of the outward insignia of the true brāhmin. Nowadays only strictly orthodox Hindus and some sects of yogis retain it.

The number of tufts left uncut and their arrangement varied with family, caste and sect. Generally the single tuft was left at the top rear of the head, located by a natural whorl in the hair. But many castes and sects did not accept this as the 'crown' of the head, and so the position of the tuft differed. The school of Vasishṭha kept it on the right side; those of Atri and Kaśyapa kept tufts on both sides; that of Aṅgiras kept five tufts, and that of Bhṛigu shaved the head clean in the belief that the aperture of Brahmā shifted with the seasons and could not be known.

Leaving one tuft is believed to be a relic of an ancient custom in certain sects of not allowing the hair to be cut at all. Ājīvikas and Jains used to have their hair plucked out one by one at initiation in order to circumvent this taboo. A number of sects left the hair completely unshorn like a woman's in the belief that when the hair reached a certain length the vital forces of the body were no longer diverted to assist in its further growth, and the surplus energy added to one's virility. Among contemporary semi-Hindu sects the Sikhs never shave or cut the hair of the body, and some sādhus and yogis observe the same prohibition.

The hair is arranged in a wide variety of styles. The *kaparda* is a 'shell'-shaped hair-do, where a braid is twisted like a shell and worn on one side, generally the right; less frequently two braids are made and worn on both sides of the head. In the *jaṭā*, 'braid', the locks are braided and piled high on the head to form a tall crown; this style is characteristic of certain Śaivites, after Śiva whose hair was decorated with the crescent moon, skull or cobra. The *kabarī*, 'matted' hair is unkempt, unwashed and tangled, giving the face a fierce appearance; it is popular with some classes of yogis after another

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style worn by the ascetic Śiva. In the *dhammilla*, 'tube', one long coil is made and tied around the head like a rope. The terms *kuntala*, 'spear-like'; *stukā*, 'curl'; *stūpa*, 'tuft'; *alaka*, 'lock', are applied to variations of single locks of hair.

Many types of ornamental head-dress are seen in ancient sculpture and described in Sanskrit texts. The *mukuṭa* or crown was worn by gods and kings, the best known of this class being the *kirīṭa*, 'diadem', a conical head-dress almost as tall as the wearer's face, with a large jewel set in the front. Images of Vishṇu, and his *avatāras* Kṛishṇa and Rāma, are generally depicted with this head-dress. The *karaṇḍa*, 'basket', was a crown shaped like an inverted basket, often worn by goddesses. The *śirastra*, 'helmet', was something like the modern turban and used by *rākshasas* (ogres). The *pagṛī* (Ang. pugree) comes in endless variations and is one of the most typical items of Indian dress, ranging from the ceremonial high-crested *torreh* of the Panjābi to the simple head-band of the villager of Central India.

Traditionally, the head-dress in India indicates the rank, status, caste and place of origin of the wearer. There is a Hindu way of wearing the turban as well as a Muslim way; and the Rājput turban differs from the Sikh. The *ṭopī* (Ang. topee) or pith-hat was regarded as the mark of the European, and as a rule the Indian did not wear one.

Books

See under Body and Dress.

HELL in Hindu mythology is divided in to seven regions collectively called *naraka*, though some authorities list as many as fifty. On the border of the infernal region lies the city of Yamapuri, dread abode of Yama god of the dead and the underworld. In his palace the dead are questioned as to their deeds, judged accordingly, and sent to their deserts in the various hells. These are described as regions of darkness, torment and fire, reserved for killers of cows and brāhmins, for tyrants, adulterers, robbers, heretics, defilers of the guru's bed, violaters of caste rules, misers, and other sinners.

For sins of deep turpitude the torture is severe. The victims never at any moment have any relief from pain. On the contrary they are given extra acute sensibilities so that they might suffer every refinement of agony to the full. Thinkers like Madhva* held that the very wicked are eternally damned and remain in hell for all time, for ever enduring punishment for their sins. Lesser hells are meant for those who die without leaving male issue, for those who await rebirth on earth as men and must endure the purifying fires to erase their sins; for all such only minor torments are devised. There are legends of individuals (like Ajāmila) who were able to defeat hell by uttering the name of a deity, especially Vishṇu, when dying.

The seven traditional hells are: (1) **Put** (or *Pud*), the hell to which childless men are consigned. The sage Mandapāla was sent here because he failed to marry and produce sons (*see* Jaratkāru, Agastya, Chyavana). Hence a son is called *put-ra*, 'hell-deliverer'. (2) **Avichi,** 'without joys', a mild hell lacking in sensual pleasures; also called *saṁ-jīvana*, 'animating', because those who are to be reborn on earth after their due punishment, rest here while awaiting

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reincarnation. It is one of the Buddhist purgatories (*see* bodhisattva). (3) **Saṁhāta,** 'packed'; the hell for the generality of evil men. It is filled with those who undergo the lesser forms of punishment for minor transgressions. (4) **Tāmisra,** the 'dark' hell, also called *pūti-mṛittika*, 'stink-earth', descriptive of its dank and fetid atmosphere. It was to this hell that the devotee Kauśika, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, was condemned, for having shown the way to a band of robbers so that they overtook and slew some of their fleeing victims. All the hells below Tāmisra are buried in eternal darkness. (5) **Ṛijīsha,** where people keep madly 'rushing' about, tormented by their conscience, which now attacks them with merciless ferocity, in the guise of fire, serpents, venemous insects, savage beasts and birds of prey. (6) **Kuḍmala,** where men have leprous 'bud-like' afflictions. This hell is situated on the Vaitaraṇī, a river filled with blood, ordure, putrefaction and filth, which must be crossed by all who have to proceed to the last hell.

This last and lowest of all the hells is (7) **Kākola,** or naraka proper, also called **Talātala,** 'under-bottomless', or the bottomless pit, a place of indescribable anguish. Its tormenters are the Raurava, demon attendants of Ruru, a terror aspect of Śiva. It is in perpetual raven-black night, whose only illumination is provided by the dark smoke-fires of Tapana, the 'burning' pit in which men are roasted and pierced with *loha-śaṅku*, 'copper-spike' shafts. This region is the centre of the cruellest pain, unimaginably heightened because all the senses of the sufferers are made hideously keen to feel the slightest pain with the most agonising intensity; where for each member of the body there is a different kind of torture. When they are thirsty the sufferers are given *lohitoda*, a drink of blood and putrescent ordure taken from the river Vaitaraṇī (above). Near by flows the Śālmali river which nourishes the *asipattra-vana* or 'sword-tree', upon whose thorny and poisonous branches the victims are impaled. Some are slowly roasted in an *ambarīsha* or frying-pan; hence this hell is also called AMBARĪSHA. Others are boiled in oil; the flesh of others is torn to shreds by demons with red-hot pincers. The groans and screams of the tormented rend the air perpetually and echo throughout hell, adding to the horror of the damned abode. This hell is reserved for those who are utterly beyond redemption; who mock at God; who persecute the helpless; who scorn righteousness; who live for themselves. They have no hope of reincarnation and lie in a state of perpetual pain until Brahmā and all the worlds are consumed in the final cataclysm.

Books

See under Mythology.

HEMACHANDRA (1088–1172) or Hemachandra-sūri, Jain monk, ascetic and scholar, was patronized by the Solaṅki king of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār, and through his industry and learning made Gujarāt the chief seat of Jainism. A man of encyclopaedic knowledge, he wrote numerous major Sanskrit works on subjects both in the scientific and literary fields.

As a grammarian he produced a comparative grammar of the Prākṛit dialects scarcely equalled before or since. According to A. A. Macdonell Hemachandra's grammar 'is more practical in arrangement and terminology

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than the work of Pāṇini'. As a logician he wrote a treatise on the science of reasoning and debate in the sūtra style. In another work, a historical kāvya, he both illustrated the rules of grammar and celebrated his patron the ruler of Aṇhilvāḍ. His lexicographical and etymological* writings are a landmark in these subjects. He compiled several dictionaries; a lexicon of Sanskrit synonymns; a botanical glossary; a dictionary of homonyms; a glossary of provincial words. He also wrote the *Laghu-arthaniti* (or Brief Manual of Politics) for Jainas. In his epic *Purusha-charita* or Lives of Great Men, he popularized in Jain garb the entire mythology of the Hindus; both the stories of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are embodied in this monumental tome. In all his work the Jain view predominates; the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* is constantly stressed; women are 'the torch on the road to the gates of hell, the root of all miseries, the prime cause of discord'. Biased, heavy, partisan, and dull though his work is, the impetus he gave to Sanskrit was responsible for a renewed interest in Sanskrit studies in India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Jainism after Hemachandra took its place as a great vehicle of Sanskrit culture.

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HEMĀDRI (?1230–1310?), legal authority on caste and ritual was keeper of the royal records of the Yādava rulers of Devagiri. He wrote a voluminous *nibandha*, or legal digest and commentary, in five parts entitled *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, dealing with vows, alms-giving, pilgrimage, salvation, and the sacrificial and religious calendar.

In fact, the work hardly treats of law at all, but is rather an encyclopaedia of ancient religious rites and observances, full of interesting quotations from the *smṛitis* and Purāṇas. A fervent and orthodox ritualist Hemādri prescribed no fewer than two thousand ceremonials to be performed during the year. His compilation on the *śrāddha-kalpa* ceremonies for the ancestors comprises 1700 pages in a modern printed edition. Hemādri's name is associated with several temples built in a style called after him Hemāḍapantī, and he is also the inventor of the Moḍī script current in Mahārāshṭra.

Hemādri's friend and protégé at the Devagiri court was *Vopadeva* (*c.* 1250) or Bopadeva, son of a medical practitioner of Berār. He was the author of a work on grammar called *Mugdhabodha* and several works on medicine (*see* Āyurveda history), and the reputed author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa**.

Books

See under Sanskrit and Law.

HIEROPHANT. Hinduism has many categories of hierophants, if we use this term in its broad sense and include all those persons who are consecrated or dedicated to holy and occult things, and who have power, knowledge and authority for dealing with such matters. To this category belong the sorcerer and thaumaturgist, the wonderworker and magician, no less than the priest

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who works by knowledge generally acquired through study, or the teacher who imparts this knowledge, or the ascetic and religious mendicant who puts it into practice. The terms used to designate the chief classes of hierophants are given below; these terms as used by Buddhists, Hindus and Jains, and by their various sub-sects, have slightly different and often overlapping shades of meaning:

Āchārya, one who 'observes' the rules of his Order; a spiritual or religious teacher and guide who gives instruction in the Vedas and initiates pupils. Traditionally he is regarded as equal to ten *upādhyāyas* (below);

Arhat, 'worthy', a Jain saint. In Hīnayāna Buddhism he is a saint who has broken the ten fetters of sensuality, pride, self-righteousness, doubt, ignorance, dependence on rules or forms, and so forth, and has attained *nirvāṇa*. He is often compared to the *bodhisattva* of Mahāyāna, the difference being that an arhat is concerned with nirvāṇa for himself, whereas the bodhisattva defers entering into nirvāṇa so that he might bring others to salvation;

Avadhūta, 'liberated', a term of general connotation, used for non-brāhmin ascetics, both Śaivite and Vaishṇavite;

Bhaṭṭa, the 'bearer' of great wisdom; a title often given to a religious teacher. It may be attached to another title as in Bhaṭṭāchārya, or to a name as in Kumārilabhaṭṭa;

Bhagat, a devotee, generally Vaishṇavite; he does not as a rule leave society or retire from the world.

Bhikshu (Pāli, *bhikku*) or almsman, a religious mendicant, usually a Buddhist. Begging is a token that he has renounced the world and is dependent for his bare living on the chance of public charity. The alms or food given to such monks is called *bhikshā*. The female counterpart of the bhikshu is a *bhikshuṇī*. Hindu ascetics of Vaishṇava sects are often called by a derivative term, *bhekdāri*;

*Brāhmin**, a generic term applied to a number of Hindu priestly castes;

Chaturvedi, 'four Vedic' (or *Chaube*, 'fourer'), one who knows or has studied the four Vedas. Both terms are also applied to a brāhmin caste of Mathurā who are celebrated wrestlers, and followers of the 'fourth' or *Atharva-veda*;

Daṇḍin, one who carries a *daṇḍa* or staff. Among the staff-bearing sects were the Ājīvika, Vrātya, Lakulīśa, and Maskarīn. Vaishṇava ascetics are generally *eka-daṇḍin* (carriers of 'one rod'), and Śaivites *tri-daṇḍin* since they carry a *triśūla* or trident. Special ornamental staffs (*kāvaḍi*) are carried by devotees of Kārttikeya. For black magical and left-hand rites the daṇḍa is made of decayed bamboo. In some sects the rod itself is believed to have magic power and to be endowed with life, and is even 'fed'. It is said that the rods of the Kāpālika sādhus can be made to dance;

Dvivedi (or *dobe*, 'two-er'), the hierophant who knows 'two Vedas' (cf. chaturvedi, above);

Gosvāmi, 'cow-preceptor', a term generally applied to a Vaishṇava teacher. Among the Chaitanyas he is a descendant of one of the original disciples of Chaitanya;

*Guru**, commonly designates a teacher or spiritual preceptor;

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Jaṅgama, a priest of the Lingāyat sect;

Jina, 'conqueror', a saint of the Jain* sect;

Jogi, a form of yogi, but more usually applied to a sādhu and wonder-worker;

Kaivalin, one who has achieved a state of *kaivalya* or realisation of his 'own self';

Kāṇḍaṛishi, a teacher who specialises in one kāṇḍa, part or branch of the Vedas;

Keśin, the title given to several kinds of 'long-haired' mendicants;

Mahant, the abbot or head of a monastery or *maṭh*;

Mahātma (*mahā-ātma*, 'great soul') an honorific given to men of outstanding character and spiritual qualities;

Maṅkha, a wandering ascetic who carries a board or cloth displaying pictures of a deity or hero, or a scene of some mythological or heroic event, which he explains to the populace in bardic song. Some ancient Magadha ascetics were maṅkhas. The *Mudrā-Rākshasa* describes one such as a 'spy with a Yama cloth';

Muni or anchorite, one who has taken a vow of *mauna*, or silence. The term muni is frequently used for a ṛishi who has supernatural powers, which he displays in his blessings and more frequently in his curses, both of which are equally potent;

Naishṭhika, 'final', a supreme ascetic, so called because he has taken the vow of eternal chastity;

Nirgrantha, one 'without knots' of passion or possession, is a Jain or Buddhist saint or ascetic, often belonging to a nude sect;

Pāṇḍa, a Hindu temple priest and guide, who administers the rituals on behalf of pilgrims visiting holy places. He also keeps a ledger of families regularly worshipping at his shrine, which provides an important source of genealogical information;

Paṇḍit, one versed in the science, law and philosophy of the Hindus, who interprets and expounds the law; a Hindu Pharisee;

Parama-haṁsa, 'supreme swan'; an ascetic of the highest order, or one who has subdued all his senses. The Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa were an ancient, aboriginal, anti-brāhminical, tantrik sect of nude ascetics, living in trees, haunting graveyards, indifferent to wealth, pleasure, caste, status or even salvation;

Parivrājaka, 'wanderer', an itinerant mendicant devotee, often applied to a person in the last of the four āśramas or spiritual stages of the Hindu's life; a sannyāsin. The term is also used for the wandering sophist who professes to be able to prove anything;

Paurāṇika, one who is versed in the Purāṇas and is able to expatiate on at least six of them;

Pūjārī (or pūjaka) one who conducts worship in a Hindu temple or shrine and performs public *pūjās*. The profession of pūjārī, like that of a cook, seems to be the economic refuge of illiterate brāhmins. Service in a temple is not undertaken by the better-class brāhmins since it is held to be degrading. Few pūjārīs know Sanskrit, and most are entirely illiterate;

Purohita, formerly the domestic priest of the king or of the whole tribal

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unit. Today the term is usually restricted to the family priest, who is also the custodian of the traditional Hindu ritual and caste regulations;

*Ṛishi**, a class of semi-legendary patriarchs and eponymous sages; the term is still used to designate a respected and revered old man;

Ṛitvij (see below), is applied to all officiating priests of ancient, particularly Vedic, ceremonies;

*Sādhu**, he who has 'accomplished'; an ascetic who has renounced all wordly goods and comforts and seeks spiritual enlightenment and occult powers (*siddhi*) through mortification of the flesh;

Śākhin, one who adheres to, or specialises in the teachings of a particular Vedic *śākhā** or school, such as a Ṛig-vedic śākhin, a Yajur-vedic śākhin and so on;

Sannyāsin, one who has entered the last of the *āśramas** or stages of spiritual progress; he is usually an ascetic mendicant who has laid aside the religious thread, given up his possessions and renounced the world;

Śāstri, title given to one versed in the śāstras or scriptures*;

Śramaṇa, 'labouring', a Buddhist or Jain ascetic, a sādhu-like magician;

Śrotriya, one who has learnt the Vedas or part of the Vedas by heart;

Sūri, an epithet frequently appended to proper names, signifying a sage, wise man, teacher or scholar. In ancient times it referred to the *yajamāna* or institutor of a sacrifice who rewarded the priest, as well as to the presser of the soma juice. It is also a title given to Jain pontiffs;

Svāmi (swāmi), a spiritual preceptor and holy man. Now a cultic title applied to initiates of certain religious orders who have taken the vow of the *sannyāsin*. The suffix 'ānanda' is common among svāmis belonging to monastic orders like the Rāmakṛishṇa sect. A svāmi frequently belongs to an order of sādhus;

Tapasvin, one who undergoes *tapas*, i.e. asceticism and mortification of the body;

*Tīrthaṅkara** 'ford-finder' across the dark waters of life; a Jain saviour saint;

Trivedi, one who knows the 'three Vedas'; also called a *tiveri*;

Upādhyāya, a 'reciter' of sacred texts; a teacher of a few subsidiary *śāstras*; lower in the hierarchy than an āchārya (above);

Vādin, 'speaker', a propounder of a theory or school of thought or learning, the follower of such a school;

Vaidika, a reciter of the Veda;

Vaikhānasa, a hermit who lives in the forest and subsists on roots, herbs and fruit; a Hindu in the third āśrama;

Vairāgi, an ascetic order of certain sects like the Vaishṇavites (*see* equanimity);

Vedhas, one 'knowing' virtue, or having wisdom;

Vipra, an 'inspired' hierophant, brāhmin, priest, sage, poet or theologian;

Yājnika, one who performs the *saṁskāras* or sacraments*;

Yati, a 'striving ascetic' who has renounced the world; yatis sometimes live together in monasteries;

Yogi, strictly speaking a follower of Yoga*, but the term is loosely used for any sādhu or ascetic.

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The ṚITVIJ, 'sacrificer', referred to above was a generic term for a large class of Vedic priests whose functions were mainly concerned with sacrificial ceremonies. Originally the sacrificer was the yajamāna who in ancient times was the paterfamilias, householder or tribal chieftain acting as his own priest; but gradually as sacrifices became more elaborate they demanded the specialized services of professional hierophants. For the smaller sacrifices a single brāhmin priest sufficed, but for the bigger functions two, three or even more were required. In Ṛig-vedic times the officiants at a regular sacrifice were eight in number, namely, the yajamāna or person who instituted and paid for the sacrifice, plus seven priests as follows: (1) *hotṛi*, (2) *brāhmin*, (3) *adhvaryu*, (4) *udgātṛi*, (5) *āgnīdhra*, (6) *neshṭṛi*, and (7) *potṛi*. This number was later raised to sixteen, and later still more were added. For the larger *sattras* and very elaborate ceremonies many hundreds of priests were employed.

The chief ṛitvij and superintendent of the whole performance was an official known as the *sadasya*. Under him the officiating priests called hotṛi, adhvaryu, udgātṛi and brāhmin, were generally classified after the four Vedas, since each class used one of these four books as their ritual manual.

The *hotṛi*, associated with Indra, were the priests of the *Ṛig-veda*, who sat on the eastern side of the sacrificial altar. The hotṛi was originally only a libation pourer, later became a reciter, especially of the *uktha*, a special kind of invocation used at the *soma** sacrifice. He was assisted by a number of priests of whom the most important were the *bahvṛicha* and *achāvāka* who recited the sacred mantras, and the *grāvastut*, 'stone-praiser', whose duty it was to address invocations to the soma pressing stone during the soma rites.

The *adhvaryu*, traditionally associated with the Aśvins, were priests of the *Yajur-veda*, and sat on the south side of the sacrificial altar. They were known for their peculiar method of muttering the formulas of the Yajur-veda. At the larger sacrifices the adhvaryu was responsible for 'ways and means'. He performed the ritual actions, moved about, and recited in a low tone at great length. His assistants were the *neshṭṛi*, *unnetṛi*, *śamitṛi*, *pratishṭhātṛi*, and others.

The *udgātṛi* were the *Sāma-veda* priests, who sat on the west side of the sacrificial altar. Their assistants were the *prastotṛi*, *chhandoga*, *sāmaga*, *praśāstṛi*, *maitrāvaruṇa*, *pratihartṛi*, and *subrahmaṇya*, most of whom chanted the sāman hymns of the Sāma-veda. These chants, especially the udgītha, were quite elaborate and later set the norms for musical evolution (*see* music).

The *brāhmin** were the priests of the *Atharva-veda*, who sat on the northern side of the sacrificial altar. They were believed to be the repository of the unvoiced power of the holy mantra or formula. During the sacrifice they were generally silent spectators, whose duty it was to see that the operation was accurately carried out. Their assistants were the *āgnīdhra*, 'fire-kindler', who kindled the sacrificial fire, and the *potṛi*, associated with the Maruts.

Books

See under Hinduism, Soma, Vedism.

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HINDI, one of the modern Indo-Aryan languages* that developed from the *apabhraṁśa* (transitional language) known as Śaurasenī. It is spoken by about 45 million people in northern India between the Jamnā and Ganges. The term Hindi is loosely and incorrectly used for several languages and dialects current in the north, such as Bihāri, Rājasthāni, Kośali and Panjābi, which, in fact, evolved separately from a common source, in the same way as German, Dutch and English did. In histories of Hindi literature works written in these related languages are often cited as works in Hindi.

The history of Western Hindi has its beginnings in the period between AD 900 and 1300, when the chronicles of the Rājput and other chivalric clans of the north were being set down by a class of bards* known as *chāraṇ* and *bhāt*. These chronicles, called *rāso*, recorded in semi-legendary fashion the heroic exploits of the Rājput people. The tales are now mostly known to us through the works of later writers, and their translation into English by Colonel James Tod (d. 1835) in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.

Chand Bardai (1125–92) court poet of Prithvirāj (*see* Chāhamāna) was the most renowned of these bardic chroniclers. His *Prithvirāj-Rāso* is written in an early form of Hindi called Brāj Bhāsha understood by few today.

The next great name in Hindi literature is that of the versatile Persian poet and musician, **Amir Khusrau** (1255–1325) (*see* music history) who wrote Persian prose and poetical works, several Hindi poems, and a compendium of synonyms in Hindi, Persian and Arabic, which is invaluable in the study of the development of Hindi.

From the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century Hindi was increasingly and mainly used by the numerous new sects that were springing up all over northern India. These were the Nātha and Vaishṇava cults, whose *bhagats* or devotees wrote their hymns and poems in Brāj Bhāsha. One trend, always strong in vernacular literature, was that in which the love of Rādhā and the *gopīs* for Kṛishṇa is portrayed in all its physiological details. The attractions of Rādhā are set forth in the *nakh-śikh* (nail-tuft) fashion, a term used for descriptions in sensuous and often crude minutiae of the charms of a woman, from her painted toenails to the crowning glory of her hair. A more puritanical trend steered clear of this tendency, confining itself to devotional themes, uncontaminated by sexual allusions.

Outstanding writers among the bhagats of the middle ages were: **Sadnā** (fl. 1420) a butcher of Sind who gave up his trade to become a devotee of Vishṇu. Legend has it that the wife of a brāhmin fell in love with him but he rejected her saying that a throat would have to be cut before he would have her, meaning his own. Misunderstanding him she cut her husband's throat, but since Sadnā was now more than ever repelled she burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre. **Rāmānanda*** (1360–1470?) founder of a major reformist sect wrote some of his verses in Hindi and influenced a school of writers. Chief of his disciples was KABIR* (1440–1518) whose writings are among the most important in Hindi devotional literature. Another disciple of Rāmānanda was RAIDĀS* (fl. 1430) a *chamār* (low-caste leatherworker) highly revered as a bhagat, who became the guru or teacher of the poetess MĪRĀBĀI* (?1450–1547).

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The next phase in Hindi poetry is dominated by the Nāthas*, and Guru Nānak* (1469–1538) and his Sikh disciples. Though some of the work of the latter is written in Panjābi the greater part is in early Hindi and much has been embodied in the Sikh Ādigranth along with the writings of the early bhagats.

Sūrdās (1483–1563) the blind bard of Āgra stands second only to Tulsīdās among Hindi poets. No authentic biographical details of Sūrdās are available. He was reputedly the son of a brāhmin singer at the court of Akbar, and a disciple of Vallabha*, and in later years taught Tansen* the musician. It has often been observed that the devotional literature of Rāma worship is to a large extent epic in character and reached its perfection in the work of Tulsīdās (below), and the literature of Kṛishṇa worship is lyric and saw its perfection in Sūrdās. The works of Sūrdās in Brāj Bhāsha include *Sūr-sāgar* a series of Rādhā-Kṛishṇa lyrics, *Sūrāvalī* further lyrics on devotional themes, and a Hindi version of Nala and Damayantī, as well as a translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Dādū* (1544–1603) like Kabīr was a reformer and founder of a sect whose following did much for Hindi poetry. Another poet of merit was **Haridās** (fl. 1580) founder of the Tatti sect, a branch of the Nimbārkas. His verses are still sung in various *rāgas*, and his couplets (*doha*) are refined and beautiful. Several collections of his Vaishṇava hymns have been made. **Keśavdās** (1555–1617) of Bundelkhaṇḍ wrote on religious themes and also a little masterpiece on erotics (*see* strītantra). **Tulsīdās*** (1532–1623) the greatest of all Hindi poets is the author of the *Rāmacharitamānasa*, the most popular poem in the Hindi language.

Another prominent member of the Rāmānanda cult was **Malukdās** (1574–1682) who was actually a follower of Kabīr's sect, which opposed asceticism, mortification of the flesh and celibacy, and whose teachers were laymen like Malukdās himself. He ridiculed idolatry, and those who hammered valuable metals into deities, and when they needed money sold their gods for the price of the metal. A devotee of Rāma his hymns show Muslim influence and have a heavy admixture of Persian words.

The traditions of the chief bhakti saints were immortalized in the work of **Nābhādās** (*c.* 1625) or Nābhāji, a disciple of a bhagat named Agradās. Nābhādās was born blind and was exposed in the woods by his parents. A Vaishṇava of the Ḍom caste who happened to be passing by, adopted him, so that the boy grew up as a Viashṇava. He collected much biographical material, both true and apocryphal, which he set forth in a book entitled *Bhakta-mālā* or Roll of Bhagats, giving an account of the lives of two hundred Vaishṇava saints, in a difficult form of the Brāj dialect. He lived during the reign of Jahāngīr and was a contemporary of Tulsīdās. One of his disciples, **Priyadās** (*c.* 1640) wrote a well-known commentary on the *Bhakta-māla*, adding to the already abundant supernatural material.

Bihārilāl (1603–63) of Jaipur, was the successor to the laurels of Sūrdās. His *Satsai* based on the writings of Hāla* is one of the most celebrated works of Hindi poetic art. His *doha* (distiches) in the form of an amorous dialogue between Kṛishṇa and Rādhā and the gopīs are well known. His shorter poems are perfect miniatures of mood, scenery or characterization, but the excessive

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condensation of his work renders it difficult, a fact that has earned him the epithet of 'the mine of commentators'.

The Muslim contribution to Hindi literature has always been considerable, both in the patronage of Muslim rulers and in direct contributions of Muslim poets, who introduced the *ghazal* or amorous ode and several other new forms. Chief among the early Muslim poets is Malik Muhammad **Jayasi** (fl. 1540) a sufi of Oudh, whose allegorical epic on the Rājput princess Padmāvatī (Padminī) of Chitor, has been described as one of the few successful epics written in Hindi (II, p. 79). He was the first of a succession of Muslim poets who invested Hindi with some of the sweetness and depth of Persian poetry.

The zeal of the early bhagats was kept alive by a number of Viashṇava saints who continued to produce an endless stream of Hindi verse and to found cults and sects on the old models. Such was **Lāldās** (d. 1648) who belonged to the predatory tribe of the Meos, and came from Alwār. He founded the sect of the Lāldāsis, most of whose doctrines are traceable to Kabīr. His devotional hymns extolled the divine attributes of Rāma. Another such saint was **Charandās** (1703–82) a bania, who founded the sect of the Charandāsis in Delhi. He wrote a great deal of verse in the Brāj dialect of Hindi and was likewise influenced by Kabīr. His sect admitted both sexes, laid stress on the need for devotion, on the importance of repeating God's name, and of having a guru. He denounced idolatry and discouraged Sanskrit.

Yet another poet of the same category was **Jagjīvandās** (1682–1750) a kshattriya, native of Oudh, who spent most of his life as a *gṛihastha* (householder) near Lucknow. He reorganized the once obscure sect of the Satnāmi (True-Name) so called because adoration was paid to the Name of God who was worshipped without form, and wrote several tracts in Hindi couplets. His message was 'Adore the True Name of the One God'. The sect, consisting mostly of outcastes and chamārs, is a quietist one; it enjoins indifference to the world, spirituality, gentleness and truth.

These sects were the last relics of the bhagat cult. They drew their inspiration both from ancient Indian tradition as well as from the fresher springs of Islam. With the decline of the Moghuls and the degeneration and decadence of eighteenth century society, a parallel decline is noted in Hindi writing. This period, known as *Rītikal* (stylistic age) subsisted 'on the scanty and diseased residue of life' (VI, p. 637), when verse was judged by meretricious trappings, and the gaudy adornments of language were held in higher esteem than the moral content expressed. Kṛishṇa's love became grosser and more sensual, and the coarse suggestiveness of the gopīs' dialogue was fit only for the lips of harlots.

The best writing of this period was actually not Hindi any longer, but Urdu, a linguistic first cousin. Urdu developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the intermingling of the languages spoken by the Persian, Turk, Arab and Afghan soldiers in the Moghul camp, with the local indigenous (*deśya*) speech. It differs from Hindi in vocabulary (Urdu borrows from Persian; Hindi from deśya), but the really vital difference lies in its prosody, where Urdu follows Persian. It was left to Urdu writers to lend tone and culture, even decorum to the work of Hindi poets. Wherever smooth

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cadences are found in Hindi writing of that period, we may discern the Urdu influence.

These Urdu writers included the satirist **Sauda** (d. 1780); the almost legendary **Ghālib** (d. 1869), poet without frontiers and superb master of poetical language; and **Mīr-taqi** (d. 1810) a lyrical genius. The reforming zeal of **Hāli** (d. 1914) and the philosophical depth of **Iqbāl** (d. 1938) bring Urdu writing to contemporary times.

Modern Hindi stems directly from **Hindvi,** a dialect spoken in the Delhi and Meerut districts which, largely as a result of Moghul patronage and the influence of Urdu emerged as a language called **Khaṛīboli** 'pure speech'. But already by the beginning of the nineteenth century the decadence of the Moghul court had brought about a great decline even in Urdu, which became riddled with clichés, sycophancy, and artificial poetical conceits. Hindi itself was in need of total rehabilitation. The impetus for its regeneration was provided by the coming of the Europeans, and the Christian missions, for in their train came the printing press, translations from the Western classics, dictionaries, grammars. This period saw the development of prose, the novel, the short story, and the introduction of social themes, and realism.

Much of the credit for the revigoration of Hindi is due to the labours of Dr John Gilchrist (1759–1841) head of the Fort William College in Calcutta who from 1803 onwards encouraged scholars to use the purer form of Khaṛī-boli, from which contemporary Hindi evolved. Says K. B. Jindal, 'Hindi as we know it today is the product of the nineteenth century'. This standard or Pure Hindi became known as High Hindi, which Grierson calls 'an artificial dialect the mother-tongue of no native-born Indian, a newly-invented speech, that wonderful hybrid known to Europeans as Hindi and invented by them' (III, p. 208). This period of transition is best illustrated in the work of **Lallūjilāl** (1763–1825) a brāhmin of Gujarāt who settled in northern India. His famous *Premsāgar*, begun under Gilchrist's supervision, is the modern Hindi version of the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Hariśchandra (1850–85), educated at Queen's College, Banāras, wrote 175 works in Khaṛīboli, among them 18 plays, which makes him the founder of modern Indian drama. In the course of his versatile career he amassed a huge library of Sanskrit and Hindi works, and became a well-known collector of paintings and objects d'art. He founded schools, established literary and poetical societies and staged Hindi dramas, which earned him the title of 'Bharatendu' (Moon of India) in the Vernacular press.

Mahāvīr Prasād **Dvivedi** (fl. 1900–25) was the literary leader of a transitional phase when Hindi was being reappraised and the implements of its expression systematically set forth. To fill in the great gaps in Hindi on studies such as economics, science, education, politics, he encouraged translations from Western works, and helped to develop Hindi as a vehicle of standard form. Its grammar and spelling were revised, and the prose style made sober and chaste.

With the aid of these implements Hindi poets evolved a new evocative style, known as *chhaya-vāda*, its suggestive overtones and imaginative verse largely inspired by the works of Tagore. Shelley, Keats and Swinburne were likewise major influences.

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Hindi prose found its master in **Premchand** (1880–1936), son of a post office clerk, and pioneer of the modern Hindi novel. He knew English, Persian and Urdu, and his earlier works were written in Urdu after which he turned to Hindi. To finance his further studies Premchand gave private tuition and taught in a school, and finally became Deputy Inspector of Schools, a position which afforded him the opportunity of coming into contact with Indian village life. His fame was ensured when his first collection of short stories was confiscated and burnt by the British. He followed it up with a stream of novels and short stories, which are moving vignettes rather than sustained narratives. His ventures in editorship and publishing, after his resignation from government service, ended in failure as did his one attempt to write for films.

Today Hindi is once more taking upon itself the ponderous heritage of Sanskrit. Paṇḍits who now guide the destinies of the language have behind them the full weight of state coercion. They are not concerned with the inevitable result of their painstaking attempts to 'medievalize' what is the vigorous young offspring of the man in the street. The democratic influence of Philmi Hindi (the Hindi used in films) may yet be the salvation of North India's *lingua franca*.

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HINDUISM, the religious beliefs and social observances of the Hindus who form the bulk of the population of India, excluding the Muslim, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Jewish and Christian minorities. Like the term India the term Hindu is of foreign origin. It is derived from Persian (*see* Geography) and is now in universal use even among Hindus, there being no equivalent term for the concept in any of the indigenous languages. It embraces the whole stream of 'native' Indian thought, whose sources go back to very ancient and primitive levels of belief, reinforced by the notions brought by the various invading nations.

Hindus themselves like to refer descriptively to their religion as *sanātana*, 'eternal' or 'ancient'. In this context the term is of very recent usage, barely half a century old, and under cover of this appellation many misguided patriots resisted with much learned labour the changes that were so rapidly transforming their religion, since it meant surrendering the 'ancient' ways.

Because of its comprehensiveness and its unceasing growth, Hinduism is impossible to define, having no common creed or set of dogmas or practices, no universally acceptable canon, no 'Church', and no uniformity of worship. Hinduism is thus not a religion but a medley of faiths linked to some degree by the same pantheon. More than that, it is a part of the tribal or indigenous

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culture of India. There is less difference between Islam and Christianity, or between Judaism and Zoroastrianism, than there is between one extreme of Hindu belief and practice and another. It has developed a capacious and undiscriminating doctrinal appetite, and a limitless capacity for absorbing every kind of belief however incongruous.

Hinduism may be classified in its various phases of development in certain ranges of cultural and doctrinal belief in a very broad tabulation as follows:

(*a*) PRE-DRAVIDIAN HINDUISM. The religion of the earliest inhabitants of India such as the Negritos* and Austrics*. It includes various forms of aboriginal animism and totemism still found among certain backward Indian tribes.
(*b*) DRAVIDIAN HINDUISM. The religion of the Dravidian* immigrants prior to Aryan contact. It may be discerned in those distinctive religious features typical of the Dravidian South that are not found in the Hinduism of northern India. It is said to be related to the religion of the Chaldeans and Babylonians. Sadhūism, Tantrism and left-hand cults are found in both the above categories.
(*c*) VEDISM*. The Hinduism of Vedic India, still largely Central Asian or Indo-European in character. This element came with the Aryans who brought their own gods and forms of worship. It is related to the religions of Ancient Greece, Rome and Scandinavia.
(*d*) NĀSTIKA* HINDUISM. Post-Aryan but non-Vedic metaphysical doctrines that rejected the Vedas. Found in many sects that flourished between the sixth and second centuries BC. The greatest Nāstika religions are Buddhism* and Jainism*.
(*e*) BRĀHMANISM*. The doctrinal code that emerged with the rise of the brāhminical priestly elements. It stressed the Vedas, ritualism and caste.
(*f*) MEDIEVAL HINDUISM. A rough category including sectarian Hinduism of the Vaiṣṇavites and Śaivites, and also covering what is known as Purāṇic Hinduism, so called from its regard for the Purāṇic writings.
(*g*) REFORMED HINDUISM. It broke away to some extent from brāhminism, being greatly influenced by Islam. Such were the followers of Dādū, Kabīr and Guru Nānak (the Sikhs), who promoted the use of vernacular languages for religious purposes.
(*h*) NATIONAL HINDUISM. A synthesis of all forms of Hinduism which glorifies its past history (*see* sanatva). Like Islam and Christianity it seeks converts and tends to be aggressive. It is represented by societies like the Brāhmo Samāj, Ārya Sāmaj, and the Rāmakṛishṇa Mission.

Broadly speaking, certain features of Hinduism may be distinguished, some of which mark it off from other religions. The chief of these may be briefly listed:

1. Reverence for the Vedas*. This also includes a large body of post-Vedic writings in Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus. Some orthodox sects set more store by their own sectarian scriptures or *āgamas*, while only vaguely acknowledging the Vedas. Often the *Ur*-texts or original texts of such sects claim a pre-Vedic ancestry going back to some semi-divine *ṛishi* or founder-guru. Many important quasi-Hindu sects such as the Nāstikas, Jains,

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Buddhists, Sikhs, who have sacred books of their own, also reject the Vedas.
2. A belief in God* in some form. Here again certain agnostic sects like the Nāstikas, Lokāyatas, Jains, Buddhists, do not believe in a divine being. Most Hindus conceive of the godhead in some sectarian aspect, e.g. Śiva, Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa, Gaṇeśa, Hanumān, who is represented by an idol*, which is worshipped as the actual deity.
3. The caste* system, with brāhmins supreme, linked with the idea of the four āśramas* or progressive stages of life. Some authorities in fact define Hinduism as *varṇāśrama-dharma*, 'caste-stages religion'. Few even among Hindus of advanced views have been able to break away completely from the tenacious grip of caste. Although reformist Hindu sects accept converts, a man is truly accepted within their framework only if he is born into a Hindu family. European converts to Hinduism are regarded as cranks by Hindus, even as they are regarded as eccentrics by their own people.
4. Emphasis on ritualism*. Hindus lay great stress on ritual ceremonies, which are believed to unite them in spiritual kinship with their ancestors (*see* śrāddha). Sacrificial offerings are a feature of public and private worship*, and *saṁskāras* or sacraments* mark the Hindu's life at each stage from birth to death. Sectarian rites may include ceremonies of initiation* (*dīkshā*), ceremonial 'baptism' by aspersion* (*abhisheka*), and the whispering of the cultic formula (*mantra*) into the ear of the initiate by the guru.
5. Belief in the guru* or spiritual preceptor. Most Hindu sects have a guru system, revering the guru whom they exalt not infrequently to a near-divine status. This is reflected in the almost superstitious popular reverence for religious leaders, holy men, sādhus*, mendicants, ascetics, and a dread of their supernatural *siddhis* (powers).
6. Acceptance of such philosophical notions as the doctrine of the identity of the individual with Brahma, the only True Reality, and the unreality of the phenomenal world, which is a form of *māyā* *or illusion.
7. Belief in reincarnation (*see* eschatology) or the return of the soul to this earth in a new bodily form, either higher or lower, according to one's *karma**, or actions, in the previous life. Belief in the saving power of knowledge*, which redeems one from the fetters of rebirth. Knowledge, however, is only one of several *mārga** or paths to salvation, the most widely accepted being that of *bhakti**, devotion or faith.

The personal and social habits of the Hindus include a vegetarian diet*, with an absolute and unalterable prohibition against the eating of beef and the killing of cows*, which are held sacred. Abstinence from alcoholic drinks is also enjoined, but not universally observed.

There are hundreds of sects in Hinduism. The term commonly used for a sect is *saṁpradāya*, signifying the 'transmission' of a tradition. It represents a body or group of persons who believe in a traditionary doctrine originated by a teacher and handed down from generation to generation. There are variously said to be two, three, five, six, ten, sixteen, sixty, eighty-eight, one hundred and eight, or one million and eight sects among the Hindus. The latter number also includes the splinter sects within the sects. Of the major sects the Vaishṇavites have 139 divisions or sub-sects; the Śaivites 103;

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the Śāktas 17; the Gāṇapatyas 11; and the Saurapatas (Sūrya-worshippers) 9 sub-sects.

Sects are named after the deity worshipped (e.g. Vaishṇavite after Vishṇu, Śaivite after Śiva); after the title of the first guru (e.g. Nāthas); after the founder's name (e.g. Dādūpanthi after Dādū); after some distinctive trait (e.g. Kānphaṭa from the fact that the ears are split); from a basic tenet (e.g. Lokāyatas or materialists); or from the object of their reverence (e.g. Liṅgāyats from the liṅga).

Sects are further formed by deviationary types of worship within the religious system. There are said to be three currents in the evolution of every religious doctrine. First come the *dakshiṇa* or right-hand sects (literally 'south' since the right hand is to the south when one faces the sunrise). They follow the traditional, orthodox or conversative forms, such as those recognized by the orthodox Vaishṇavites and *smārta* (law-book) brāhmins. The right-hand path is called *dakshiṇāchāra*. The second current is the *madhyama*, 'middle' or householder's path, neither stringently orthodox nor unorthodox. It is liberal in its interpretation of the texts and in its disciplines, and is tolerant of other sects. The third is the *vāma* or 'left' path. Some derive the term from the word vāmā, 'woman', since sex worship is prominent in such cults. The left-hand path is called *vāmāchāra*, and tends to extreme antinomianism*.

Heresy or *tairthikīya* is essentially a matter of the sect to which one belongs and involves the non-recognition of the tīrtha or holy places of other sects. It is sometimes spoken of as *mithyā-dṛishṭi*, 'false-view'. To the strictly orthodox Hindu, all sects who do not accept the Vedas are heretical, and to the 'middle'-current worshippers of all sects, the vāmāchāra forms are heretical. Otherwise the Hindu in general accepts all the major deities of the pantheon and adapts himself to syncretic forms of worship.

Syncretism is found in the ritual of *pañchāyatana* in which five deities are worshipped at the same time (*see* God); and in the homage paid to composite deities like Harihara, Trimūrti, Dattātreya and others. Vishṇu became merged with a number of local gods like Viṭṭhobā of the Marāṭha country, and Tirupati of South India. Śiva was likewise identified with hundreds of local godlings throughout the country, although Śaivite syncretism was frequently achieved through this deity's marriage with a local goddess (*see* Mīnākshī).

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HINTERINDIA, a term used to cover all those regions eastwards of the Indian subcontinent to which Hindu and Buddhist missionaries and colonists carried the elements of Indian culture in the early centuries of the present era. This vast territory, constituting the Indian cultural commonwealth, is also spoken of as 'Further India' and 'Archipelago India'. Indian influence made itself felt here from about the second century and lasted till the twelfth century AD when it began to wane with the rise of Islam.

The adventurous mariners, colonizers, traders and missionaries who set sail from the Indian peninsula came mainly from four areas. Firstly from Bengal via the ancient Bāleya* port of Tāmralipti situated on the west coast of the Ganges delta; the destinations from here were Prome, Pegu and Thatun in Burma, and ports in Malaya and Java. Secondly, from the Kaliṅga and Golkondā coasts, of which the most important seaport was Palurā near Gañjām. Thirdly the Coromandel coastal ports such as Amarāvatī on the Kistna river, used by traders and colonists from the Āndhra and Pallava kingdoms. And lastly from Gujarāt, especially the port of Broach, whence enterprising merchants from the Śaka satrapies and the Chālukyan kingdom went forth to trade with southern Malaya and Java.

The principal areas of Hindu and Buddhist missionary, commercial and cultural activity were the following: *Burma*, the Mrammas or Suvarṇa-bhūmi, 'golden land' of the Sanskrit and Pāli records. Burmese chronicles record that in the third century BC Aśoka sent Buddhist missionaries to Burma. By the fifth century Indianized colonies had been established at Prome, Pegu and Thatun. The powerful Buddhist kingdom of Pagan flourished from the eleventh century until its fall in the Mongol invasion of the fourteenth century. *Siam* (modern Thailand) the Syāmruttha and Dvārā-vatī of Sanskrit records, had a flourishing civilization by AD 570. Its history was for centuries closely linked with that of Cambodia, and long and bloody wars marked their association.

Cambodia: the kingdom of Fu-nan or Kamboja was established in the second or third centuries AD by a Hindu colonist named Kauṇḍinya. In the sixth century the Khmers conquered Fu-nan and in 802 AD Jayavarman II founded the Angkor dynasty whose rulers built the celebrated Angkor Vat and other magnificent temples.

Annam, the kingdom of Champā, the Lin-yi of Chinese records, was founded in the third century and grew to become the great rival of Angkor. It prospered till the fifteenth century when it was overrun by the Mongolian Annamese.

Malaya: Chinese records speak of Hindu states in Malaya from the second century AD. This is the Madamaliṅga or Malāya-dvīpa of the Purāṇas, and the Golden Chersonese of medieval European writers.

Sumatra is referred to as Suvarṇa-dvīpa, 'golden island', in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in several Purāṇas.

Java is the Yava-bhūmi, 'barley-land' or Yava-dvīpa, 'barley-island' of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Purāṇas.

The native chronicles of Java give credit for the colonization of the island to a Śaka satrapy on the west coast of India. According to this story a prince from Gujarāt named Ajiśaka, or Aji the Śaka, invaded Java about AD 75 but

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was compelled to withdraw because of a pestilence. Five centuries later in AD 603 another Śaka prince, accompanied by 5,000 men, later reinforced by a further 2,000 colonists, including cultivators, artisans, warriors, physicians and scribes landed in Java and laid the foundations for a great civilization.

In the sixth century the colony of Tarumā in West Java, and in the seventh century Matarām in Central Java were established; and in the eighth century AD, Sañjaya a Hindu king founded an important state on the island. Between the eighth and thirteenth centuries there flourished in the archipelago the Śailendra empire of Mahāyānist proclivities, which had slowly spread its territorial domain from southern Malaya to Java, Bali and southern Borneo, with its capital at Śrīvijaya (Palembang in Sumatra). The Śailendras were responsible for the building of the great temples of Dieng and Borobodur in Java. This empire engaged in a prolonged struggle with the Chola kings. In the fourteenth century the Hindu kingdom of Majāpahit in eastern Java rose to prominence.

The form of Indian civilization brought to the archipelago differed considerably from that on the Indian mainland. The caste system was virtually unknown. Indigenous languages were modified by Sanskrit terminology but otherwise retained their own basic features. Architecture evolved along its own distinctive lines. The Indian 'colonial empires' were, in the main, centres for the diffusion of cultures from certain parts of India, from Parthia and Persia in the west, and from China in the east, contact with which helped the peoples of the archipelago to express their own native genius.

The view that the civilization of Hinterindia was solely the product of Hindu cultural contact is fast losing ground today. The Hindu character of that culture has been mainly the result of the Hindu and Buddhist religions and of Sanskrit and Pāli writings. While scattered areas are known to have been colonized by migration of a few thousand settlers, there is little evidence to suggest any large-scale emigration of Indians to Southeast Asia, and according to A. L. Basham, 'none of the ruling families of early South East Asia can be proved to be of Indian descent' (VI, p. 286). The spread of Buddhism, it must be remembered, was to a great extent assisted by the labours of Chinese and Central Asian missionaries.

Before the Hindus appeared on the scene the peoples of Southeast Asia were far from savages. There existed a religion and mythology of considerable imagination and vitality. They had an ordered political life, exceptional navigational ability, an advanced system of agriculture and irrigation, and a sound metallurgical technique. They had their own artistic and dramatic traditions which have survived practically unaltered to the present day.

When Hinduism and Buddhism came with the Central Asian, Indian, and Chinese immigrants, much of this old culture was submerged but was never completely blotted out. The indigenous cultural and religious modes, fundamental to the Malayan and Indonesian psyche, remained dormant beneath the outward alien forms. When the heavy hand of Hindu orthodoxy was removed from the Indian overseas colonial areas the archaic forms reappeared. Indian culture was but a tenacious integument beneath which flowed the living sap of the ancient ways possibly dating from times before Buddha and even Brahmā were heard of.

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HIRAṆYĀKSHA (*hiraṇya-aksha*, 'golden eye') one of the most formidable of the *daitya* (demon) kings, an unrelenting enemy of the gods who trembled when he spoke and ran to do his bidding. He once dragged the earth to the bottom of the primeval ocean and then threatened to take heaven by storm. The terrified gods appealed to Vishṇu who assumed the form of a boar, called *Varāha*, and in this, his third *avatāra* (incarnation), he plunged into the swirling abyss of waters and struggled with Hiraṇyāksha for a thousand years while all the gods and demons stood by anxiously awaiting the outcome. In the end Vishṇu slew the daitya king, and with his tusks raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean. The kernel of the story is to be found in the Brāhmaṇas where Prajāpati (or Brahmā) taking the form of a black, hundred-armed boar, named Emūsha, raises the earth from the primordial waters.

Hiraṇyāksha was succeeded to the throne by his twin brother **Hiraṇyakaśipu** (*hiraṇya-kaśipu*, 'golden seat'). According to Epic and Purāṇic accounts the palace of Hiraṇyakaśipu was a marvel of architecture, and the king's prowess is described in lengthy passages which also catalogue the countries, forests and rivers that trembled in fear of his wrath. The brāhmin Bhārgavas were the *purohitas* (domestic priests) of this daitya monarch, and the famous Vasishṭha was his *hotṛi* (chief priest). He fought with the gods and obtained sovereignty of heaven, where he dwelt, having ousted Indra himself. He had been granted the boon whereby he could be slain neither by man nor beast, neither inside nor outside a house, neither by day nor by night. How his death was encompassed is told in the story of his son Prahlāda.

Prahlāda (*pra-hlāda*), 'full of joy' was a paragon of virtue, and the Purāṇas explain how he happened to be born among the daityas (demons). In a previous existence he had been Somaśarman, the fifth son of a brāhmin named Śivaśarman. His four brothers had died and were united with Vishṇu, and Somaśarman desirous of joining them underwent a long period of profound meditation and devotion. But he allowed his worship to be disturbed by the daityas, and was therefore condemned to be born among them. In the war between the daityas and the gods he joined the daityas and was slain by the discus of Vishṇu. He was reborn again, this time as Prahlāda son of Hiraṇyakaśipu. Prahlāda's devotion to Vishṇu aroused the ire of his father who tried first to distract him with various temptations, and when these failed attempted to kill him. But weapons, flogging, fire torture, poisonous snakes, wild elephants and other beasts were used in vain for the purpose, as all were rendered harmless by the gods, so the king ordered his flame-breathing daughter Holikā (or Ḍhuṇḍhā) to embrace her brother and

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burn him to death. Through Vishṇu's intervention Holikā herself was consumed by fire while Prahlāda escaped unhurt.

At dusk one day the king called his son and demanded to know why he wasted his energies in worshipping Vishṇu who was neither omnipotent, since he could not slay him, Hiraṇyakaśipu, nor omnipresent since he was not, for example, in this pillar. Saying this Hiraṇyakaśipu contemptuously kicked the pillar on the threshold of the palace with his all might. To avenge his persecuted devotee and to vindicate his offended majesty Vishṇu emerged from the pillar in the form of the awe-inspiring **Narasiṁha** or Nṛisiṁha (*nara* or *nṛi*, 'man'; *siṁha*, 'lion') half man and half lion, and in this, his fourth avatāra, slew the daitya king. Thus Hiraṇyakaśipu was killed neither by man or beast but by a man-beast, neither in a house nor outside but on the threshold, neither by day nor by night, but at dusk. Prahlāda now became king of the daityas and after his death was united with Vishṇu. A Śaivite sequel to the story states that Narasiṁha having overcome Hiraṇyakaśipu became arrogant and obstreperous and the terrified gods appealed to Śiva for help. Taking the form of the monster Śarabha, with two heads, two wings, and eight sharp-clawed legs Śiva tore Narasiṁha to pieces.

Prahlāda's son was **Virochana** who fathered the mighty **Bali,** a daitya or asura monarch of formidable power and great virtue, also known as Mahābali, 'great Bali'. He married the beautiful princess Vindhyāvalī, and ruled his great kingdom from the capital at Mahābalipuram. Through his austerities he soon won sovereignty over the three worlds, heaven, earth and the nether regions. Indra appealed to Vishṇu to restrain him, and the god was born as **Vāmana,** a 'dwarf' son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. In this, his fifth incarnation Vishṇu appeared before Bali and begged him for as much land as he could step over in three paces. The generous Bali gladly acceded to the modest request whereupon Vāmana took one stride and covered the whole of heaven, then another stride and covered the whole earth, and with a third stride would have covered the whole underworld, but out of regard for Bali's kindness refrained from doing so and allowed him to continue to rule over the nether regions. The germ of this legend can be found in the *Ṛig-veda* where Vishṇu is represented as taking three strides over heaven, earth and the nether world, perhaps symbolizing the rising, zenith and setting of the sun.

In South India the tradition of Bali is still kept alive. His reign is commemorated in Malabār as the Golden Age of the country, and the national festival of Malabār, *Onam*, which is celebrated with rejoicing and festivities lasting for nearly a week, preserves the memory of this universal sovereign. Bali is also worshipped in Mahārāshṭra, and the songs sung in his honour include the verse, 'May all troubles depart and Bali's kingdom come'.

Among Bali's descendants were a class of daityas known as Nivāta-kavacha, 'impenetrably armoured', who acquired great spiritual power through rigid mortifications and penances. In the *Mahābhārata* they were said to be thirty million in number dwelling in the sea, and were finally destroyed by Arjuna.

Books

See under Mythology.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY. The weakest spot in the whole domain of Hindu writing, in both the Vedic and post-Vedic periods, lies in the province of history. Qualified students almost without exception have held this view. 'The whole course of Sanskrit literature', says Macdonell, 'is darkened by the shadow of this defect'.

This shortcoming is certainly not due to the absence of the raw material of history, since India provides data in unsurpassed abundance. But this abundance, found in the myths recorded in the Vedas, Epics and Purāṇas, belongs to the realm of poetry, mythology and cosmology, rather than history, and most historians give these sagas no more right to historicity than they would accord to the exploits of Achilles or the peregrinations of Odysseus. That is, although there is much to be learnt about the life and customs of the ancient Indian or Greek peoples from their Epics, we can say little for certain about their deeds or their dates.

In Vedic days brāhmin priests composed hymns relating the exploits of their patrons and lauding their many virtues. A dynastic or family tradition was thus sometimes preserved, and this 'mentioning' (*āmnāya*) in the sacred text provided a slender but not very reliable account of the times. From the hymns there evolved a more substantial corpus of longer ballads embodying old legends and traditions that grew into the epic *itihāsa* ('thus-it-was') containing what may be historical material, but so interlaced with the fabulous as to make it of very doubtful historical value.

Besides this, there is evidence of forgery* and priestly tampering with ancient texts. It is generally admitted that till the modern period Indian history never advanced beyond the legendary chronicles of the Vedic and Epic ages, and critical commentary was confined to discursive opinions along orthodox lines, always haunted by the incubus of brāhminical theology. History was rhapsody rather than fact. Professor R. C. Majumdar, one of modern India's greatest historians, remarks,

'The first thing to remember is that for the longest period of Indian history, namely, from the earliest time down to the Muslim conquest in the thirteenth century AD, a period of about four thousand years, we possess no historical text of any kind, much less such a detailed narrative as we possess in the case of Greece, Rome and China'.

In part this weakness was perhaps inherent in the Hindu outlook on life that tended to regard the procession of historical events as a transient panorama unworthy of permanent record. But mostly it was due to the brāhmin's preoccupation with his own religion, and above all his own caste. 'The lack of the historical sense', says Pargiter, 'was a special characteristic of the brāhmins'. Whereas the Greeks, like the Egyptians, Hebrews, Chinese and Arabs, started making authentic records of the political and social events of their time in genuinely critical historical works at an early stage in their development, the ancient paṇḍits of India were unable to break away from their absorption in the fictitious and fabulous, and never seem to have acquired a discriminating and objective outlook. Our information on Hindu history is largely drawn from Buddhist, Greek, Chinese and Muslim sources.

Before the Buddhist period Indian history is lost in the mists of a remote

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legendary age. From the Buddhist period on we discern, though faintly, the outlines of the first Indian republics and the first historical kingdoms. We hear the debate of the itinerant sophists and watch the education of the prince. We see the farmer and the fowler, the potter and the goldsmith, the baker and the weaver, the queen and the courtesan, the hermit with matted hair, the itinerant almsman, and we know that they are moulded of the living stuff of India. If all this at times falls somewhat short of the vigorous pageantry of the Greek chronicles, we can nonetheless feel the pulse of India's earliest authentic history. Indian history may be said to commence with Buddhist writings, and the historicity of Epic and Purāṇic events begins to be acceptable only when Buddhist records confirm them.

But the Buddhist period is comparatively short-lived, and is in any case soon vitiated by the brāhmin bias. Court chroniclers who carried on the tradition of the ancient rhapsodists took over also their penchant for marvels and wonders. Mythology is the framework of their fanciful outpourings, replete as they are with eulogies of patrons and heroes, and theological and moral didacticism.

The Purāṇas* do contain some historical material, but this is so overlaid with myth that it cannot be classed as history. One of the earliest works of the Purāṇa type dating from about 50 BC is the *Yuga Purāṇa*, a semi-historical account buried in an astronomical* treatise called the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*. Probably of Greek inspiration it is one of the first sources of Indo-Greek history found in India.

Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita* (AD 650) the earliest of the historical *kāvyas*, about the life of the Buddhist king Harsha, though a masterpiece of its kind is not strictly history. Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho* (AD 730) another kāvya written in a supremely bad style records the victory of his patron Yaśovarman of Kanauj* over Gauḍa. Nothing more with any pretensions to history is produced till four centuries later in the writings of Bilhaṇa (1130) and Kalhaṇa* (1160), both Kashmīris. The former is inaccurate and unreliable, and the latter's *Rājataraṁgiṇi* represents the only Sanskrit chronicle which can lay claim to being regarded as history. But again, his uncritical acceptance of the legendary and the fabulous makes him a very inconsiderable figure among historians in general. The historical work of the Jain monk Hemachandra* is vitiated by a strong Jain bias. In Chand Bardai's *Prithvirāj Rāso* (1180) the bardic poetry of Rājputāna reaches its peak, but it is of purely local significance and rhapsodic in style, lacking the sweep and sobriety that makes for good history.

The writing of history throughout the Hindu period remains a priestly or bardic occupation, and the predisposition to propagate the virtues of the brāhmin caste and to please the patron with flattering chronicles is in most cases strong enough to override the interests of verity. In about AD 1020 the great Muslim traveller, Muhammad al-Bīrūnī, one of the shrewdest observers of his age, reporting on his visit to India says, 'The Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things. They are careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when pressed for information and are at a loss they invariably resort to invention'. It is important to realize the deeper implications of this tendency if any clear picture is to be obtained of

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the history of India before the Muslim conquest. The Muhammadan records on the other hand are full; names are recorded without mythological ancestry, and verifiable dates appear consistently from now on.

With the advent of the Europeans Indian history is revealed as if suddenly illuminated. European and especially English historians not only wrote contemporary history but delved deep into the past, recreating the colourful pageant of ancient life. Their objective and disciplined scholarship brought order for the first time into the tangled confusion of India's inheritance. 'Until the coming of the British,' says Rawlinson, 'the history of the pre-Muhammadan period of India did not exist'. The credit for unravelling the skein of India's hoary ancestry, and the restoration of her ancient heritage goes, in the main, to British scholars. A reinterpretation of the sacred records in which the historical material was embedded, in the light of scientific research had to await the Europeans. The Hindu tradition, the old legends and ballads were of course known to the people, for these were part of their art, their song, their architecture and painting. But few knew the classics at first hand, or were acquainted with what had gone before. Pride in India's immemorial heritage is only of recent birth, inspired to a great extent by Western scholarship and enthusiasm. Summing up this debt, K. M. Panikkar says, 'Today when we talk of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Chālukyas and the Pallavas, let it be remembered that these great ages of Indian history were recovered to us by the devoted labours of European scholars'.

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HISTORY. The earliest traces of man in India are sundry palaeolithic, mesolithic and neolithic remains which have been discovered in various parts of the country as far apart as Madrās and the Panjāb. These stone age relics are partly associated with the early Negrito and Austric inhabitants of the subcontinent. More definite evidence of the next stage of Indian history is found in the chalcolithic culture of the Indus Valley, whose approximate date has been fixed at prior to 1500 BC. It was Anārya in character with a probably considerable Dravidian element.

Then followed the Aryan migration from which emerged the Vedic form of civilization. From the Vedic period foreign contacts were maintained, chiefly through commerce, with the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Jews, the

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peoples of Mesopotamia, and the Magas of south Iran. In 518 BC parts of northwest India, the Panjāb and Sind, were incorporated into the Persian empire of Darius. From this time to the Hun invasion in AD 510 a thousand years later, north-western India never ceased to be occupied by alien invaders, many of whom penetrated deep into the heart of the country and founded powerful kingdoms.

The Epic period described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* extends from the late Vedic age to about the time of the Greeks, when it begins to merge with the early historical kingdom of Magadha (650–28 BC). This period is associated with the growth of Buddhism and Jainism, with the flourishing republican states known as the Janapadas, with the invasion of Alexander the Great (326 BC), the rule of the Seleucids, the reign of Aśoka, and the establishment of the Bactrian Greeks in north-western India.

Another wave of foreign invasion followed. By the beginning of the present era the Parthians were ruling west of the Indus plains. They were contemporary with the Kushāns who conquered the Panjāb, and were supplanted by the Śakas. The Gupta dynasty (AD 320–470) ruled effectively for little more than half a century and owed a great deal to the cultures of these Central Asian predecessors, as well as to Rome. The Guptas were in turn overcome by the Huns (*c.* AD 500) who had for years been harassing the outskirts of their empire. A semblance of unity was again restored to India by Harsha (d. 647) a contemporary of Muhammad, Prophet of Arabia.

Less than a century after Muhammad's death the Arabs invaded Sind. The chief bulwark against the Muslim onslaught were the Rājputs, descendants of the Hunnish settlers and related tribes, who had intermarried with indigenous Indian families. These Rājput tribes included famous dynastic lines such as the Maitrakas, Chāhamānas, Chandellas, Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, Guhilas, Paramāras, Pratihāras, and the Rāthors.

In the Deccan and South India many sovereign states had been established, chief of them being the Āndhra kingdom (225 BC–AD 225). The Pallavas, who also set themselves up in the South, were believed to have come originally from the northwest and may have been of Persian stock. Other important dynasties were the Kaliṅgas and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa, the Chālukyas, Vākāṭakas, and Rāshṭrakūṭas of western India, the Pālas and Senas of Bengal, the Gaṅgas and Hoysalas of Mysore, and the Keralas, Pāṇḍyas and Cholas of the extreme south. The Vijayanagar empire for long opposed the Muslims until it was brought to an end in 1565 at the battle of Tālikoṭa. Their traditions were carried on, on an attenuated scale, by the Nāyyakas.

The Muslims had meanwhile entrenched themselves in all parts of the country, fundamentally altering the character of Indian culture. Their influence reached its zenith in the period of the Moghuls whose great emperors, Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, left an immortal heritage. Aurangzeb received strong opposition from the Marāṭhas who, however, failed to live up to the brilliant promise of Śivājī, and whose record constitutes a brief and lustreless interlude in Indian chronicles. The last period of Indian history is marked by the advent of the Europeans who within the span of two centuries brought India in direct and permanent contact with the civilization of the western world.

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HORSE. The prototype of this animal, the celestial horse Uchchhaiḥ-śravas, appeared as a result of a sacrifice performed by Brahmā. Like the elephant it was once a winged creature, white in colour. It possessed the secret of the *anusvāra* (*see* mystic syllables) and for this reason Brahmā hid it in the celestial ocean of milk. It appeared again during the Churning of the Ocean and was taken by Indra for his own use, but later the god decided to give it to mankind. He therefore sheared off the wings of the horse to keep it confined to earth for the service of men. The task of taming horses was entrusted to a sage who fed his animals on offerings of rice. Hence the horse was called *śālihotra* (rice-fed) and the sage himself was given the title of Śālihotra (see below). It is believed that at the end of the present *kali-yuga*, Vishṇu will appear in his last incarnation as Kalki* riding on a white horse.

One legend has it that when the horse appeared at the Churning of the Ocean, the asura chief Bali got it first, and there is a tradition that horses were first tamed by the asuras (demons) from whom the *devas* (gods) learned the art. This animal of the steppe was introduced to India in pre-Ṛig-vedic times, but was seldom regarded as a truly 'Indian' animal. There are references to horses and war-chariots drawn by horses in the *Ṛig-veda*, but rarely are mounted soldiers mentioned. The warrior used the horse only to get to the battlefield; it was too valuable an animal to risk in actual warfare.

From the Epic period the horse began to occupy a more prominent place in the army, and is also shown employed in chariot races; the horses of Bāhlīka, Kāmboja and Sindhu being famous for their all-round excellence. In Mauryan times there was a state superintendent of horses who maintained a register of the herds. Horsemen rode bareback, disdaining the saddle, and controlled the horse with reins leading from a ring of stitched raw-hide fixed over the horse's mouth; the ring was studded with sharp metal points directed inwards. After the Greek period metal bits were also used. Before battle horses were made to drink wine.

The horse played an important role in establishing the supremacy of kings and in the sacrificial ceremonies that followed, and names such as Aśvapati (horse-lord), Hayagrīva (horse-mane), and Haihaya (horsy) probably relate to a totemic period of a horse-worshipping people of the steppe. The various Vedic horse ceremonies, especially the *aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice* may belong to the same period. The curious fact that certain omniphagous sects

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like the Kāpālikas who eat practically anything, including snakes, monkeys, and even human flesh, will not touch horse flesh as food, may also be connected with these ancient times. Equine motifs are prominent in the architecture of the Orissan temple of Konārak and the temple sculpture of Vijayanagar.

Several manuals on the care, training and breeding of horses, with dissertations on the significance of their colour, their auspicious and inauspicious marks, their proportions and gait, the selection of horses names, and so forth, were attributed to ancient authors. Among them the *Śālihotram* by the sage Śālihotra mentioned above; the *Aśvaśāstra* by Nala; the *Aśvachikitsa* by Nakula, the *Aśvāyurveda* by Gaṇa, and the *Aśva-vaidika* by Jayadatta.

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HORSE SACRIFICE, or as it is known in Sanskrit, the *aśvamedha*, was a special *soma* rite performed by kings of ancient India for extending their dominion, obtaining offspring or atoning for a sin. Preparations for the main sacrifice lasted for over a year and the attendant rituals were extremely elaborate.

The first aśvamedha was said to have been performed by Brahmā at Prayāga (Allāhābād) to commemorate his recovery of the Vedas which had been lost. At the request of the gods, who were now jealous of the sanctity accorded to Prayāga, Brahmā performed a second aśvamedha with ten horses at a spot in Banāras named after the incident the Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ, thus giving Banāras greater merit than Prayāga.

The *aśva* or sacrificial horse was selected with great care, and had to be a young male preferably white in colour. It was bound and bathed, consecrated with fire and offered different kinds of wheat cakes for three days. It was then set free to wander about at will, accompanied by an escort of princes and retainers. If the ceremony was being performed for purposes of aggrandisement the wanderings of the horse became a ritual feature of aggressive intent. The king with his army followed the horse, and all the territory through which the animal passed was claimed as the king's domain. If the territory happened to belong to another ruler that ruler had either to establish his sovereignty by battle or submit to the invading king. If all went well the king returned in triumph with horse and army before the completion of one year.

During their absence the continuity of the ceremonies had to be maintained in the capital, and on the return of the horse the final stage of the aśvamedha began. In all the subsequent proceedings the *mahishī* or chief queen played a significant role. The last phase of the sacrifice was inaugurated with a new-moon rite enacted by the king; he washed his mouth in a golden bowl, shaved his head and beard, and seated himself on the lap of the chief queen while a short *mantra* (chant) was recited. After this the king and chief queen kept an all-night vigil before the sacred fire, and welcomed the rising sun at dawn.

On the following day the first three queens entwined pearls or coins into the horse's mane and tail, and then anointed the animal, the chief queen the head, the second queen the back and belly, and the third the rump and tail.

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The fourth queen just looked on, doing nothing. On the same day a number of animals were sacrificed, fowls, goats, cows and camels. Some speak of a wider variety of offerings, 'from the elephant to the bee' (I, p. 253); domestic and wild animals, birds, fish and reptiles, totalling 609 animals in all, perhaps even a human being. Then followed the sacrifice of the horse. It is not clear how this was done or whether a common practice was ever followed. It was usual for the king and chief queen to assist in the killing of the animal, which seems to have been hastened by strangling or 'stifling with robes'.

The four queens then walked around the dead animal nine times, fanning it with their garments. The horse was now identified with the god Prajāpati, and the chief queen had to go through a curious ceremony so that she might be impregnated with the deity's 'seed'. She lay in the sacrificial pit and both queen and cadaver were covered with a large sheet. She then took hold of the horse's member and went through the motions of union with the animal and performed other acts of bestiality (III, p. 80). This was followed by an exchange of obscene dialogue between the chief queen and the other queens and the priests. Some texts seem to suggest that the four wives had intercourse with the four officiating priests. The whole ceremony is believed to be part of a long-forgotten fertility rite (II, p. 80) for bringing prosperity to the realm.

Thereafter the *mahishī* marked out with a metal needle the lines of dissection on the carcass, the other queens assisting. The flesh of the animal was cooked and ritually eaten by the priests and other participants and the remainder was burned. The sacrifice was brought to an end with the chanting of mantras.

It was believed that the performance of one hundred aśvamedhas would enable a mortal king to become supreme over Indra and all the gods, and gain mastery over the universe. But as the proper performance of each sacrifice took more than a year there is no record of a historical king having carried out the full century, although some rulers did sacrifice a hundred horses at a single ceremony. Among the historical monarchs who performed the single aśvamedha were **Pushyamitra** of the Śuṅgas, **Khāravela** of Kaliṅga, **Sātakarṇi** of the Sātavāhanas, **Pravarasena** of the Vākāṭakas, **Bhavanāga** of the Bhāraśivas, and the Gupta emperor **Samudragupta.** The last aśvamedha was offered by the ruler of Jaipur in Rājputāna in about the middle of the eighteenth century AD.

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(*See also under* Sacrifice.)

HORTICULTURE. The art of cultivating gardens was offered a superb field in India with the profusion and beauty of its flowering plants, but nothing noteworthy seems to have been achieved by indigenous effort. The Hindu

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preference has ever been for nature's untamed and trackless jungle rather than the graceful bower. In the hermitages and forest retreats described in older writings the gardens, if any, were permitted to grow in wild profusion, and even today it is the large exotic blooms and heavy scents, the lotus and the marigold, and 'the air laden with the perfume of jasmine', that evoke a response from the people of India. If the private householder today grows a garden it is more often than not for pumpkins and brinjals rather than the rose and lily, a preference perhaps conditioned by economic and ecological factors.

In the Buddhist period we hear of groves (*udyāna*), parks and public and palace gardens, but accounts of them suggest Iranian, Greek, and to a lesser degree even Chinese influences. The really cultivated garden, treasured for its own sake, came with the Persians, perhaps the greatest garden artists of antiquity. Megasthenes' description of the garden in the palace of Pāṭaliputra, with its flowering trees and shrubs, shady groves and bowers, and its birds and fishes, shows clearly the inspiration of Achaemenian Iran. This tradition is preserved among their modern descendants, the Parsees, and today many of the most beautiful civic gardens in India are the result of Parsee enterprise and generosity.

With the coming of the Moghuls horticulture was once more taken in hand on a country-wide scale, and the exquisite gardens designed or inspired by them to be found in Lahore, Kashmīr, Agra and Mysore, remain a source of pride and beauty to this day. The British with their characteristic love of 'fringéd pool and fernéd grot', carried on the tradition and laid out many gardens in 'the Moghul fashion', themselves adding new elements to the horticultural art of India. It is generally felt that since Independence there has been an appreciable decline in the standards and maintenance of public and private gardens in the country.

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HOT & COLD. An important concept in the study of āyurveda and esoteric therapeutics is that of *ushman*, the 'temperature' inherent in things. All foods, drugs and diseases are classified as possessed of varying degrees of heat (*ushṇa*) or cold (*śīta*), and treatment consists in giving the patient the opposite medicine and diet. Thus hot diseases need cold foods and cold drugs, and cold diseases the reverse. The basis of this form of treatment was said to have been derived from the Greeks (hence called Yunāni), but it was developed by the Persians, notably Rhazes and Avicenna, and first introduced into India by the Muslims in the fourteenth century. The catalogue of hot and cold foods has been continuously extended and brought up to date by Yunāni specialists.

Heat is the property of fire and air. Its action is to warm, melt, destroy, evaporate and disperse. The heart, blood and liver are the hot constituents of the body. Heat is induced by hot foods, exertion, hot baths, anger, worry. Hot temperaments are febrile, easily fatigued, thirsty, have a bitter taste in

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the mouth and are uncomfortable in summer. Hot diseases include typhoid, measles, scarlet fever, smallpox, whooping cough. Fruits are: mulberries, apples, grapes, figs, dates (very hot), nuts. Vegetables: cabbage, cauliflower, asparagus, celery, radish, leeks, onions, garlic, olives, carrots, potatoes. Cereals: wheat in any form, cakes and pastries, macaroni, tapioca. Beverages: tea, chocolate, cocoa, whiskey. Meats: mutton, lamb, chicken, pigeon, liver, kidney, pork. Dairy products: butter, cream, eggs. Miscellaneous: honey (very hot), quinine, castor oil, olive oil.

Cold is the property of earth and water. Its action is to aggregate, freeze, extinguish. Phlegm, hair and bone are the cold constituents of the body. It is induced by excessive exercise and repose. Those with cold temperaments suffer in winter, have weak digestions and catarrh. Cold diseases are: rheumatism, pneumonia, coryza, influenza, diarrhoea, malaria. Fruits: lemons, oranges, and other citrus fruit, peaches, pears, plums, prunes, strawberries, cherries. Vegetables: spinach, marrow, cucumber, beetroot, mushrooms, tomatoes, lettuce, rhubarb (very cold). Cereals: rice, oatmeal. Beverages: coffee, wines, beer. Meats: beef, veal, brain, fish. Dairy produce: milk, curds, buttermilk, cheese.

At a later date a further classification into dry and moist diseases was also developed but was never popularly accepted. Generally *dryness* is associated with fire and earth, has the property of making things dense and hard, stable and resistant. It is found in the hair and bones, and its agents are activity and wakefulness. It results in a dry skin, insomnia and wasting. Hot water and oils are readily absorbed by the dry body. *Moistness* is associated with water and air. It softens, makes humid, greasy, thin and fluid. It is found in phlegm, blood and fats; its agents are rest, sleep, retention. People of moist temperament are puffy, loose, and desire plenty of sleep.

There are also subsidiary classifications. Hot and cold are called 'active', and dry and moist are 'passive'. These are further subdivided into Hot and Moist, Hot and Dry, Cold and Moist, and Cold and Dry. Methods are worked out, astronomical, physiognomical and phrenological to discover one's temperament and type according to the ushman categories, and cures prescribed accordingly.

Books

See under Āyurveda.

HOYSALA (1006–1343) or Hoyśāḷa, a dynasty of Mysore which arose from the ruins of the Chālukyan empire and is therefore sometimes spoken of as the Later Chālukya dynasty. Its traditional founder was Śāḷa (1006) a Jain who, according to the legend, in spite of his Jain convictions, killed a tiger to save the life of an ascetic. He was blessed by the sage who exempted him from certain vows and bade him establish a line of kings. Śāḷa fixed his capital at Dvārasamudra (or Dorasamudra), now Halebīd, i.e. Old Capital, and developed two religious centres, one at Belūr a few miles to the west of Halebīd, and the other at Somnāthpur.

Under **Vishṇuvardhana** (*c.* 1050) the Hoysalas attained great prominence,

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subjugated the neighbouring principalities, conquering parts of the Tamil country. Four Hoysala kings were named **Ballāla,** hence the dynasty is also known by this alternative name.

The last notable monarch of the line was **Vīra Ballāla** III (1292–1342) who in the year 1310 while at the zenith of his power and influence was confronted with the menace of Malik Kāfūr, general of Alā-ud-dīn Khilji. He capitulated to Kāfūr, surrendered all his temple treasures, submitted to having a Hoysala prince taken as hostage (he was returned two years later), and continued as a vassal of the Delhi Sultanate. It is said that this humiliation made him decide upon a course of determined action that was to keep Muslim influence in the South at bay for several centuries. He is believed to have suggested the fortification of the town that afterwards became Vijayanagar* as a stronghold of Hinduism against the tide of Muslim conquest. He himself finally perished at the hands of the Muslims in 1342.

The Hoysalas are notable for having raised some unique temples in Mysore in a highly embellished, florid style. The best examples of their art are a group of temples built from the twelfth century onwards at Belūr, especially the Chenna Keśava temple built in 1133 by Vishṇuvardhana on his conversion from Jainism to Vaishṇavism; the double temple of Hoysaleśvara at Dorasamudra (1224); and the triple-shrined Keśava temple (1260) at Somnāthpur.

The typical Hoysala temple is stellar in plan, being raised on a polygonal, or star-shaped plinth. The temple consists of the main cell of *garbha-gṛiha,* a vestibule and central hall. The structure stands on a platform known as a *jagatī,* often five feet in height, very elaborately sculptured, and about twenty feet wide, which also serves as an ambulatory. Rising from the jagatī are the exterior pillars of the hypostyle hall. These pillars were produced mechanically by turning on a lathe, an early example of mass production. Many of the temples lack tower and superstructure which along with the broad horizontal mouldings gives them an appearance of dwarfishness.

The highly ornate temple sculpture is quite unique. Its stone is a kind of steatite which is very soft when quarried and lends itself to fine work, but hardens when exposed to sun and air for some time. Many of the hundreds of statues bear the signatures of their artists; forty are signed by Malitamma, but the finest carvings are the work of Jakanāchārya. Along the plinth on which the temple stands run a number of horizontal sculptured bands, usually arranged in a specific order: the lowest band depicts elephants, the next *śārdūlas* or leogryphs, then horsemen, then floral patterns, then birds or oxen, then grotesque masks or *kīrtimukhas*; at eye level are scenes from the epics, topped by a border of *yālis,* half-lion, half-elephant creatures.

Magnificent specimens of Hoysala sculpture are seen in the figure brackets that decorate the capitals of the pillars at the side of every screen on the exterior of the main hall. The bracket images are usually female figures in the *tribhaṅga* pose. The prodigality of ornamentation in the Hoysala friezes is unequalled anywhere else in India. It is more like the art of the goldsmith, ivory-worker or sandalwood-carver than that of a worker in stone. It displays a wealth of ornaments intricately wrought; pendants, beaded headdresses, tassellated girdles, all of exquisite and precise workmanship.

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Fergusson places the Halebīd temple and the classic simplicity of the Parthenon at the two extremes of architectural art.

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HUMAN SACRIFICE was performed in ancient India as in most of the ancient world to secure good crops, immunity against epidemics, fertility in women and cattle, to avert misfortune, and to propitiate the deities. One Indus Valley seal shows seven victims fully adorned ready for the sacrifice. They were apparently impaled under trees and the corpses then taken to the burial ground.

Although the *Purusha-sūkta* of the *Ṛig-veda* does not describe an actual human sacrifice, it does preserve in the legend of Purusha* the memory of what must have been a ceremony in which a human being was offered up to the gods. The later *Yajur-veda* mentions the *purusha-medha*, 'human sacrifice', and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* relates how a brāhmin was prepared to sell and sacrifice his own son, Śunaḥśephas* for a herd of cows.

In the purusha-medha, the ceremonies appear to have been similar in several respects to the Vedic *aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice*, with a human victim in place of the animal. The man was usually a brāhmin or kshattriya bought at the price of a thousand cows. He was allowed royal privileges for one year, when all his desires were gratified, except that he had to remain chaste. At the sacrificial ceremony which took place at the end of this time he was ritually stabbed by a priest or strangled. The chief queen then lay down beside the dead body of the victim and the two were covered with a cloak, after which the sacrificer exhorted her to go through the act of union with the deceased. This was followed by a ribald colloquy as in the aśvamedha. Thereafter the body was dissected and each person was given a piece of flesh to present to the village deity. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* alludes to a sacrificial offering, 166 men secured to 11 posts, although it is not clear whether this was merely a symbolical proceeding.

The *Droṇasakha Jātaka* describes a human sacrifice in which the victim was knocked unconscious, his eyes gouged out, his body cut open, his entrails taken out and hung like a great garland along the branches of a tree. The sacrificer then dipped his hand in the victim's blood and made a hand-impression on the tree. The *Mahābhārata* states that Jarāsandha* imprisoned a hundred kings in the temple of Paśupati intending to 'slaughter them like cattle', but they were rescued through the intervention of Kṛishṇa.

In some cases cannibalism was closely linked with human sacrificial rites, although it was not always practised with religious intent. There are numerous legends in Hindu mythology that tell of cannibalism, apart from those about the *rākshasas* who were naturally man-eating. The sage Agastya* once ate the flesh of a rākshasa; Kalmāshapāda* was a cannibal; Koṟṟavai, said to be the mother of Kārttikeya* had similar appetites. Dama fed the

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officiating brāhmins at the funeral rites of his father Marutta* with human flesh; Uśīnara* slew and cooked his own son and would have eaten his flesh to please a brāhmin guest.

Human sacrifice played an important part in the worship of female deities. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (*c.* AD 630) narrowly escaped being sacrificed to Durgā by some Ganges pirates and was only saved by a sudden storm. The *Silappadigāram*, a Tamil classic by the poet Ilaṅgō (*c.* AD 650) speaks of a sacrifice of one thousand goldsmiths to a goddess in order to avert pestilence, famine, and drought, as a result of which huge torrents of rain fell and famine was averted. Bāṇa (*c.* AD 650) in his *Harshacharita* refers to the sale of human flesh in his time. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (*c.* AD 700) speaks of the goddess Lalitā who cut off the heads of seven rākshasas and made them into a garland by weaving their hair together. Bhavabhūti (*c.* AD 730) in his *Mālatī-Mādhava* describes how the hero saves his sweetheart in the nick of time from being sacrificed to the goddess by certain Aghorī priests. In fact the hero himself tries to win the favour of the ghouls of the cemetery with an offering of human flesh. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (*c.* 1070) gives instances of human sacrifice in honour of the goddess Chaṇḍikā or Chāmuṇḍā (see below).

In medieval times too, human sacrifices were performed for various reasons. All underground treasure was regarded as the property of serpents and chthonic demons, and if mined or removed from the earth nothing less than a human sacrifice, it was believed, could placate these spirits. Similarly, a bridge over a large river or even a fast-flowing stream could not be built without offering a human victim to the river spirit. In theory the execution of every criminal was a kind of sacrifice and the opportunity was taken on such occasions to ritualize the procedure so that the condemned might be transfigured into a victim and take with him the sins of the community. It was not unusual for a man to dedicate and offer himself to the goddess in a ritual suicide. Rites of *suttee**, *jauhar*, the murders committed by thugs* and other criminal communities often assumed the sacrosanctity of human sacrifice.

Certain seasons, conjunctions of planets or certain important occasions had to be celebrated by slaying a victim, and where volunteers were not forthcoming force was resorted to. Says Basham, 'We read of girls being kidnapped to serve as human sacrifices in secret rites'; and pilgrims and wayfarers were not infrequently waylaid by emissaries of murder cults to provide victims for the insatiable deities. Among *śavavāda* followers, several sects (e.g. the *Kāpālikas*) practised human sacrifice followed by a cannibalistic feast, and so did certain primitive Indian tribes, like the Kolarian* Birkor.

The *Kālikā-Purāṇa* (*c.* AD 1350) embodying much ancient lore gives many details about the performance of human sacrifices. It states, 'Animals of all kinds are proper oblations to the goddess. But by the sacrifice of a human victim Devī is pleased for a thousand years, and by the sacrifice of three for over a hundred thousand years.' The bound victim was first placed before the goddess (Chaṇḍī or Chaṇḍikā) in a ceremony of dedication and the goddess worshipped with flowers, sandal-paste and other gifts. The victim was then brought to the sacrificial altar, made to face east while the sacrificer standing

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north of him and facing north said over his left shoulder, 'O man, through my good fortune you have been chosen for a great purpose. I salute you for you have been created to be a sacrificial victim, and by offering you to the goddess Chaṇḍī, I, as the giver, am enabled to destroy all evil.' He then placed flowers on the victim's head and took up the consecrated sword or axe. Repeating in a loud voice at rising pitch the formula, '*Oṁ huṁ phaṭ*', he severed the victim's head. Omens were read from the way the head fell and the cries the victim uttered as the blade descended and from his excretions. The blood was collected in an earthen or metallic vessel, and the head was placed on a salver of gold, silver, copper, brass or wood, but not of iron. A lamp was set over the head which was then placed before the image of Chaṇḍī and the image besprinkled with blood.

Records of human sacrifice taking place are available till well into the modern period. During the construction of a dam at Vijayanagar* the ruler Kṛishṇadeva Rāya (*c.* 1520) ordered a sacrifice of prisoners. At the dedication of the Kāmākhyā temple in Kāmarūpa* in 1565, one hundred and forty men were sacrificed and their heads offered on salvers of copper to the goddess. In certain parts of Cooch Bihār the victim's head used to be offered to the goddess on a golden platter and the lungs cooked and eaten by such Chāndra yogis as were present, while the royal family partook of a small quantity of rice cooked in his blood. The Muslims found human sacrifice common in Bengal till the end of the seventeenth century.

The Chutiya, Kachāri, Deori, and other related tribes of Assam practised human sacrifice on a large scale, while the head-hunting Nāgas, also of Assam, made the ceremony a ritual feature of their warlike expeditions. The aboriginal Dravidian tribes of Chota Nāgpur carried on the ritual decapitation of human victims till measures were taken to suppress it. The Karhāḍa brāhmins sacrificed a young brāhmin to their deities every year, and petty Marāṭha chieftains offered human victims to their gods. In AD 1830 more than twenty-five men were immolated by a rāja on a single occasion at the famous shrine of Danteśvarī in Bastar. The rāja of Joipur, near Vizagapattam, at his consecration in 1861 sacrificed a girl to Durgā. Almost until the advent of British rule in the latter half of the last century, a human victim used to be sacrificed every Friday in the temple of Kālī at Tanjore (V, p. 213).

Several tribes, particularly of the Criminal Castes, such as the Sukala, Brinjari, and Lambaḍi of the west Deccan coast, also offered human sacrifices as part of their religious observances. The nomadic and predatory Lambaḍi, probably related to the Marāṭhas, were counted amongst the most cruel of the Hindu castes. The victim of their rites was generally a wayside traveller who was caught and buried in the earth up to his neck. A lamp made of flour dough was filled with oil and its wick lighted and set on his head. The men and women of the tribe then joined hands, formed a circle and danced round him, singing and shouting till he expired.

The Khonds, a Kolarian* hill-tribe of Central India made human offerings to Tāripennu the earth goddess, for success in war, to ensure good crops, and freedom from misfortune and disease. In the *meriah* sacrifice, as it was called, the victim was treated with great honour and dignity for many weeks prior to the event. On the appointed day he was tied to a tree, anointed with ghee

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and turmeric, and decorated with flowers. To ritual dancing and the chanting of verses he was then sacrificed by being cut to pieces or strangled. These rites were suppressed with great difficulty, and today buffaloes are slaughtered by the Khonds in place of human victims.

Such substitute sacrifices are now often performed in areas where human sacrifices once prevailed. The ritual killing of animals like buffaloes and goats in place of men, the mutilation of human limbs, scarification and incision of the body, the magical transference of victims, are all forms of substitute sacrifice. A woman may offer a few drops of her own blood* for the recovery of her husband or child from sickness. Among the Morasu, a peasant caste of the Reḍḍi clan belonging to the Telugu country, a custom prevails by which on certain occasions such as marriage or birth, a member of the family must amputate at least one joint of one or two fingers of the right hand at the temple of Bhairava, possibly a relic of the human sacrifice.

In another substitutionary rite an animal is offered to the goddess in place of an enemy. Throughout the lengthy ceremony the name of the enemy is called, thus infusing by the power of repeated mantras, the body of the animal with the soul of the enemy. The axe is invoked with sacred verses and the victim slain. It is believed that this will deprive the enemy of life wherever he may be. Till recently such rites were performed by the Kāpālika and other left-hand sects.

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HUMOURS. The Hindu physiological system, like the Greek, is based on the theory of humours, called in Sanskrit, *dosha*. In Āyurveda* the tri-dosha (three humours) are linked with theories of the *guṇas* (inherent qualities*) and *dhātus* (bodily constituents). The doshas are the 'flowing' elements of the physical body, which regulate and govern its proper functioning. Perfect harmony, long life, strength of body and a healthy mind, are attained by a correct balance of the three vital fluxes, namely, bile, wind and phlegm. A fourth dosha, blood (*rakta*), was added under the influence of the Galenic school, but did not find general acceptance, and was abandoned by the tenth century AD.

The word dosha also signifies fault or defect, and diseases are believed to follow when one of the doshas is malfunctioning or disproportionate. An imbalance of the doshas therefore manifests itself in the individual as ill-health, 'unequal' temperament, and general lack of well-being.

PITTA (bile or gall), originates in the liver, is *sattvic* (pure) in quality*, and

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is greasy, fiery, sharp, fluid, acrid. It prevails in middle age, and is 'deranged' by mental strain, anxiety, or grief, by 'excessive repetition of *mantras*, aspiring to the prerogatives of a higher caste, frequent journeys or crossing of rivers, and gambling'. Those having pitta predominant are proud, bold, vain. 'They dream of lightning, fire and the like, and are not much sought after by women.' There are five kinds of pitta controlling the digestion, excretion, respiration, sight and skin.

VĀYU or Vāta (wind), originates in the heart, is *rajasic* (energizing) in quality, and is dry, clear, cold and mobile. It is manifest in all the bodily winds. Vāyu prevails in advanced age, is increased by eating pungent foods, and is 'deranged' by too much movement and exertion, 'by fighting with strong men, falling from a height, venery, excessive nocturnal study, riding on elephants or horses, restraining the outlet of wind, faeces, urine, semen, and holding back vomiting, sneezing, belching and tears'. Those with an excess of vāyu are 'addicted to music, joking, hunting and polite conversation'. There are several kinds of vāyu (see wind).

KAPHA or *śleshmā* (phlegm, mucus), originates in the lungs, is *tamasic* (suppressing) in quality; heavy, cold, oily, sluggish and sweet. It is formed from the bodily greases, fluids and other secretions. It prevails in childhood and sweet food increases it. It is 'deranged' by gluttony, sloth and apathy, and also 'by frequent baths, sleeping with one's feet to the east; eating lentils during the full moon, and stepping on elephant dung'. A proper proportion of *kapha* makes men intelligent, trustworthy, faithful. Those with an excess of kapha 'dream of lotus-coloured ponds, and have many sperms, sons and servants'. There are five kinds of kapha lubricating the stomach, heart, tongue, head and joints.

Books

See under Āyurveda.

HUNS (AD 450–565), a nomadic, predatory people of Central Asia, one branch of whom, known as the Ephthalite or White Huns, called Hūna by Indian writers, settled on the Oxus, harried the borders of the Persian and Bactrian kingdoms and gradually drifted into the mountainous north-west of India. Finding the fertile Indian plains much to their liking they began raiding the country. At first their progress was halted by the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, but their subsequent incursions began to be carried out with such force and strategy that they could not be stopped. Hun hordes spread over northern and central India and dismembered the Gupta empire. Their invasions, in Rawlinson's view, 'form a turning-point in the history of northern India, introducing as they did, new elements destined to revolutionise Hindu society'.

The Hunnish chieftain **Toramāna** (480–510) overthrew the Kushān and other local rulers, and installed himself as king with capital at Śākala, and a second capital at Eran (Madhya Pradesh) in the heart of the crumbling Gupta realm. He was a man of sadistic impulses and vicious character, but even worse was his son **Mihirakula** (510–528) or Mihiragula, the Attila of India, whose savagery was unmitigated by any redeeming quality. One of his

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and turmeric, and decorated with flowers. To ritual dancing and the chanting of verses he was then sacrificed by being cut to pieces or strangled. These rites were suppressed with great difficulty, and today buffaloes are slaughtered by the Khonds in place of human victims.

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HUMOURS. The Hindu physiological system, like the Greek, is based on the theory of humours, called in Sanskrit, *dosha*. In Āyurveda* the tri-dosha (three humours) are linked with theories of the *guṇas* (inherent qualities*) and *dhātus* (bodily constituents). The doshas are the 'flowing' elements of the physical body, which regulate and govern its proper functioning. Perfect harmony, long life, strength of body and a healthy mind, are attained by a correct balance of the three vital fluxes, namely, bile, wind and phlegm. A fourth dosha, blood (*rakta*), was added under the influence of the Galenic school, but did not find general acceptance, and was abandoned by the tenth century AD.

The word dosha also signifies fault or defect, and diseases are believed to follow when one of the doshas is malfunctioning or disproportionate. An imbalance of the doshas therefore manifests itself in the individual as ill-health, 'unequal' temperament, and general lack of well-being.

PITTA (bile or gall), originates in the liver, is *sattvic* (pure) in quality*, and

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is greasy, fiery, sharp, fluid, acrid. It prevails in middle age, and is 'deranged' by mental strain, anxiety, or grief, by 'excessive repetition of *mantras*, aspiring to the prerogatives of a higher caste, frequent journeys or crossing of rivers, and gambling'. Those having pitta predominant are proud, bold, vain. 'They dream of lightning, fire and the like, and are not much sought after by women.' There are five kinds of pitta controlling the digestion, excretion, respiration, sight and skin.

VĀYU or Vāta (wind), originates in the heart, is *rajasic* (energizing) in quality, and is dry, clear, cold and mobile. It is manifest in all the bodily winds. Vāyu prevails in advanced age, is increased by eating pungent foods, and is 'deranged' by too much movement and exertion, 'by fighting with strong men, falling from a height, venery, excessive nocturnal study, riding on elephants or horses, restraining the outlet of wind, faeces, urine, semen, and holding back vomiting, sneezing, belching and tears'. Those with an excess of vāyu are 'addicted to music, joking, hunting and polite conversation'. There are several kinds of vāyu (see wind).

KAPHA or *śleshmā* (phlegm, mucus), originates in the lungs, is *tamasic* (suppressing) in quality; heavy, cold, oily, sluggish and sweet. It is formed from the bodily greases, fluids and other secretions. It prevails in childhood and sweet food increases it. It is 'deranged' by gluttony, sloth and apathy, and also 'by frequent baths, sleeping with one's feet to the east; eating lentils during the full moon, and stepping on elephant dung'. A proper proportion of *kapha* makes men intelligent, trustworthy, faithful. Those with an excess of kapha 'dream of lotus-coloured ponds, and have many sperms, sons and servants'. There are five kinds of kapha lubricating the stomach, heart, tongue, head and joints.

Books

See under Āyurveda.

HUNS (AD 450–565), a nomadic, predatory people of Central Asia, one branch of whom, known as the Ephthalite or White Huns, called Hūna by Indian writers, settled on the Oxus, harried the borders of the Persian and Bactrian kingdoms and gradually drifted into the mountainous north-west of India. Finding the fertile Indian plains much to their liking they began raiding the country. At first their progress was halted by the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, but their subsequent incursions began to be carried out with such force and strategy that they could not be stopped. Hun hordes spread over northern and central India and dismembered the Gupta empire. Their invasions, in Rawlinson's view, 'form a turning-point in the history of northern India, introducing as they did, new elements destined to revolutionise Hindu society'.

The Hunnish chieftain **Toramāna** (480–510) overthrew the Kushān and other local rulers, and installed himself as king with capital at Śākala, and a second capital at Eran (Madhya Pradesh) in the heart of the crumbling Gupta realm. He was a man of sadistic impulses and vicious character, but even worse was his son **Mihirakula** (510–528) or Mihiragula, the Attila of India, whose savagery was unmitigated by any redeeming quality. One of his

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amusements was to have elephants rolled down a precipice so that he could enjoy their sufferings. His brutal persecution of the Buddhists and his continued atrocities against his subjects aroused the people. A confederacy of Indian princes headed by the Indo-Śaka Yaśodharma, king of Mālwā (*see* Ujjain), defeated him in AD 528 and compelled him to retire to Kashmīr where he ended his days.

The end of over a century of Hun depredations was finally effected in their defeat by the Turks and Persians under Khusrau Anushirvan, in a battle fought on the Oxus in AD 565. By this time the Gupta Empire had dwindled to a fragment and a number of petty states arose. These states continued their independent existence for some decades until the creation of the kingdom of Kanauj.

An important Hun tribe were the **Gurjara** (or Gujar) who entered India about the fourth century AD and gave their name to Gujarāt, the region where they settled down and became Hinduised. The area had been ruled successively by the Bactrians, Parthians, Kushāns, Śakas and Huns. It rose to prominence again when the early Muslim invasions shifted the forefront of India's defences to Gujarāt. Several famous dynasties with Gurjara affiliations were established in India, such as the Chālukyas*, Solaṅkis*, Maitrakas* and Pratihāras*. Today Gujar is the name of a humble grazier caste.

From this and other Hun tribes there arose, largely as a result of intermarriage with the local indigenous population, the gallant Rājput* tribes, famous in the history of medieval India, as well as the Dogrās, Jāts, and several other kshattriya* castes. The Modh were the priestly caste of the sun-worshipping Gurjaras, whose modern survivals are the Modh brāhmins of Gujarāt. Many intermarried with śūdras and thus became the ancestors of the Modaka or Modh bania caste, whose outstanding members were Hemachandra and M. K. Gandhi. The town of Modera is said to retain their name.

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IDOLATRY has always been an integral part of the Hindu religion. Some form of idol worship, including homage to the liṅga, seems to have been prevalent among the pre-Aryans, who were condemned by the Aryan newcomers as worshippers of the phallus. Speaking of the Indus Valley culture Sir John Marshall says, 'The people of Mohenjodaro had not only reached the stage of anthropomorphizing their deities, but were worshipping them in that form as well as in the aniconic'.

There is a conflict of opinion regarding the adoration of idols by the Vedic Aryans. The early Vedic hymns make no allusion to idol worship, and Max Müller held that idolatry did not exist among them. 'The religion of the Vedas', he declared, 'knows no idols.' The *Jābāla Upanishad* says, 'Images are meant only as aids to meditation for the ignorant'. Some

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authorities, however, find references to images of gods in the Vedic hymns. It is likely that the Aryans had no images to start with, but acquired them after contact with the native Indians, and in due course became full-fledged idolaters themselves.

Later literature contains many references to image worship, and during the Epic period the practice was almost universal. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we find Rāma presenting an image of his household god as a coronation gift to a temple, while the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the adoration of idols as a matter of course.

Early Buddhism as preached by Buddha forbade the worship or the making of idols. After Buddha's death an empty throne was used to help the worshipper to meditate on the presence of the Blessed One. Other symbols followed, such as the wheel, the tree, and the sacred footprints. With the spread of Hellenic influence the Buddha image was introduced and idols of Buddha were mass produced in north Indian art centres under Greek inspiration, and soon spread rapidly throughout the whole Buddhist world. The word for image, both in Persian and Hindustāni, is *but*, derived from the name Buddha.

From Buddhism the Hindus received a further impetus for idolatry, and idols of Hindu gods began to be installed in increasing numbers in Hindu places of worship both in domestic shrines and in public temples. Pāṇini and Patañjali speak of the *pratikṛiti*, 'likeness', which was an image of a deity made for the purpose of worship and taken from door to door by brāhmins to collect alms from householders, who held these images in great veneration.

By this time the image had ceased to be merely an aid to reflection or a religious symbol. It was regarded as the deity manifest and worshipped as such. The art of making idols was elaborated and solemn ceremonies were held to install them and endow them with 'life'.

The materials used for making an idol have to be specially and carefully selected, as each kind of stone, mineral or metal has a specific virtue and when used either alone or in combination brings specific potencies to bear on the place of its installation. Images, whether large or small, are frequently fashioned for a single brief occasion, particularly for popular worship during festivals, and are therefore made of clay, which can be broken up or dissolved when thrown into the river or sea after use. If wood is chosen it has to come from a suitable tree, growing in an auspicious area. The tree is worshipped at night and a prayer offered, 'O tree! I salute you. You are going to be used for making an image of such and such deity. Accept the oblations I offer you and arrange to shift your residence elsewhere.' The right time of the year and the right time of the day for felling the tree, and seasoning the wood to prevent cracks and unequal drying are to be taken into account. In making images for magical and left-hand worship one should select trees struck by lightning, or knocked down by storms, floods or elephants. Trees that have fallen to the south, the quarter of Yama god of the dead, or growing in cremation or burial grounds, are also proper.

The image is made according to set norms or canons* of proportion and the divine attributes and powers are represented in its stance, number of limbs, the type of objects held in the hands and the vehicle or *vāhana* on

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which the deity is mounted. Before the image can be fashioned the sculptor has to dedicate himself to the making of it, and start his work at an auspicious hour after consulting the astrologers. Astrological clearance has likewise to be given for the installation and the 'enlivening' of the image. In medieval times the eye* was chiselled or painted in last of all.

The *mūrti* or gross material form of the deity, i.e. the idol when installed in a temple, may be established on one of several principles which are variously elaborated in hundreds of treatises on the subject. Thus, one idol may be raised on a foundation with a 'cosmic' affinity in mind, another on a human prototype, another on a floral. Some are based on the analogy of the astral *chakras*.

A special site is prepared in the middle of the *garbhagṛiha*, or sanctum sanctorum, where the idol will be placed. This foundation is called the *pratishṭhā*, a term sometimes used for the idol itself. A deep pit is dug and a square block of granite or other hard stone of fixed dimensions is placed within as a foundation. Over this a series of slabs, blocks, or stones cut in the shape of a lotus, tortoise, vessel or other symbolical device, are placed one on top of the other, each stone representing a part of the whole concept, depending on the chosen principle of its establishment. On the topmost device the idol is set up.

Before the image can be used for worship it has to be properly consecrated. On an auspicious day a ceremony is held known as the *prāṇa-pratishṭhā*, 'life-implacing', in which the mūrti or gross form of the deity is infused with life by the chanting of mantras, by mystic passes, besprinkling with water from holy places, and anointing with ghee, to the sound of trumpets and conches. Thereafter the deity is believed to reside within the form (*vigraha*) of the image, which is thus a symbolical reflection (*pratimā*) of the deity and becomes worshipful (*archā*). The image is now treated as a living being, either permanently residing in the clay, or occupying the clay when summoned by the *āvāhana*, and then honoured by the other services of *upachāra* or worship*. Thus the power of the god Śiva is believed to be ever hovering over the form of his consecrated liṅga. Great potencies emanate from a liṅga properly endowed. The mere sight of it absolves one from all sin, 'even if one has killed a thousand brāhmins and ten thousand cows'. The domestic image does not have such elaborate installation. It may be made of precious metals or clay depending on the wealth of the householder.

Idolatry has been condemned by almost all religious reformers from medieval times, but the general effect of anti-idolatrous preaching has been negligible. Advocates of idolatry have not been wanting even among the enlightened. Gāndhi, who was a true child of Hinduism, saw little reprehensible in it and justified it as a harmless aid to worship.

To the orthodox Hindu the clay idol is not a lifeless representation at all, but the very presence of the deity. The less orthodox defend idolatry by referring to the deeper psychological implications of iconolatria. Just as when one holds a red cloth to a mirror the mirror will become red, so the image of the god is reflected in the mind and the mind receives from the image its spiritual colour and power and a comprehension of the divine qualities. To the suggestion that one should in that case meditate on a more

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pleasant image rather than a multihanded god of ugly aspect, or a monkey, elephant, bull snake, or male or female organ of generation, the reply is that these are but symbolical transcripts of profound realities, and that the worshipper does not see penis, vulva or monster in the shapes meditated upon.

Others who hold that the One God is indivisible, believe that the making and worshipping of an idol does not take away from the divine unity. A prominent Hindu reformer, Keshab Chandra Sen, said, 'Idolatry represents millions of broken fragments of god. Collect them together and you get the Indivisible Divinity'.

Finally the orthodox Hindu will say that even the personal deity of the Jew, Christian and Muhammadan, is a subtle idol, since it is conceived and conditioned by human categories. If one insists on being completely non-idolatrous then one should reflect abstractly on the impersonal Brahma, and how many are capable of that?

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IKSHVĀKU, the founder of the Solar race of kings, and eldest son of Manu Vaivasvata. According to one legend he was born from the nostril of Manu when he once happened to sneeze (*kshav*). In another legend he came from the groin (*vaṅksh*) of Manu. His capital was Ayodhyā and he reigned there at the beginning of the second *yuga* or aeon. He and his people seem to have come from the north-west of India and were possibly of Scythian or Hun origin. Ikshvāku may have belonged to a Mongolian tribe from the region of the river Oxus (Ikshu or Vaṅkshu), as the name suggests. Another authority, remarking that *ikshu* means 'sugar-cane', which is native to India, suggests a background of aboriginal plant-totemism. Ikshvaku had one hundred sons, of whom three are prominent in Hindu mythology.

Vikukshi, the eldest son of Ikshvāku, succeeded his father at Ayodhyā. He was once sent out on a hunting expedition by his father to obtain trophies that were suitable for sacrificial offerings. Returning home with several kinds of birds and animals, he felt hungry and ate a hare from the catch. Vasishṭha, the family priest, declared that the remaining beasts were unfit for the sacrifice as they were only the leavings. Vikukshi, thereafter nicknamed 'Śaśāda' (hare-eater), was the father of the hero Purañjaya*.

Nimi, the second son of Ikshvāku, founded the dynasty of which Janaka* was the most famous king. His name is derived from *nimisha* which means 'blinker'. Legend relates that Nimi asked the priest Vasishṭha to officiate at a sacrifice that was to last a thousand years. The sage hesitated so Nimi secured the services of the *ṛishi* Gautama. This angered Vasishṭha, and he cursed Nimi to lose his bodily form; Nimi returned the curse to the priest and both perished. Vasishṭha's body was burned but the corpse of Nimi was preserved by embalming with oils and resins. The gods were willing to restore

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both king and priest to life, and Vasishṭha, accepting the offer was reborn as the issue of Mitra and Varuṇa. Nimi declined, saying that he would not again assume bodily form and become liable to the distressing separation of soul from body which he had already experienced once. The gods therefore restored Nimi by placing him in the eyes of all living creatures as their act of 'blinking'.

Daṇḍa, the third son of Ikshvāku, founded a small principality between the Godāverī and Narmadā rivers. He was a foolish youth and once ravished the daughter of the ṛishi Uśanas. The holy man made a seven-day rain of ashes fall on the place which killed all living things. In this wilderness there grew the Daṇḍaka forest, famous in Hindu legend, in which many hermitages were established. It also became the abode of wild beasts and *rākshasas* (ogres) and was the scene of many adventures of Rāma.

Books

See under Mythology.

ILAṄGŌ (*c.* AD 650) or Ilaṅkō-aḍigaḷ, though traditionally a Chola prince of the second century AD, is now known to have lived in the seventh century. He is the author of the greatest Tamil *kāvya* or longer narrative poem, called *Śilappadigāram*, the 'Jewelled Anklet', written in faultless style and regarded as one of the major classics of Tamil literature. It tells the moving story of a married couple, Kōvalaṇ and Kaṇṇagi. Having squandered his fortune on a courtesan, Kōvalaṇ returns penniless to his forgiving and uncomplaining wife. They decide to go to Madura and start life anew. His wife gives him her bejewelled golden anklet (their only wealth) to sell in the market so that they might have money for their needs. Now, the queen of Madura has lost a similar anklet and the hapless Kōvalaṇ is seized by the king's guards and slain without trial.

The poem movingly describes Kaṇṇagi's abject sorrow, her growing rage at the barbarity and injustice of her husband's fate, then her appearance before the tyrannical king and her terrible curse against him. As a result of her transcendent wrath the king dies, but she is not satisfied. Tearing off one of her breasts she flings it at the city of Madura which is engulfed in flames. Her anger is only appeased at the intercession of the city's tutelary goddess, who intervenes to save it from total destruction.

Shortly after the work was composed, Śāttaṇ (*c.* 650 AD) of Madura wrote a sequel to it called *Maṇimēgalai.* Buddhist in character, interspersed with many religious and moral precepts, it is named after the Buddhist daughter of Kōvalaṇ (above) who renounces the world and devotes herself to a religious life.

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(*See also under* Tamil.)

IMPLEMENTS. The implements that a man uses for any purpose are regarded as an extension of himself, and his means of contact with certain spheres of

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mystical experience. The weapons* of the warrior, the tools of the carpenter, blacksmith and other artisans, the writing materials of the scholar, the instruments of the musician, are all worshipped at one or other of special ceremonies devoted to the purpose. The noose and pickaxe of the thugs*, no less than the iron tongs used by the sādhu were tools of divine purpose and received due homage.

In sacrificial ceremonies, particularly in the ancient Vedic *soma** rites, a large number of sacred vessels and implements were used. They were generally rudimentary in form but specialized in use, and their ceremonial consecration occupied an important part in the preparatory soma rites. Even in simple sacrifices lasting for a single day, many different utensils were employed. In all, over one hundred varieties of such implements are named in the sacred writings. There were 17 varieties of small spoons (*chamasa*), 5 kinds of spatulas (*sphya*), 5 kinds of tongs (*saṁdaṁśa*), 7 churning sticks (*khajā*), 11 drinking cups (*graha*), 11 bowls (*śarāva*), 10 kinds of pounding and pressing stones (*chamū*), 8 kinds of pestles (*musala*), 4 kinds of mortars (*ulūkhala*), 15 types of sieves and strainers (*chālanī*), 17 kinds of dishes (*bhājana*), 13 medium storing vessels (*pātra*), 8 large storing vessels (*kalasa*), and 12 kinds of sacred pots (*bhāṇḍa*).

These were made of metal (in some cases even of gold), stone, clay or wood. Each was used for a specific purpose and none other. For instance, the *sruch* or ladles included the largest called the *dhruvā* and a number of others in decreasing size, such as the *meshaṇa*, *upabhṛit*, *juhū* (see below) and *darvī*, down to the small *sruva* which was used only for conveying sacrificial ghee from the pot to the larger ladles.

Mystical correspondences were said to exist between the sacred implements and the celestial spheres, the various heavens, the human body, the elements, the rivers, mountains and so on. The large pot or *mahāvīra* used in the soma sacrifice was thought of as being related to the sun, or was equated with the head, and in one rite the other vessels were arranged around it to resemble the human figure. Similarly, the long-handled juhū was regarded as a symbol of the tongue. The 'cup' of this ladle is beaked and has a narrow channel to permit the pouring of melted butter into the fire as an oblation to the gods. Simultaneously the priest intones a formula saying, 'With this ladle (*juhū*) I pour out the oblation (*juhomi*)', the inner significance being that the juhū represents the *jihvā* or tongue (since *juhū* also means 'caller', i.e. of the gods), and thus symbolizes the combination of the sacrificer's hand and tongue.

Books

See under Sacrifice and Sociology.

INCEST, an established social custom in olden times, was common in India no less than in many other ancient lands. The Egyptian royal families were traditionally incestuous, and the practice of marrying one's sister prevailed also in ancient Iran with the Achaemenians, and in medieval Iran with the Sasanians.

Incest was common among several tribes of pre-Aryan India and is still found in various parts of the country. Thus, the marriage customs of the

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pañchama* Baiga of Central India permit the union of grandparent and grandchild, while the Ernādan male of Malabār takes his eldest daughter as his second wife.

The Hindu levirate* system known as *niyoga* was a sort of incest, practised for the sake of raising offspring, though it appears to have been extended beyond the legitimate bounds. As examples of incestuous marriages in Hindu mythology may be cited the union of Yama and Yamī; Manu son of Vivasvat and his sister Śraddhā; Prajāpati and his daughter Ushas; Pūshan and his sister Sūryā; Śukra and his sister Gā; Aṅga and Sunītā; Viprachitti and Siṁhikā; Bharata and his three sisters; Śuka and Pīvarī; Satrājita and his ten sisters; Nahusha and his sister Virājā. Purukutsa's queen Narmadā, after her husband's death, obtained a son through her own brother. Draupada may have married his own sister to obtain Dhṛishṭadyumna and Draupadī. Kausalyā wife of Daśaratha was probably also his sister (III, p. 125); and more than one authority has suggested that Rāma and Sītā were actually brother and sister.

Dr Sarkar thinks that the *Ṛig-veda* furnishes *ṛishi* sanction for incestuous ties between a man and his sister, or even mother. The Vedic rite called *gosava* involved union with one's own mother, sister or female relative through which one secured entry into heaven. The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* relates that king Janaka of Videha, when he understood its nature, refused to undertake the rite, but a Śibi king did perform it, acting out all the requirements (I, p. 338).

Certain episodes in the Epics point to an established dynastic custom among the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas of sons succeeding to the seraglios of their father on his death, and it was apparently in keeping with ancient usage for princes to consort with all the father's wives except their own mothers (III, p. 141). Upadhya after citing several instances of incestuous practice among the ancient Indian peoples justly concludes, 'In face of these numerous data, it will be futile to hold that incest is un-Vedic'. Whatever reason the early Aryan invaders had for despising the natives, they could not despise them on the score of their incestuousness.

The promiscuity* that permeated the later extremist Tantrik cults demanded incestuous relations with one's sister, daughter, and mother, in antinomian* rites that were believed to be especially pleasing to the goddess.

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INDOLOGY is the branch of Oriental studies dealing with India, especially ancient Indian history, literature, language and religion. The basis of Indological studies was established entirely as a result of European scholarship and research, and the history of these studies may be conveniently divided into three stages. Firstly, the period of uncertainty and misrepresen-

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tation, both in favour and against. Then the period of the great Orientalists such as Jones, Wilkins and Colebrooke, when the material was assembled and the foundations laid. Lastly, the period starting from about the middle of the last century, when the scientific edifice was raised upon these foundations. Here it will only be possible to indicate the extent of these studies by a brief catalogue of the more important names.

ABRAHAM ROGER (*c.* 1651), Dutch missionary of South India, published in 1651 a Dutch translation of the poems of Bhartṛihari and a description of the customs and religion of the brāhmins, and other interesting sidelights on the 'Hidden Heathendom'.

JOHANN HANXLEDEN (1699–1732), German Jesuit priest, became acquainted with Sanskrit in India, and wrote the first Sanskrit grammar in a European language (Latin). It was not printed.

FRA PAOLINO DE SAN BARTOLOMMEO (1748–1806), Austrian Roman Catholic priest, who with the aid of Hanxleden's manuscript wrote two Sanskrit grammars (1790) and other important works for the use of Christian missionaries in India.

VOLTAIRE (1694–1778), in his 'Customs and the Spirit of the Nations' (1759) quoted with immense enthusiasm the wisdom of the *Ezour Vedan*, an alleged translation of the *Yajur Veda* which was brought to his notice. The work was later proved to be a forgery written by a Jesuit missionary.

ANQUETIL DU PERRON (1731–1805), French scholar, prevailed upon Parsi priests to teach him the language of the Avesta. He translated fifty Upanishads into Latin from a Persian translation of Dara Shikoh, under the title of 'Oupnekhat' (1801). It was this faulty and wellnigh incomprehensible translation that elicited the approbation of Schopenhauer who declared it to be 'the production of the highest wisdom'.

WARREN HASTINGS (1732–1818), English Governor-General, caused a number of brāhmin paṇḍits to prepare a digest of Hindu law based on the best ancient legal authorities. From this Sanskrit compilation a Persian version was made and the latter was translated into English and published in 1776 as *A Code of Gentoo Law* by Nathaniel Halhed (1751–1830). The introduction to this work gave specimens of the *Sanskrit* script for the first time, besides some reliable information about ancient Indian language and literature; it also drew attention to the similarities between Sanskrit and the European languages.

DUGALD STEWART (1753–1828) Scot philosopher, represents the extreme scepticism that followed Voltaire's premature enthusiasm. Stewart in an essay went so far as to 'prove' that not only Sanskrit literature but the Sanskrit language itself was a forgery of crafty brāhmin paṇḍits after Alexander's conquest, on the model of Greek. This extreme view received support from certain scholars till the middle of the nineteenth century.

The foundations of Indological studies were established in the second period to which reference has been made above. The chief credit is due to English scholars from whom the work was taken up by the French and Germans.

WILLIAM JONES (1746–94) made phenomenal contributions to linguistic studies. It was said of him that he knew every language except his own (Welsh). He translated into English such favourite perennials as *The Laws of*

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Manu, Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* (1789), Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda*, and the *Hitopadeśa*. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and was the first ever to print (1792) an edition of a Sanskrit text, the *Ṛitusaṁhāra* of *Kālidāsa*. His recognition of the relationship between Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages laid the foundations of modern philology.

CHARLES WILKINS (1750–1836) on the persuasion of Hastings studied at Banāras and became the first Englishman (Jones was Welsh) to acquire a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit. He published a Sanskrit grammar (1779) and many translations, including the *Bhagavadgītā* (1785), the *Hitopadeśa* (1788) and the *Śakuntalā* episode from the *Mahābhārata*. He was besides, acquainted with Arabic, Persian and Bengali, and became a pioneer of Indian epigraphy. He invented, designed and cast the first printing types used in India for many Indian regional languages, and thus earned the title of India's Caxton.

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE (1765–1834) another leviathan among scholars. There was no one in his day with a profounder knowledge of Hindu philosophy, law, religion, mathematics, astronomy, Sanskrit grammar, poetry, Indian architecture and even mountaineering. He was the first to deal with Sanskrit language and literature on scientific principles. He published texts, translations and essays on almost every branch of Sanskrit learning. In 1823 he helped to found the Royal Asiatic Society.

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON (1786–1860) English savant, the greatest all-round scholar of Hinduism of his time. He translated the *Ṛig-veda*, and wrote extensively on a wide variety of subjects, including Hindu law, Indian history, numismatics, music and drama. Wilson was the first to be appointed to the Boden professorship of Sanskrit, endowed by Joseph Boden (d. 1811).

JAMES PRINSEP (1799–1840) another scholar of encyclopaedic attainments, is best known for having deciphered in 1837 the Brāhmī script* of the Aśokan inscriptions, and thus laying the basis for the decipherment of other early Indian scripts. Within the space of a short life he covered a phenomenal number of subjects of Indian interest.

LÉONARD DE CHÉZY (fl. 1810) the first important French scholar of Sanskrit who mastered Sanskrit without a teacher and without going to India, with the help of English works and the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale. He became the first professor of Sanskrit at the Collège de France.

AUGUST WILHELM VON SCHLEGEL (1767–1845) German scholar and pupil of Chézy, became the first professor of Sanskrit in Germany and published many critical editions of Sanskrit works. Among his pupils was Lassen.

FRIEDRICH VON SCHLEGEL (1770–1838) brother of August Wilhelm Schlegel, was taught Sanskrit in Paris by an Englishman, Alexander Hamilton (1762–1824) who, with a group of other Englishmen, was detained in France in 1802 by a decree of Napoleon, while he was on his way back from India. Schlegel wrote 'On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians', promoted Indian philosophy in Germany, and was largely responsible for the romantic and fanciful notions about the ancient wisdom of the Aryan, the Golden Age of the Vedas, and so on.

FRANZ BOPP (1791–1867) studied under Chézy in Paris in 1812. In 1816 he published a work in German on the Sanskrit system of conjugations compar-

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ing them with the Greek, Latin, Persian and German systems, which was a landmark in the study of comparative philology.

EUGÈNE BURNOUF (1801–52), French pupil of Chézy, founded the critical study of the Vedas and the Pāli texts and made epoch-making contributions to Indo-Iranian philology and the study of Buddhist inscriptions.

This list of early pioneers excludes many names of those who blazed a trail in fields not strictly Indological. Such were WILLIAM ROXBURG (1751–1815) a Scotsman, whose *Flora Indica* (1832) published after his death has not been surpassed for graphic and accurate description, and justly earned him the title of Father of Indian Botany. Also THOMAS OLDHAM (1816–78), an Irishman whose numerous papers on the subject of geology, and his many years spent in the field, laid the foundations of Indian geology. Likewise it excludes the countless anonymous administrators and officials who compiled the excellent district gazetteers which provided much accurate and detailed material for later scholarship. If one of them, like LORD MACAULAY (1800–59) averred that he had never met a student of eastern languages who could convince him that the whole of Oriental literature was worth a single shelf of the classics of Europe, there were others, like JAMES TOD (1782–1835) who in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829) penned a record of a romantic and colourful age that is now an accepted Indian classic.

In the third period we find the field flooded with a host of distinguished savants, who built up the imposing edifice of Indological studies that we know today. The names of a few outstanding scholars are given below in alphabetical order, with a brief remark of their fields of study and their main achievements.

THEODOR AUFRECHT (1822–1903), his *Catalogus Catalogorum* gives a comprehensive list of Sanskrit authors and their works.

AUGUSTE BARTH (b. 1834), Indian antiquities, inscriptions, Buddhism and other Indian religions.

JULES BARTHELÈMY SAINT HILAIRE (1805–95), a Frenchman, studied under Burnouf, was an authority on Aristotle and on the Vedas and Buddhism.

THEODOR BENFEY (1809–81), German, authority on the *Sāma-veda* and Vedic linguistics.

OTTO VON BÖHTLINGK (1815–1904) collaborator with Roth in the compilation of the St. Petersburg Dictionary; he dealt with the Sanskrit period.

GEORG BÜHLER (1837–98), German, wrote on philosophy, archaeology and palaeography.

JAMES BURGESS (b. 1832) a Scotsman, he specialized in Indian rock temples and epigraphy.

ROBERT CALDWELL (1814–91) Scots missionary, left a permanent legacy in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1856).

SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM (1814–93), Indian geography, epigraphy, numismatics, engineering, archaeology and surveying.

THOMAS WILLIAM RHYS DAVIDS (1843–1922), Buddhism and Pāli texts, and the Buddhist period of Indian history.

PAUL DEUSSEN (b. 1845), German, authority on Hindu philosophy and mysticism, especially Vedānta.

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MICHAEL FAUSBÖLL (b. 1821), a Dane, first began the study of Pāli on scientific lines, called the Father of Pāli study.
JAMES FERGUSSON (1808–86) Scotsman, wrote epoch-making works on Indian and Eastern architecture.
JOHN FAITHFUL FLEET (b. 1847) authority on Gupta and other early Indian inscriptions.
THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER (1821–72) German, authority on Sanskrit philology and grammar, specializing in Pāṇini.
SIR GEORGE GRIERSON (1851–1941), an Irishman, specialized in the vernacular languages of India; produced his monumental *Linguistic Survey of India*, which took 30 years to complete, listed 872 languages, and gave the comparative vocabularies of 368 of these.
AUGUSTUS HOERNLE (b. 1841), German, wrote on Prākṛit grammar and the comparative grammar of north Indian languages.
EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS (b. 1857), American; wrote studies on the caste system, Manu, the Epics, the religions of India.
EUGEN HULTZSCH (b. 1857) German, studied epigraphy and specialized in South Indian inscriptions.
HERMANN JACOBI (b. 1850), German, wrote on ancient Indian law, Hindu chronology and Indian antiquities.
JULIUS JOLLY (b. 1849) German, recognized as an outstanding authority on Indian law.
ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH (b. 1879) wrote on Sanskrit drama, literature and religion; author of the *Vedic Index* in collaboration with Macdonell.
JOHN CASPAR KERN (b. 1833), Dutch, authority on Buddhism and Buddhist texts. Collaborated with Roth in the St Petersburg Dictionary.
FRANK KIELHORN (b. 1840), German, taught at Göttingen; authority on Indian grammar, epigraphy and chronology.
CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (b. 1850), American, pupil of Whitney's; edited an extensive series of Sanskrit works published by Harvard University.
CHRISTIAN LASSEN (1800–76), Norwegian, although he regarded himself as a German; studied under A. W. von Schlegel; appears never to have visited India. Wrote on Prākṛit grammar and the Indian epics, and founded the critical and historical school of Sanskrit philology in Germany.
SYLVAIN LÉVI (b. 1863), French, specialized in the Hindu religion, and the brāhminical sacrificial system, and did notable work in the field of North Indian, Central Asian and Far Eastern language.
ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL (1854–1926), Scotsman, wrote on Vedic grammar and mythology and also a Sanskrit dictionary; compiled the *Vedic Index* in collaboration with Keith.
JOHN MCCRINDLE (b. 1825) a Scotsman, classical scholar, wrote on the classical references to India, culled from Megasthenes, Arrian, Ctesias, Ptolemy, Cosmas and other Greek, Roman and ancient sources.
SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS (1819–99) wrote many popular though learned works on Indian philosophy, grammar and religions.
JOHN MUIR (1810–82) Scotsman, edited a number of Sanskrit texts which were for decades the mainstay of scholars.
FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER (1823–1900) British national of German birth;

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studied under Bopp and Burnouf; on a commission from the East India Company brought out a famous edition of the *Ṛig-veda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, in 1849–75; Edited the series of *Sacred Books of the East*, and published a vast number of books and articles on subjects of Indian interest.

SERGE OLDENBURG (b. 1863), Russian, authority on Indian art, comparative literature and Buddhism.

F. E. PARGITER (1852–1927), English, specialized in traditional history and Purāṇic studies.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1869–1938), Belgian, studied under Sénart and Lévi; wrote on Buddhist metaphysics and logic; although he wrote learnedly on ancient Indian history, it was as a 'Buddhologist' that he wished to be known.

E. J. RAPSON (1861–1937) specialized in the Scythian and Parthian periods of Indian history.

RUDOLPH VON ROTH (1821–95) German, pupil of Burnouf; was the founder of Vedic and Avestic philology (*see* nirukta); collaborated with Böhtlingk and Kern in the compilation of the St Petersburg Dictionary in 1852, which was published by the Academy of Fine Arts and Sciences, St Petersburg, in seven volumes.

LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER (b. 1851), German, specialized in ancient Indian philology and Buddhism.

ÉMILE SÉNART (b. 1847), French; wrote on Pāli, Aśoka, Buddhism, and related topics.

VINCENT SMITH (1848–1920), wrote works on Indian history that for clarity, judgment and perspicuity, remained models for half a century.

SÖREN SÖRENSEN (1848–1902) Dane, specialized in the *Mahābhārata* and completed an index of all names in that epic, besides other indispensable aids to the study of the subject.

SIR AUREL STEIN (b. 1862) of Hungarian origin, wrote on north-west India, Kashmīr, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan and Central Asia.

CHARLES STUART (1758–1828) known chiefly as a passionate collector of Hindu idols and antiquities, by fair means or foul, and for his immense knowledge of Hindus, which gave him the nickname of 'Hindu Stuart'.

ALBRECHT WEBER (1825–1901), German, pioneer in Prākṛit and Jain studies; edited several Sanskrit texts.

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY (1827–94), American, wrote on the Vedas, the *Atharva-veda*, philology and Sanskrit grammar.

SIR JOHN WOODROFFE, English, wrote in his own name as well as under the pen-name of Arthur Avalon, on Tantrism and Śaktism, although he often took the role of an apologist for its worst features.

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INDRA, the most celebrated god of the *Ṛig-veda*. More hymns are addressed to him than to any other deity except Agni. In a Ṛig-vedic triad of gods, Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya – Indra often replaced Vāyu. He belongs to the early Iranian period of the Aryan migration, and his name has been deciphered as 'In-da-ra' in a fourteenth century BC inscription at Boghaz Koi in Asia Minor.

Although first among the Vedic gods he is not uncreated, for he had parents: 'a mighty god begot him with a heroic female'. In some myths he is the son of Dyaus and Pṛithivī, and in others the twin brother of Agni regent of the East.

Indra gradually supplanted Varuṇa in the leadership of the early Vedic pantheon. His worship probably represents a phase of the Aryan invasion more active in opposing and subduing the aboriginal tribes of India than the era of the serene and metaphysical Varuṇa. At first he emerges as a god of the atmosphere and weather, of lightning and thunder, rain and dew; then as his boldness in battle is proven he becomes the terrible Lord of Hosts, the leader of the gods, 'without whose aid men never conquer'.

Indra is golden or red in colour; he rides in a golden chariot called *vimāna*, driven by his philosophical charioteer Mātali (*see* Yayāti) and drawn by two tawny horses. He is often depicted with four arms, holding his mighty weapon* the *vajra* (thunderbolt), his *parañja* or lance, and a quiver of arrows. The rainbow, *śakra-dhanus*, is his bow. He also carries a great hook with which to trip and slay his foes, and his net of illusions, Indra-jāla, in which he ensnares his enemies. He is attended by the Maruts, the Vidyādhar, and the Vasu. The animals associated with him are Airāvata his celestial elephant*, Uchchhaiḥ-śravas his white horse*, and his dog* Saramā.

Indra rules over the firmament and is regent of the eastern quarter. His paradise*, among whose inhabitants are the ravishing *apsarās* and the sweet-voiced *gandharvas*, is called Svarga. In early legends Indra is shown constantly waging war with demons, *daityas*, *dānavas* and asuras, who try to prevent him from dispensing his treasures of rain and dew on the earth. Foremost among his enemies are Vṛitra demon of drought, the serpent demon Ahi, and the asuras* Keśin, Vala, Jambha and Namuchi, who represent not only the atmospheric phenomena but also the various aboriginal peoples who opposed the Aryan advance. Indra fights victoriously against these creatures and their black, noseless, uncouth hosts, scattering their numbers and razing their sanctuaries one by one. In the sight of Indra they were an abomination; worshippers of trees and rivers, the phallus and the snake, of demons and goblins. 'They do not perform sacrifices; they do not believe in anything; their rites are different; they are not men. O destroyer of foes, kill them! Destroy the whole race!' This poignant appeal for the destruction of the aborigines is a Ṛig-vedic prayer to Indra.

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Indra occasionally exploits the weaknesses of mortals. To those who would disturb his peace by their excessive austerities he sends the beautiful nymphs of his celestial realm to distract them with seductive dances. He himself has an inordinate partiality for great draughts of *soma* juice and sensual pleasure, two failings which are frequently dwelt upon in the later myths.

The *Atharva-veda* contains an episode in which Indra falls in love with a female *dānava* and deserts his celestial abode; he goes to live among the *dānavas* (giants) assuming the form of a female among the females and of a male among the males. On another occasion, pleased with the devotion of Śrutāvatī, daughter of Bharadvāja*, he carries her off to his paradise. He fails to seduce Ruchī, wife of the *ṛishi* Devaśarma, but succeeds with Ahalyā wife of the sage Gotama, and with the fair Śachī daughter of the dānava Puloman (*see* Chyavana). Śachī's beauty so captivates him that he marries her and she is thereafter referred to in the *Ṛig-veda* as Indrāṇī. She is also called Aindrī, Paulomī, and Pushpotkaṭā. In the *Mahābhārata* the king Nahusha* becomes enamoured of her. Indra and Indrāṇī were the parents of a son, Jayanta (also called Jaya), and a daughter Jayantī (also called Jayanī, Devasenā and Tāvīshī). Mythologically Indra was also the father of Arjuna, for whose sake he deprived Karṇa of his miraculous coat of mail giving him a wonderful javelin in its place.

In subsequent myths, especially those of the brāhminical and later Hindu periods, Indra is relegated to the background. He suffers a change, a slow but progressive attenuation of his powers. He is defeated by Vishṇu and Śiva and time and again discomfited by Kṛishṇa. He receives a setback from the ṛishi Chyavana* and is worsted by Meghanāda* son of Rāvaṇa; he is cursed by Durvāsas* for showing the sage disrespect; he surrenders his throne to Raji, grandson of Purūravas*; is obliged to go around begging for a little sacrificial butter; and is haunted for the crime of having killed a brāhmin. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* shows Indra as a student of the doctrine of Brahma, which sophisticated teaching he was able to grasp only with considerable difficulty.

Indra is also known as Arha, 'honoured'; Datteya, 'bestower'; Deva-pati, 'lord of gods'; Devendra, 'Indra the deity'; Divas-pati, 'atmosphere chief'; Jambha-bhedin, 'Jambha-slayer'; Jishṇu, leader towards victory; Maghavān, 'bountiful'; Mahendra, 'great Indra'; Marut-vān, 'wind-lord'; Megha-vāhana, 'cloud-vehicled'; Netra-yoni, 'eye-yoni', from the marks received from Gotama*; Pāka-śāsana, subduer of the demon Pāka; Puraṁ-dara, 'city-destroyer' (*see* Anārya); Ṛibhukshan, 'first of the Ṛibhus'; Sahasrāksha, 'thousand-eyed', from the marks made by Gotama; Śakra, 'mighty'; Śata-kratu, 'hundred-rited', the god of a hundred rites; Sa-yoni, 'with yoni', from the marks received from Gotama; Sura-nāyaka, 'leader of the gods'; Sutrāman, 'guardian'; Svarga-pati, 'paradise-lord'; Ugra-dhanvan, 'of the dreadful bow'; Ulūka, 'owl'; Vajra-pāṇi, 'thunderbolt in the hand'; Vala-bhid, 'Vala-slayer'; Vasavya, 'possessing wealth'; Vṛitra-han, 'Vṛitra-slayer'.

Books

See under Mythology.

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INDUS VALLEY. The Indus Valley was the site of a considerable civilization that flourished between 2500 and 1000 BC. Its existence was unknown and unsuspected till a few decades ago when the first relics were brought to light by Sir John Marshall and his assistants, notably R. D. Banerji and D. R. Sahni, during their excavations in the region in 1924. This ancient civilization extended as far north as Rupar on the river Sutlej at the foot of the Simla hills, as far west as Baluchistān and Makrān, and southwards to Lothal in Kāṭhiāwār. The most notable sites so far uncovered are Mohenjodaro, 260 miles upstream from Karachi on the west bank of the lower Indus, and Harappā about 115 miles south-west of Lahore.

From the excavations we know that the chief towns of the Indus Valley were planned with scientific care, and were divided into convenient administrative zones, with excellent, wide streets, laid out at right angles, running due north-south and east-west. The main street at Mohenjodaro is 33 feet wide. Along these thoroughfares wheeled vehicles, built presumably like the toy carts found in the ruins, transported men and goods. There was a remarkable drainage system of pottery drain pipes, covered sewers and vaulted subterranean conduits, that took care of excess water from the streets during the rainy season, and channelled waste water from the houses.

The buildings were of burnt or sun-dried brick, some measuring 20 inches long, 10 inches broad, and 3 inches thick, set in mud mortar. No stone was used and the absence of ornamentation, so common in later Indian architecture, is conspicuous. Houses were provided with an ample number of doors, windows and open courtyards, as in the Mesopotamian valley of its own day. They were flat roofed, sometimes two or more stories high, with many rooms, some even with their own separate baths attached. There was also an efficient system for the disposal of domestic refuse.

Besides the numerous dwellings there are a few spacious residences of elaborate design with large pillared chambers, which may have been palaces or assembly halls. Mohenjodaro also contains the ruins of a large public bath with steps leading down to the water and ingenious arrangements for filling and emptying the pool. The open quadrangle of the bath itself is surrounded by galleries and rooms on all sides. Curiously no temple has so far been unearthed in the Indus Valley, nor any building that can be said to have had a specifically religious purpose. But the largest building of all has not been excavated as it now lies under a Buddhist stupa, which may have been superimposed on the most sacred spot of the city, and which cannot be demolished or damaged. For the present therefore there is no chance of finding out whether the huge edifice is a temple after all.

Like Elam, Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Caucasus regions, the Indus Valley was a centre of a chalcolithic (copper) culture. Iron was unknown to Mohenjodaro and Harappā. But the people were skilled metal workers; they made fine jewellery, bronze implements, beakers of copper, and saws, chisels and knives of different metals. They used the cire perdue method for casting bronze, and the famous figure of the dancing girl (see below) is done by this process. Pottery of various kinds has been found in abundance. The pottery was turned on a fast lathe and then highly glazed, and ornamented with black bands or more rarely with figures of birds and animals and geometrical

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designs. The Indus Valley people were artistic, but the tendency to exaggerate their artistic achievements must be resisted. It is by no means outstanding and its influence is quite unknown.

Further finds include a number of small figures in steatite, burnt clay or limestone, and children's toys shaped like birds and animals, an animal that moves its head, and toy carts. Particular interest attaches to a large number of square or oblong seals, of ivory, faience or steatite, found in the diggings. The term 'seals' is used for convenience, since their exact purpose is unknown, although the fact that some are perforated suggests that they might have been worn around the neck on a string; others may have had a ritual function. They are all beautifully carved and glazed, with animals, birds, men and gods represented on them. In some we find representations of the swastika, in others of the chakra or wheel, and in yet others the cross, all magical symbols employed perhaps in their cult rites. Some of the seals bear inscriptions in a rectilinear script which is as yet undeciphered. It consists of nearly 400 distinct signs, and progresses as a rule from right to left, in a few cases in the opposite direction, and even, where there is more than one line, in both directions alternately.

The dress* of the Indus Valley people was akin to that of the inhabitants of Sumer, Chaldea and Egypt, a loincloth or drape, with a shawl for the upper body, and a form of turban for the head. Both men and women were fond of adorning their bodies with jewellery. Headbands, necklaces, armlets, bangles, rings, nose-studs, earrings, girdles, anklets, made of gold, silver and other metals, and inlaid with jade, crystal, agate, turquoise, amethyst, carnelian, chalcedony, jasper, and lapis-lazuli, have been found in the excavation sites.

The food eaten by the Indus Valley folk included beef, mutton, pork, tortoise and turtle flesh, fresh river fish from the Indus, dried sea fish imported from the coast, and poultry. From specimens of wheat and barley found it seems that they were not of the wild variety, but cultivated.

The absence of a cemetery at Mohenjodaro suggests that cremation was the customary mode of disposal there. The ashes were placed in urns, and the unburnt bones buried in jars. The dead also appear to have been exposed to birds and the bones later collected in jars. There is, however, a large cemetery at Harappa, which reveals considerable care in the disposal of the dead. The bodies were buried fully extended, head generally to the north, and the graves were equipped with pottery vessels (which may have contained food and drink) along with articles of personal adornment and toilet. In the later cemeteries there is evidence of 'fractional' burials, only the skulls and larger bones being interred. Cremation was also practiced in Harappā though apparently on a smaller scale.

Frequent representations of the snake and the humped ox point to the existence of zoolatrous cults, although the absence of the cow, whose veneration seems to have begun with the Indo-Aryans, and of the horse and camel which appear to have been brought by the Central Asian nomads, is worthy of note. Besides, sacred trees like the *pīpal* and the *nīm* also figure in the seal engravings, both probably symbols of an originally proto-Australoid religion.

Among the deities we find the Mother Goddess, often richly bejewelled and

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sometimes pregnant or nursing an infant. One seal shows her standing under a pīpal tree, awaiting the sacrifice of a goat that a worshipper is seen bringing before her. Kālī and Durgā of eastern India may derive directly from the Mother Goddess of the Indus Valley.

Another deity frequently depicted resembles the Hindu Mahādeva. Marshall refers to it as 'a prototype of the historic Śiva', a famous phrase that is accepted as perfectly illuminating the hoary ancestry of one of the greatest of Hindu deities. He is sometimes shown horned, crested, or three-faced, and seated in a contemplative posture surrounded by various animals, thus prefiguring Śiva as Chandra-śekhara (moon-crested), as Tri-mukha (three-faced), as Paśu-pati (beast-lord), and Mahā-yogi (great ascetic).

One of the seal figures is seated in a typically crosslegged yogi *āsana*, the classic Indian meditation pose; another depicts a deity in the *kāyotsarga* posture, a standing āsana peculiar to Jain yogis; a third shows the head of a bearded yogi with eyes fixed on the tip of his nose. This evidence of yogic practice more than ten centuries before the Aryan advent gives food for reflection, for yogic exercises go with yogic contemplation and philosophy. Some at least of the six orthodox schools of Hindu philosophy are not Aryan at all.

The sexual symbolization of the cults of the Śiva prototype and the Mother Goddess, is further emphasized by the erect phallus of the squatting deity, and a number of conical and cylindrical stones representing the liṅga and ring stones representing the yoni, which indicate that like the later forms of Śiva and Śakti worship, these early cults were phallic.

Two other prototypes deserve mention. One is the well-known figure of a female dancer in movement, shown standing on one leg, with the other crooked in front of her; this stance could be a forerunner of the classic pose of the Dancing Śiva. The other is the unicorn, shown in some of the seals, which some scholars consider the plastic origin of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu.

The Indus Valley people were made up of various racial elements. The region was clearly the crossroads of many cultures and the meeting-ground of peoples from different parts of Asia, Europe and Africa. Examination of the skeletal remains, craniological evidence and a study of the types depicted in the seals and statuettes, bespeak of physically different racial groups – Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Sumerian and Alpinoid – as also of free racial mixture.

The original inhabitants may have been primitive tribes of Negritos and Proto-Australoids, to which intrusive elements such as Sumerians and Alpinoids may have been added. It would appear that the chief ethnic ingredient was provided by a race of Mediterranean type related to the Sumerians, who probably came to India about 2500 BC by way of the Mula Pass and the coastal route which runs through Las Bela and the Makrān and crosses the Hab river near Karachi. They may have been the forebears of the Dravidians, some of whom forged southwards to the Deccan and became the progenitors of the Dravidian races. The Alpinoids likewise, represented by peoples like the Magas* who were settled for centuries in south-west Persia and the Central Iranian plateau, may in turn have passed through the

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Indus Valley in intermittent waves, a few settling down there, others proceeding eastward by way of the Himālayan foothills and the Gangetic plain to settle in Magadha (*see* Vrātyas).

There is evidence in plenty of contact with other contemporary nations. They were in touch with Central and Western Asia, and carried on extensive trade with Sumeria, Egypt and Crete, in seaworthy vessels which they built themselves. Foodstuffs came from distant places, and certain articles of domestic furniture were identical with those found in ancient Susa and Assyria; while in civic organization, in the cultivation of grains, in the domestication and use of cattle and sheep, in metallurgy, in textiles, in the manufacture of kiln brick and pottery, in the art of drilling stones for beads, in the fondness for lapis-lazuli and their knowledge of faience, we discern a common background with Egypt and Sumeria. Indeed, the presence of Indian seals, or close copies of Indian seals in Mesopotamian cities and in Susa establishes beyond dispute the fact of close intercourse between India and the western world from earliest times.

There has been much speculation as to the causes that brought about the end of the Indus Valley civilization. The alteration in the course of the Indus river may have been one factor. It is known that Mohenjodaro was destroyed, chiefly by inundation from the Indus, and rebuilt no less than seven times. It could be that a final cataclysmic flood overwhelmed the whole area. Climatic change, an epidemic or pestilence have also been suggested as possible factors. But the bulk of scholarly opinion leans to the view that the peaceful and prosperous cities of the Indus Valley were sacked by successive hordes of Aryan barbarians from the Iranian highlands who came with deadlier weapons and stronger arms. The populace of the walled towns were not warlike and had poor defences. Mohenjodaro was sacked and pillaged and its inhabitants slain without mercy. Groups of skeletons of men, women and children, in contorted attitudes, found in the houses and the streets, tell all to plainly that the end of this flourishing civilization was abrupt and savage.

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INITIATION into a religious order is effected by a rite known as *dīkshā*, 'enhallowment', a ceremonial observance undertaken with the purpose of raising one from the profane to the sacred level, to sanctify one for a special task or occasion. In the past it applied in particular to the solemn prepara-

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tions of the *yajamāna* (sacrificer) for the *soma* sacrifice, and Dīkshā was therefore personified as the wife of Soma. The term later came to cover all consecration or initiation ceremonies.

Popularly the word is used for the rite by which a person is initiated into the mysteries of an esoteric order by his guru. This kind of initiation is given by degrees, depending on the spiritual development of the pupil, and ratified by the solemn oath that the secrets of the order will be kept inviolate. In certain cases the ceremony is preceded by a vigil and fast, during which time the candidate shows his 'imperfect' state by stammering when he speaks, stumbling or limping when he walks, and keeping the last three fingers of his left hand clenched in his fist. It is only when he comes before his guru at the commencement of the ceremony that he acts normally again.

The initial dīkshā of any particular line of spiritual succession is usually said to be given by a god direct to the founder. The god either appears to him in a dream or vision, or gives some other indication of his presence, and during this epiphany entrusts him with the commission to start the cult. This commission may be given to an adept while he is in a trance or on one of the occult planes. The founder (or more rarely the god himself) is referred to as the *ādiguru*, 'first guru', of the sect. At each subsequent dīkshā the whole line of spiritual ancestors, starting from the ādiguru, present themselves to witness the ceremony.

The dīkshā generally proceeds through the following stages: (*a*) a rite of prayer and homage to the guru by the prospective candidate; (*b*) a testing of the candidate's knowledge of the sectarian doctrines, of his powers of endurance, of his devotion to the guru, and so on; (*c*) sometimes there is a fire ceremony in which symbolic funeral rites are performed over the candidate; (*d*) the *abhisheka* or aspersion* of the candidate with consecrated water by the guru to purify him; (*e*) a test of the candidates proficiency in the practical teachings of the sect, e.g. the technique of sitting in an *āsana* position; breathing exercises; relaxation; harnessing the mind; concentration; meditation and worship; (*f*) finally, the whispering into the candidate's ear of the *rahasya* (secret* doctrine) or the *mantra** (magic formula) of the cult, through which power and enlightenment appropriate to his grade is communicated to him in a flash. Usually this mantra is no more than some prosaic formula from the Upanishads, and few indeed speak of any flash of sudden illumination.

The initiate of a sect is said to be superior to the rest of the world. In tantrik rites he is called *vīra* or hero, as distinguished from the *paśu* or herd, i.e. the unitiated rest of humanity. In this hierarchy the guru himself is *divya*, celestial or divine, and above both good and evil.

Books

See under Sacraments, and Sacrifice.

IRAN. The association of Iran and India stretches back to remote antiquity. We find the fruit of this contact in the Indus Valley, in the Indo-Aryan religion (*see* Aryan), in the Persian and Parthian cultural influences that came by way of the north-west in the Mauryan and Gupta dynastic periods,

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and in particular in the Moghul period of Indian history. Indeed, without the Iranian contribution we should miss much of the glorious pageantry that constitutes the history of the Indian subcontinent.

Ceramic evidence of Indo-Iranian intercourse is available from the fourth millennium BC (V), but apart from pottery the association is confirmed by the fact that the Indus Valley people imported copper, tin and bronze from Bactria, turquoise from Khorasan, and silver from Yezd, long before the Aryan advent. R. E. M. Wheeler thinks that the indications of a sudden maturity in the development of urban life in Mohenjodaro and Harappā suggest the intrusion of a perfect scheme, and adds, 'We are almost driven to suppose that the *civic idea* came to India in some fashion from Mesopotamia or south-western Iran'.

Ethnically the Aryans who descended upon the Indian plains and presumably brought the Indus Valley civilization to an end, belonged to a common stock with the Iranians. They had a primitive form of Aryan worship and established a new civilization in northern India which they eventually spread by conquest or crusade over the whole Indo-Gangetic plain.

The chief Aryan dynasties of Vedic and Epic times were mainly established in the region of the Ganges, while Indus India for long remained the zone of conflict between invading tribes and peoples. During the sixth century BC Persian monarchs had established their authority over the north-western provinces, but it seems from ancient traditions, parts of which have been preserved in Firdausi's *Shahnameh* and Ferishta's *History*, that Persian suzerainty in India had an even earlier origin. These legends appertain to the pre-Achaemenian semi-historical Pishdadian and Keianian dynasties. Some scholars see indications in certain Avestan passages of a political hold which Iran had secured over northern India in these early times (IV, p. 39), and in fact more than one Persian king before Darius is believed to have invaded India. But conquest was not the only motive of these expeditions, for although some came for territorial aggrandisement others came for refuge and yet others for religious ends. There is a legend that when the tyrant Zohak attacked Persia, the infant prince Faridun was sent by his mother to India for safe keeping. Legend also relates that the hero Asfandiar came to India and persuaded the ruling monarch to abandon idolatry and adopt fire-worship and the Zoroastrian faith.

CYRUS the Great (558–530 BC) founder of the Achaemenian dynasty, conquered the border territory between Iran and India, and extended his sway up to the Erythrean Sea, i.e. the Indian Ocean, levying tribute from the Indian ruler. It is said that he received his death wound from the hand of an Indian fighting on the side of the frontier tribe of the Derbikes, to whom the Indians supplied war elephants. According to Dr H. C. Seth this historic battle left such an impression on the Indian mind that it may have been the original nucleus around which the tale of the *Mahābhārata* evolved.

The domains of Cyrus were further broadened by DARIUS the Great (522–486 BC) who annexed the Indus valley and occupied the Panjāb in 518 BC making this rich area the twentieth satrapy of his empire. It paid him an enormous tribute in gold and gold dust, and also supplied a light division to the Persian forces. Darius proceeded to send a naval expedition under the

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Greek captain Scylax of Caryanda to explore the valley of the Indus so that he might be better acquainted with his acquisition.

The Indian mercenaries of Darius were inherited by XERXES, and they helped him in his war against Greece, fighting as spearmen and bowmen at Thermopylae and sharing the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea. They are described by Herodotus as clad in cotton garments and armed with cane bows and iron-tipped cane arrows. Xerxes had the pious Zoroastrian's distaste for the worship of dark spirits and demons, for we find from inscriptions on the newly discovered stone tablets at Persepolis that he sapped the foundations of certain Indian temples and ordered that their deities 'shall not be worshipped'. In their stead the king now ordered the worship of Ahura Mazda.

Still later, under DARIUS III, a contingent of Indian hillmen was attached to the Persian forces who fought against Alexander at the battle of Gaugamela on the Tigris in 331 BC, which sealed the fate of the Persian Empire. To quote R. E. M. Wheeler, 'When Alexander the Great, as self-made heir to the Persian Empire entered India in 326 BC, he was not merely opening the way to Greek influence in the East, but was confirming the traditional link between India and Iran'. During and after the Macedonian period Iran remained the cultural bond between Greece and India.

Persian culture vastly impressed Alexander the Great, and the Greeks never ceased to be in awe of the imperial grandeur of Iran (VIII, p. 10). The Seleucids and even more so the Romans respected the might and admired the glory of this nation, which, even in decay, remained the greatest empire known to the pre-Roman world. Nearly two hundred years of Persian rule in the Panjāb must therefore have left a considerable mark on Indian thought and life, a legacy clearly discernible in the most famous dynasty of ancient India, that of the Mauryas.

The influence of Iran on Mauryan civilization is now regarded as a matter beyond dispute. The royal palace at Pāṭaliputra was raised on the Persepolitan model, and Persian stonemasons and architects were employed by Chandragupta Maurya to design and construct the buildings. Persepolitan patterns are discernible in the palace columns* and capitals, which suggest the hypostyle throne-room of Darius and Xerxes. The edicts on the rocks and pillars employed by Aśoka for the propagation of the Good Law were clearly modelled on the cuneiform rock-inscriptions of the Persian kings. Summarizing this phase Dr Raychaudhuri states that, besides the Persepolitan capital, the Persians introduced the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, including some of the words in Aśoka's inscriptions, and that Persian influences may be traced in the preamble to the Aśokan edicts.

Even the Royal Road running through the Mauryan emperor's domains finds its parallel in the arterial highway from Susa to Sardis. In numismatics too we descry the Persian prototype, as we also probably do in the very name of the Mauryan dynasty. From the account given of Chandragupta's court by Megasthenes we gather that the Mauryan emperor lived in Persian style, having acquired this manner of life during his long exile in the Persianized Panjāb (VI, p. 28). His empire was administered on Persian lines under the guidance of Kauṭilya who may himself have been of Persian descent.

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As in art, architecture and administration, so in a hundred lesser facets of the Mauryan age we see the reflection of Persian ideas and prototypes. So strong did the evidence of Persian influence seem to Dr Spooner, the excavator of the Mauryan capital of Pāṭaliputra, that he was prompted to speak of the Mauryan age as 'the Zoroastrian period of Indian history' (III, p. 4).

Zoroastrian influence continued throughout the succeeding Sasanian period. The Parthian Pahlavas of India were essentially Persians, and all the other neighbouring 'barbarian' dynasties came directly in their sphere of influence. More than one north Indian ruler at this time appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of powerful Sasanian kings. The Muslim historian Ferishta describes the conquest by ARDASHIR I, Babagan (AD 226–41), founder of the Sasanian dynasty, of India's north-western borderlands as far as Sirhind, beyond the Sutlej. Some historians, like Vincent Smith, maintain that there was an 'unrecorded' Sasanian invasion of Sind and the Panjāb about AD 280–290, during the reign of BAHRAM II (AD 276–93). The Paikuli inscription (*c.* AD 290) cites several kings, including Indian rulers of the Saurāshṭras, Avantis, Kushāns, Śakas and Ābhīras, as feudatories of the Sasanians.

The Sasanian emperor HORMAZD II (AD 301–10) married a Kushān princess from North India, and thus helped to establish closer ties between the two countries. An inscription attributed to SHAHPUR II (310–379) referring to a Sasanian governor, and inscriptions on certain coins, suggest Sasanian rule of the Sindhu valley in the fourth and fifth centuries. At this time too BAHRAM GUR (AD 436) visited India, and returned to Iran with an Indian princess. By matrimonial alliances and sometimes through warfare the Sindhu valley belonged to Persia again by AD 500.

Both KHUSRAU I, the Just (Anushirwan) (531–79) and his grandson KHUSRAU II, the Conqueror (Parviz) (590–628) were united by treaties and an interchange of gifts with the rulers of Sind and even of South India. The Chālukya king PULAKEŚIN II (609–642) who had direct relations with the Persian emperor, appealed to the latter for help in his struggle against Harsha. About the year AD 625 the Persian monarch received an embassy from the Chālukya king, and a return embassy was sent from Persia. A fresco painting in one of the Ajantā caves is believed to commemorate this event, and according to scholarly opinion the painting also shows that the Ajantā school of pictorial art was in part derived from Persia. This view was supported by Strzygowski, who considered that some aspects of Ajantā art were indeed 'Iranian in origin'.

Later Buddhist iconography also bears certain Iranian features, the most notworthy being the nimbus or aureole, which in due time spread all over India and became especially prominent in the flaming nimbus around the South Indian Dancing Śiva. In science too the debt is considerable in the fields of mathematics, mechanics and above all astronomy. The use of the term 'Tajik' for a section of Indian astronomy 'attests to the influence and amplitude of Persian intercourse with India' (I, p. 30). Indo-Persian trade and cultural contact reached its peak under the Sasanians, leaving an indelible impress on Indian dress styles, modes of cooking, women's cosmetics, and the art motifs of the jeweller and metal-worker.

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During the reign of KHUSRAU PARVIZ (590–628) a large group of Persian immigrants landed in Western India, and one of their leaders, believed to have been the son of Khusrau Parviz, became the progenitor of the ruling Rājput family of Udaipur. There is, in fact, a traditional connection between the Rānās of Mewār and the Sasanian kings; Abul Fazl (1590) stated that the Rānās of Mewār considered themselves descendants of the Sasanian king Anushirwan the Just. Direct Persian influence, particularly in Sind and Rājputāna continued till AD 700, shortly after which it was brought to a close by the Muhammadan conquest of Sind and Multān in AD 711.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Indo-Persian intercourse at this period, was the influx of western ideas, from and through Iran, into India. Persia provided the bridge for the transmission of fresh, invigorating notions from the Roman world, some of which found expression with the rise of the Gupta Empire. There is in fact abundant evidence that the remarkable intellectual and artistic output of the Guptas was largely the product of the contact between the civilization of India and that of Rome.

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JAGANNĀTHA (*jagan-nātha*, 'world-lord'), a form of Kṛishṇa widely worshipped in Bengal and Orissa. The legend goes that when Kṛishṇa was killed by Jaras the hunter, his body was left to rot under a tree, until it was found by a pious person who cremated the bones and placed the ashes in a box. Later, the king of Avanti, Indradyumna, directed by Vishṇu, requested the divine artisan Viśvakarman to mould an image from the holy relics. Viśvakarman agreed to undertake the task on condition that he was left undisturbed till its completion. Indradyumna became impatient after fifteen days and went to see how the work was progressing and the enraged artisan left the image incomplete, a mere stump without hands or feet. Brahmā gave it eyes and a soul and himself acted as chief priest at its consecration, and Indradyumna offered a sacrifice of a hundred horses in honour of the occasion.

There is considerable uncertainty about the antecedents of Jagannātha and of the origin of **Purī** ('The Town'), which is now the centre of his worship. Purī was known as a place of aboriginal sacrosanctity, and some hold that Jagannātha was a deity of the Kolarian tribe of the Śavaras and other aborigines of the region. This was also the site where the sacred ember (or

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log) brought from Śvetadvīpa was first kindled. Śvetadvīpa*, 'White Island', is one of the mysteries of ancient Indian geography, and has been variously identified with the 'West', with Greece, with Alexandria, with the kingdom of Parthia and with Scythia, and the legend may only allude to the lighting of a sacred fire by early sun-worshipping immigrants from the north-west. The enclosure of the temple of Jagannātha still has a shrine dedicated to the Sun, and one of the best-known sun temples in India is situated in Konārak not far from Purī.

The Buddhists, in consonance with their practice of setting up shrines in places already hallowed by ancient, especially Maga*, associations, also confirmed Purī as a religious centre. Dantapura, 'tooth town', where the relic of Buddha's left canine tooth was enshrined until it was finally transferred to Ceylon, is believed to have been the town of Purī.

From about AD 300 this part of Orissa* was occupied by Hinduized Yavanas (Greeks) and according to tradition an image of Jagannātha in the identical incomplete form wrought by Viśvakarman first appeared at Purī in about AD 318, and a shrine built to house it, which suggests that it was brought from outside along with the legend of Indradyumna. A ruler of the succeeding Keśāri dynasty built the present temple around the ancient shrine in about AD 500, which received periodical additions through the centuries, and was further enlarged by a Gaṅgā rājā in AD 1200 in expiation for the sin of killing a brāhmin.

The sacred enclosure of the temple of Jagannātha at Purī is 652 feet long by 630 feet broad, with a stone wall 20 feet high surrounding it. It contains more than one hundred temples and shrines, dedicated to Kṛishṇa, Vishṇu, Śiva, the Sun-god and other deities. The tower of the main temple rises to a height of 200 feet, and inside stand the sacred images of Jagannātha, and of Balabhadra (Balarāma) and Subhadrā, the brother and sister of Kṛishṇa. The images themselves are, in the words of B. K. Ghose, 'bulky, hideous, wooden busts', no more than outsize grotesque heads resting on stumps, with arms projecting forward horizontally from the ears. A large diamond gleams on the head of Jagannātha. Pilgrims offer fabulous gifts to the temple, and it is said that even the Sikh ruler Ranjīt Singh when dying bequeathed the Koh-i-noor diamond to Jagannātha, but his successor did not give effect to his wish.

The temple has a retinue of 6,000 priests, attendants, warders and guides, who are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. There are different sets of attendants to awaken the gods, to dress them, to feed them, to put them to bed, and numerous bands of dancing girls to entertain them. A total of 20,000 men, women and children work for or are dependent on the shrine.

Thousands of pilgrims visit Purī from all parts of India, especially during the two great annual festivals; once when the images are bathed, and again when they are taken in procession through the town for an eight-day sojourn at the summer garden house about a mile away; this takes place on the second day of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha* (June-July). The richly decorated wooden chariot (*ratha*) of Jagannātha is forty-five feet high, thirty-five feet square, with sixteen wheels each seven feet in diameter, and is drawn by 4,200 professional pullers. In the past devotees used to throw themselves

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under the wheels of the 'juggernaut' in the hope of going straight to paradise, a practice stopped by the British authorities. The images of Balabhadra and Subhadrā are conveyed in small carriages. According to tradition there was an incestuous relationship between Jagannātha and his sister Subhadrā, and this illegal intimacy is said to provoke the reproachful comments of the populace when the images are taken out. Every year the great car is broken up and the timber sold as relics, and a replica is made on exactly the same pattern. The images receive the same treatment every twelve or twenty-four years.

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(*See also under* Mythology.)

JAINISM, a Hindu sect of extreme antiquity whose last 'reformer', Mahāvīra* (d. 467 BC), is regarded as its historical founder. Jains claim that their religion is the most ancient of Indian religions, long anterior to Aryan Hinduism, and some of their scholars have produced evidence in support of the existence of Jainism in the Indus Valley (*see* Ṛishabha). The religion possesses a coherent and consistent body of doctrine.

Jainism holds that it is not necessary to posit a Creator or First Cause. The universe has existed from all eternity and will continue to exist so. Matter is eternal. The infinite changes in the world are due to the forces inherent in nature and not to any divine interference. According to Jain belief the universe runs in immense alternating cycles of advancement (*utsarpiṇī*, 'up-serpentining') and retrogression (*avasarpiṇī*, 'down-serpentining') eternally recurring, each of incalculable duration. One ascending and one descending cycle make an Age.

Each cycle has its twenty-four cardinal saints known as *tīrthaṅkaras**, its twelve universal emperors, and its sixty-three great men. During the period of 'advancement', men grow to great size, live a very long time, have no need of laws or property since wishing-trees provide for their needs. As the period of retrogression approaches men decline in stature, in strength and in morals, until they become degenerate weaklings. After that, the cycle starts on the upgrade once more, and so on everlastingly. These ages ebb and flow without the universal cataclysms envisaged in the Hindu *kalpas* or aeons*. Mankind now lives in the descending cycle, and the last of the twenty-four tīrthaṅkaras, named Mahāvīra, has come and gone.

Jain speculation is marked by dogmatism, a precise dialectical method, and a passionate predilection for numbers. Their metaphysics is more closely related to Sāṁkhya than to any other system of Hindu philosophy. The Jains have their own scriptures; according to their belief the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas are not reliable and may be disregarded. As sources of knowledge they are valueless.

Reality is characterized by *anekatva*, 'plurality', or multi-sidedness, and it is beyond the scope of finite minds to know all aspects of a thing. All our judgements are thus necessarily relative. All our knowledge is temporal and

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conditional, depending on the *naya* or standpoint, which gives us only knowledge of a thing with reference to its relationship. There is thus no certainty in any knowledge, and *syād-vāda*, (the 'perhaps-method') is the wisest course to adopt. To every proposition the correct reply is '*syād*', i.e., perhaps, maybe; or '*syād asti, syān nā-asti*', maybe it is, maybe it isn't; or Yes-No. Jains further hold that the proposition 'A is B' does not exclude the possibility of 'A' not being 'B', since a thing may be viewed from many points. In their reckoning there may be as many as three hundred and fifty three possible viewpoints (*darśana*) and there can thus be no absolute judgment on any issue.

Even though Jainism dispenses with divine agencies the Jains are not materialists, but rather pluralistic realists. They accept the dualistic principle of *jīva* (eternal soul) and *ajīva* (eternal element) everywhere. The jīva acts and is affected by acts; it is a knowing self; the ajīva is atomic and unconscious. Ajīvas exist in various relationships, five categories or tattva of ajīva being distinguished, namely: (1) *ākāśa*, ether or space, in its universal aspect, and not the space in which we live; the world only exists in one specialized segment of the space condition; (2) *dharma* (not to be confused with the term as used in Hinduism) a condition of movement, a sort of secondary space which permits of movement as water permits a fish to swim; (3) *adharma*, a tertiary space which permits of rest; (4) *kāla* or time; and (5) *pudgala*, matter; what is perceived by the senses.

Every object is an agglomeration of ajīvas, with at least one jīva enmeshed in it. Thus even stones and metals have souls. This notion of jīvas is further extended to a scheme of classification which varies somewhat in the different texts. Everything material even inanimate objects, have at least one jīva. Plants and trees have two jīvas, for which reason fruit should preferably fall from a tree and not be plucked. Animals have three or more jīvas. Jains are only permitted to eat things having two jīvas, hence they may drink water and milk (also believed to have two jīvas) and eat fruit, nuts and vegetables. To eat a thing with three jīvas is forbidden as it involves a breach of the basic law of *ahiṁsā** or non-injury. In Jainism ahiṁsā is carried to extreme lengths, which has led to the Jain being caricatured as one who 'denies god, worships man, and nourishes vermin'.

Mahāvīra (d. 467 BC) the historical founder of Jainism, had eleven disciples, ten of whom predeceased him. The survivor succeeded to the headship of the church. The earliest schism in the sect was originated by Mahāvīra's own son-in-law and arose during his lifetime. Soon after Mahāvīra's death other schismatic factions reared their heads and in the early Magadha kingdoms there were at least four dissident Jain sects.

In the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, the chief pontiff of the Jains was **Bhadrabāhu** (fl. 290 BC) author of a life of Mahāvīra. During a twelve-year famine he led a migration of Jains southward, as far as the hills of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷā in Mysore, and according to tradition was accompanied on this journey by Chandragupta himself who had renounced the throne and become a Jain monk. Bhadrabāhu died by voluntary starvation in a cave in one of the southern hills, and Chandragupta died twelve years later. There is no evidence, except Jain tradition to support this legend.

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After the famine the surviving emigrants returned to the north, only to discover that the monks who had stayed behind at Magadha had ceased to observe the rule of nudity and other essential Jain disciplines, and condemned the backsliders as heretical. A council was held at Pāṭaliputra (*c.* 280 BC) with the object of reconciling the various factions and of collating all Jain scriptures both ancient and revised.

About the first century AD (*c.* 80 AD) the split between the two main sects became final, the controversy that divided them being the subject of nudity. The **Śvetāmbara,** the 'white-clad' sect, derived its authority from Pārśva*. They were the descendants of those who remained at Magadha during the great migration to the south, and were the more popular of the two. The Śvetāmbara admit women to full membership in the monastic order and accept the possibility of them attaining salvation; they use images in worship but clothe them. The final form of their canon was fixed at the Council of Valabhī (*c.* 455 AD). They are found mostly in northern India. The other more vigorous and puritanical sect are the **Digambara,** 'sky-clad' or nude sect who had migrated south during the famine. They go about nude, although today only the holy ones among them observe strict nudity; the laymen wear coloured garments, except while eating. They have consistently held women in low esteem as 'the greatest temptations in the world, and the cause of all sinful acts'. Women are prohibited from entering their temples and the possibility of their attaining sainthood is denied. They even deny the fact that Mahāvīra ever married. The sect is found mainly in South India. They possess no canonical books and reject the canon of the Śvetāmbaras, maintaining that the original canon of Mahāvīra's teachings is lost. These two sects have subsequently subdivided into several more.

Jainism gradually shifted from eastern India, spreading first to Mathurā and Ujjain and then southwards. For more than a thousand years it was the principal religion of the Kanarese-speaking communities and exercised an immense influence among the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas, Kadambas and other peoples. The impress of the Jain way of life and of their scholarship was felt in all parts of the country. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were persecuted by the brāhmins, and from the thirteenth century onwards by the Muslims who destroyed many Jain temples.

There are about one and a half million Jains in India today, to be found mainly in Rājputāna, Bombay, Baroḍā, Gwālior, Central India and Bengal. They are mostly traders and bankers. Especially well known are the Mārwāṛīs whose traditional home is Mārwāṛ (or Jodhpur) in Rājputāna, but who have monopolized the trade in most of the big cities of northern India.

THE CANON. The sacred books of the Jains are collectively called *āgama,* comprising fifty seperate works which differ in small matters. Some of these books have extensive commentaries. The texts are written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Ardha-māgadhī Prākṛit and Śaurasenī. The canon also includes fourteen *pūrva,* 'earlier' works, attributed in part to Mahāvīra, and a number of aṅga, 'sections' composed by Mahāvīra's disciples, besides various other books of rules, statutes, sermons, maxims, dialogues, paradoxes and ballads.

The Jain canon is accepted by the Śvetāmbaras but not by the Digambaras. The latter maintain that the true canon of Mahāvīra is lost forever.

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In the first place, according to them, Bhadrabāhu did not teach all the pūrvas to his successor; then, the meaning of other pūrvas became obscured during transmission; others again were not committed to memory, being too secret; yet others were corrupted by Buddhist and brāhminical notions; and finally, Śaṅkara the Hindu philosopher used his influence to have all the remaining books of the canon destroyed. What remains is spurious.

The fear of rebirth haunts Jains as much as Hindus, and the aim of existence according to Jainism is to attain, through the *tri-ratna*, 'three jewels' of (1) right intentions, (2) right knowledge and (3) right conduct, an absolutely stainless life, and so escape the curse of *saṁsāra* (transmigration). Only the highest and most perfect attain complete release; these are the *jina*, 'overcomers', supreme souls whose lives should be followed as an example of the best.

Jain hierophants and laymen are named like their Hindu and Buddhist counterparts. There are *arhat* or 'worthies' who rank just below the jinas; there are the *kaivalin* who have achieved a state of kaivalya, i.e. a realization of their 'own self'; there are *yati*, 'ascetics' or monks; *muni* or anchorites; the nude *nirgrantha*, those 'without knots' of passion and possession; the *śrāvaka* or laymen who engage in secular occupations, and several other classes. Each class has its own set of vows and its own code of life.

On initiation the hair of the novitiate monk is removed, not by shaving but by plucking out one by one. Thereafter, the hair is always kept short. Monks generally wear a one-piece loin cloth (the Digambaras are nude), carry an alms bowl, a staff, a broom (to sweep the ground before them lest they tread upon and kill insects), a piece of cloth (to cover the mouth lest an insect enter it by chance and perish). Monks observe absolute chastity, abandon all worldly pleasure and possessions, and practice progressive *tapas* or asceticism*, with long periods of fasting, self-mortification, meditation and study. They may not eat more than thirty-two mouthfuls the size of an egg per day. Suicide* by slow starvation is considered meritorious.

The Jain layman also keeps certain vows. He is obliged always to speak the truth, and refrain altogether from falsehood or stealing; married couples must observe strict fidelity to the marriage vow. Sensual pleasure is regarded as a sin; one should rigorously curb desire and as far as possible cultivate indifference to pleasure and pain. One should limit travel, thereby limiting the motives for sin. So also one should limit one's possessions by giving at least part of one's goods to charity. Towards the end of his life a Jain will often transfer his wealth to his children or near relatives and devote himself to meditation and austerities. Laymen are also obliged to observe periods of meditation, tapas, and ascetic practices.

The chief of all Jain vows appertains to ahiṁsā or non-injury, hence the peculiar care taken by Jain monks (see above) to avoid killing insects. Their *āśramas* or retreats for orphans and widows; their *dharamśālās* or rest-houses for pilgrims; and their *piñjrapols* or animal hospitals, are all extensions of the ahiṁsā principle. Another feature of Jainism is the *prati-kramaṇa*, 'contra-moving', or public confession, in which a man confesses his sins, expresses his desire to improve, and becomes spiritually purified. Sins committed at night are confessed in the morning; those committed during the day, in the evening. At the end of every fortnight there is a more solemn confession.

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Jainism in its purity did not last long. Seeing no need for gods they soon peopled their numerous heavens with the deified saints of Jain history and legend. Most sects now have a modified belief in the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon whose idols are sometimes kept in their temples. These gods are lower in rank than the tīrthaṅkaras, and like mortals have to work out their own salvation. Today there are Vaishṇava and non-Vaishṇava Jains. Many observe caste practices and have brāhmins to perform ceremonial worship in their houses and temples. Jain temples, usually constructed on the tops of mountains* are among the most ornate in India.

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JAMADAGNI, a bhārgava *ṛishi* (sage of the Bhṛigu family), son of Ṛichika and Satyavatī. According to the *Mahābhārata* he was profoundly versed in all the secrets of the *śāstras* (scriptures) and obtained complete mastery over the Vedas. Desiring a woman to share his life he demanded in marriage Reṇukā (or Koṅkanā), lovely daughter of the Solar king Reṇu (or Prasenajit) of the Kuśika line. Afraid to refuse so powerful a ṛishi the king consented, and Jamadagni returned to his hermitage with his beautiful wife, who now began to share his ascetic life. The couple became the parents of five sons, Rumanvat, Sushena, Vasu, Viśvāvasu and Paraśurāma.

Every day Reṇukā would go to a nearby stream to bathe and to make earthen vessels for domestic use. She would mould the pots with clay from the stream, and such was her virtue that she was able to bake them by merely pronouncing a spell over them. One day, as she went to the stream, she beheld on its banks the handsome young gandharva king, Chitraratha, making love to his wife. The sight inflamed her passions and her mind was filled with envy and amorous longings. Unable to make her clay pots she returned from the stream, 'wetted but not purified'. Her husband divined her thoughts, and knew that she had fallen from her pure estate and was 'bereft of the lustre of holiness'. When his sons returned to the hermitage in the evening he commanded each one in turn to slay his mother. Four of them could not bring themselves to carry out the deed so the father cursed them to become idiots, devoid of understanding. Only the youngest son, Paraśurāma, obeyed and struck off his mother's head with his axe. The deed softened the father's wrath and when Paraśurāma begged him to restore his mother to life in purity and the brothers to their normal mental state he readily performed the miracles.

Jamadagni was killed by the sons of the great kshattriya king Kārtavīrya, who envied him his possession of the calf of the miraculous cow Kāmadhenu,

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and it was to avenge his father's death that Paraśurāma* launched his conquest of the kshattriya kings of the earth.

Books

See under Mythology.

JANAKA, king of Mithilā, and successor of Nimi (*see* Ikshvāku). When Nimi died without issue, the legend goes, the ṛishis drew out from his attenuated body by a process of churning a prince and heir. Because he was produced by churning (*math*) he was known as Mithi, hence the name of his city, Mithilā; as he was born of a dead body he was known as Videha, which became the name of the kingdom and dynasty he founded; as he was born without a progenitor he was called Janaka.

Twenty generations after this first Janaka there ruled at Mithilā, capital of Videha, another Janaka, the famous philosopher-king, renowned for his wisdom, good works and righteousness. His family priest and personal adviser was Yājñavalkya*, and together they opposed the pretensions of the brāhmin priesthood. Janaka asserted his right to perform sacrifices without the intervention of priests, and such was his purity and holiness that, although a kshattriya, he became a brāhmin and a rājaṛishi. He and Yājñavalkya are believed to have prepared the way for Buddha.

Janaka had no offspring so he decided to offer a sacrifice for the purpose of obtaining a child. He started ploughing the ground in preparation for the sacrifice, and as he turned up the earth he found his daughter, ready formed in the furrow, born not of a human mother but of Mother Earth. This girl he named Sītā*, 'furrow', and had a plough emblazoned on his standard in her honour, and was thereafter known as Śīra-dhvaja, 'plough-banner'.

Janaka possessed a mighty bow which once belonged to Śiva, and which neither man nor god could bend. One legend makes the bow so enormous that 50,000 men who had to carry it succumbed beneath the burden. When Sītā grew up to become a beautiful princess, Janaka agreed to give her in marriage only to the prince who could bend the bow. Rāma* not only bent but broke the bow and thus gained the hand of Sītā in marriage.

Janaka's largely Nepāli kingdom of Videha corresponds to the modern Tirhut division of northern Bihār. Its capital Mithilā, which survives as Janakapura, was the site of a famous educational* centre in the twelfth to sixteenth centuries.

Janaka had another daughter, Ūrmilā, who became the wife of Lakshmaṇa*. Janaka's brother was Kuśadhvaja king of Sānkāśyā or Kāśī, whose two daughters wedded two other brothers of Rāma. One, Māṇḍavī, married Bharata; and the other, Śrutakīrttī, married Śatrughna.

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(*See also under* Mythology.)

JARĀSANDHA, son of Bṛihadratha king of Magadha and Chedi whose capital was at Girivraja (or Rājagṛiha). Bṛihadratha had two wives who had

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long been barren. One day a mango fell into his lap which he divided between his two queens. They forthwith became pregnant but were delivered of two lumps of flesh, which the king in disgust commanded to be thrown out of the palace gates. A passing *rākshasī* (ogress) named JARĀ picked them up and put them together to carry away and consume at leisure, when the united pieces miraculously became a boy and set up a lusty wail. The king and his two queens hurriedly came out of the palace and learned from the bewildered Jarā what had happened. In other legends the united parts cried out to the king to have congress with the rākshasī and only after this was done did they turn into a boy. The king named the child from the fact that he had been 'united by Jarā' (Jarāsaṁdha), and the child grew daily 'like the moon in its first phase', with future greatness promised him.

In due time Jarāsandha became ruler of Magadha and Chedi, and through the favour of Śiva prevailed over many kings, whom he held in captivity. His two daughters married Kaṁsa, tyrannical king of Mathurā, and when the latter was killed by Kṛishṇa, Jarāsandha became his implacable foe. He besieged Mathurā eighteen times and so weakened Kṛishṇa's forces that the god was compelled to retire to Dvārakā.

When as a preliminary to the *rājasūya* (royal consecration) sacrifice of Yudhishṭhira, the four other Pāṇḍava brothers set about 'conquering the whole earth', and reached the borders of Magadha, they met with stiff resistance from Jarāsandha. Kṛishṇa, their ally, still burning with the humiliation suffered at the hands of Jarāsandha thought of a ruse to overcome the redoubtable king. Taking Arjuna and Bhīma with him, he went in disguise to the king who welcomed them. They demanded the release of his captive kings and on his refusal challenged him to mortal combat. As a kshattriya the king could not refuse to fight and found himself pitted against the mighty Bhīma. The struggle lasted for twenty-seven days and Bhīma was getting exhausted while Jarāsandha was still as fresh as ever. Kṛishṇa learned that Jarāsandha could only be killed if he were split in two, and he told Bhīma to throw him down and tear him apart. With a final burst of energy Bhīma did as advised and Jarāsandha died as he was born, in two parts. The captive kings were released, and Sahadeva, the docile son of Jarāsandha was crowned king of Magadha and became an ally of the Pāṇḍavas.

Two chieftains who were friendly to Jarāsandha now came forward to avenge the outrage against him, denouncing the way Kṛishṇa had abused his privilege as a guest to inveigle the king into single combat with Bhīma. These two chiefs were Haṁsa and Dimbhaka who loved each other like brothers. Kṛishṇa's brother, Balarāma, aware of their great love, slew a man named Haṁsa and had Kṛishṇa convey the news to Dimbhaka that 'Haṁsa' had been slain. Dimbhaka thinking it was his friend and finding life insupportable without him committed suicide. When Haṁsa in turn learned of the death of Dimbhaka he threw himself into the Yamunā and was drowned.

Books

See under Mahābhārata and Mythology.

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JARATKĀRU, an ancient *ṛishi* much renowned for his great powers. From his boyhood he had turned away from worldly things and given himself up to severe penances and asceticism. Once while travelling through a great forest he came upon a sombre cave which led downwards for a great distance into the bowels of the earth. Near the bottom he saw a pole horizontally stuck into the wall of the cave, and suspended upon this pole were several men hanging head down from a frayed rope. This rope was being gnawed by a mouse and was on the point of breaking. Appalled at their impending fate Jaratkāru asked them what they had done to deserve this punishment, and they replied that they were his own ancestors, who were about to be sent hurtling into hell, not because of their sins, but because he, Jaratkāru, their only surviving progeny, had become an ascetic and there was no one left to perform the periodical rites of the dead that would ensure their salvation. Struck with remorse Jaratkāru immediately returned home and began a search for a wife. He finally selected and married the serpent* princess Mānasā, and they became the parents of the sage Āstīka.

A similar story is told in the *Mahābhārata* about the sage MANDAPĀLA. In spite of long years of penance and mortification of the flesh, he was on his death consigned by Yama to the hell* called *Put* because he had no son to bring about his deliverance from his predicament. He therefore took the form of a horned bird, *śārṅgikā*, and flew out to find a mate. In the Khāṇḍava forest he met Jaritā (or Śārṅgī), another bird of the same species, and had three offspring by her, a thinly-veiled legend of his liaison with a non-Aryan or 'native' woman. The *Mahābhārata* relates that the sage abandoned his family when the Khāṇḍava forest caught fire, and the children were saved only through the mother's devotion. They were: Jaritāri, who in due time performed the necessary sacrifices to rescue his father from hell; Sārisṛikta a Vedic scholar and grammarian; and Stambamitra, an author and interpreter of sacred texts. Hymns in the *Ṛig-veda* bear the names of the two latter brothers.

Books

See under Mythology.

JĀTAKA (*c.* 450 BC), the best-known portion of the Buddhist *Nikāya*, compiled by an unknown author, who arranged a mass of material accumulated through many generations. It is written in Pāli prose interspersed with verse. The *Jātakas* are a collection of 550 tales, riddles, puzzles and legends strung together, with Buddha in one of his previous incarnations (*pūrva-nivāsa*) as the central figure in each story.

In the beginning we are introduced to a person called Sumedha, who meets Dipaṅkara (the sage of his day), hears his sermons and decides to become a Buddha. He follows the law and undergoes a series of 550 rebirths in various forms. He appears in turn as priest, prince, peasant, slave, deva, woman, animal or bird. As a hare he offers himself to a hungry mendicant who begs for food; as the white elephant, Chadanta, he saws off his tusks to give to a hunter who has been sent to fetch them by the queen of Banāras (who is actually a reincarnation of his own jealous mate); as leader of a herd

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of deer he offers his life in place of a doe with young; as a judge he dispenses justice; as a king he brings peace and prosperity. At last he becomes Śantushita, the name he bears during his stay in the Tushita heaven, prior to his last descent to earth as the Buddha of history.

The *Jātaka*, says Rhys Davids, 'forms the most reliable, the most complete and the most ancient collection of folklore now extant in any literature of the world'. The stories shed a great deal of light on the life and customs of India's remote past.

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JAVĀLI (or Jābāli), a brāhmin sceptic, of probable *nāstika** affiliation, who is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the counsellor of Daśaratha. When Rāma refused to give heed to the entreaties of his brother Bharata to return from exile and rule the kingdom, Javāli ridiculed him and his moral scruples, and besought him not to cloud his understanding with empty maxims and moral principles. Man, he declared, owed allegiance to no one, neither to friends, kindred, parents, rulers or even the gods. Sacrifices were futile and vain, being merely the artful devices used by priests to secure a safe means of livelihood for themselves. Why offer food to the departed ancestors? Has a dead man ever partaken of it? If food eaten by one nourishes another, those who journey need never carry provisions, for relatives sitting at home can eat on their behalf. Hopes of the hereafter or of paradise were less substantial than bubbles, for paradise does not exist and legends about them are likewise invented by cunning priests.

Javāli advocated a life of pleasure and success, and advised Rāma to accept the *rāj* (kingdom) and snatch what joys he could within the span of his life, instead of placing such importance on an empty vow made to his father. It was an error and illusion to follow the path of duty and sacrifice. When one died one was extinguished forever, and received no reward in the hereafter for all one's abstinence here on earth. Needless to say, the virtuous Rāma did not accept this cynical advice.

Books

See under Nāstika.

7/12

JAYADEVA (*c.* AD 1100), Sanskrit poet born in Kindavila on the banks of the river Ajay in Bengal, was one of the 'gems' at the court of the Sena king Lakshmaṇa. For many years he had wandered about as a *sannyāsin*, until he met and fell in love with Padmāvatī, the beautiful daughter of a brāhmin. She had been intended for a *devadāsī* or temple courtesan but the wandering

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ascetic was able to persuade her guardian to let her marry him. Jayadeva settled down to a period of domesticity during which time he wrote his best-known work, the *Gītā-govinda*. His wisdom and piety were such that the river Ganges, which was about twenty-five miles from his house, diverted her course and flowed by his house to save him the trouble of going to her. On the completion of his book he resumed his wanderings and had many miraculous adventures. He was caught by a gang of thieves who robbed him and cut off his hands, and in this condition he was reputedly found by king Lakshmaṇa, who looked after him till the end of his days. An annual fair is still held in his honour in his native village.

Jayadeva is the author of several little Hindi hymns in praise of Harigovind (Kṛishṇa), one of which is preserved in the Sikh Ādigranth. But his masterpiece is the *Gītā-govinda*, 'Song of the Cowherd', i.e. Kṛishṇa, one of the few examples of a Sanskrit drama with a religious theme. The play has no dialogue in the strict sense, as each of the three characters, Kṛishṇa, Rādhā, and Rādhā's companion, merely engage in lyrical monologues. With these are interspersed lyric stanzas expressive of the moods of the lovers, and prayers to Kṛishṇa. According to legend Jayadeva was unable to describe the charms of Rādhā and laid aside his poem till inspiration came. During his absence Kṛishṇa took up his pen and completed the portrait, much to the astonishment of the poet when he returned.

The drama is regarded as one of the most brilliant of its kind, and of great poetic merit. Its structure is highly artificial and full use is made of alliteration, and of extremely complex rhythms and intricate metres with masterly skill. But it has been criticized for its highly erotic character, the unreserved sensuality in the rendering of the love theme, the suggestive allusions to sexual intimacy, and the frankly 'voluptuous situations'. But all these have been explained by apologists as figurative expressions of a highly religious experience. On the whole this does not carry much weight for it is so strongly written that any attempts to give it a mystical or allegorical interpretation, as the longing of the human heart for union with the divine, remain unconvincing.

The 'story' of *Gītā-govinda* may be briefly told. It opens with a short preface describing the seduction of the youthful Kṛishṇa by his older companion Rādhā as they return home through the forest one evening. The poem then spans a period of time and tells how the jasmine bosomed Rādhā waits in vain for her beloved Kṛishṇa to come to her. She summons her companion and they both go out in search of him. Rādhā finds him in a pleasant bower, surrounded by gopīs* (milk maids), his feet caressed by one of them, his head cushioned on the bosom of another whose 'heaving breasts are tenderly outspread to pillow it'. One beauteous damsel whispers words of tender devotion into his ear, others wait on him lovingly. He himself embraces one of them, kisses another and fondles a third.

Burning with jealousy at witnessing this scene, Rādhā returns home and sends her companion to call Kṛishṇa to her side. She thinks with mounting passion of her past encounters with Kṛishṇa, of how she sweated and moistened all over the body with love's exertion; of how she marked the body of Kṛishṇa with scratches; of his beautiful body and his naked hips with loins

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like a treasure-heap circling the fountain and source of all delight; of her own beautiful loins, luscious and firm, a cavern of love; of the times when she took the active role, lying over him; of their mutual drinking of love's excessive rapture; of how they went from height to height of sexual bliss; of how they strained towards mutual achievement; of Kṛishṇa like the Jamnā in a mighty flood of foam. Immersed in these thoughts she becomes so sick with passion that she can no longer move. By this time Kṛishṇa is alone and thinking of Rādhā and he joyously attends her summons, but finds his mistress full of anger for his infidelity. He begs forgiveness and after much reprimanding she relents and forgives him. To the music of the nuptial song she enters the bridal chamber with her beloved.

The *Gītā-govinda* has had a deep, if not always wholesome, influence on the literature of most of the major Indian vernaculars. Few works have had as many imitators, and the field of Indian writing is strewn with the wreckage of crude attempts to emulate its fiery passages. A cult has grown up around it, and in certain temples it is still ceremonially recited as part of devotional worship.

Some regard it as a highly developed outcome of the simple *yātrā*, the religious processional play, which was a feature of the Kṛishṇa cult of much earlier origin. It has also been suggested that the twenty-four songs of the *Gītā-govinda* which are not in the classical verse form but of a different type of prosody from Sanskrit, were originally written not in Sanskrit but in an Apabhraṁśa (transitional vernacular) like Old Bengali, then rendered into Sanskrit and embodied in the *Gītā-govinda*.

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JAYADRATHA (*jayad-ratha*, 'victory-chariotted') son of Bṛihanmanas of the Lunar race, was variously referred to as rāja of Sindhu, of the Saindhava, Sauvīra or the Sindhu-Sauvīra, all of the Indus. He married Duḥśalā daughter of Dhṛitarāshṭra king of Hastināpura.

When the Pāṇḍavas were in exile he called at their forest abode with his six brothers and a large retinue. The Pāṇḍava brothers were out hunting and in order to provide for so large a number of guests Draupadī used the magic cauldron given to Yudhishṭhira by the sun-god for his devotion to that deity, and was thus able to supply her guests with five hundred deer and all the other accompaniments for a grand feast. Captivated by the beauty of his hostess, Jayadratha sought to persuade her to elope with him, and when she refused he abducted her by force.

Great was the wrath of the Pāṇḍavas when they returned to camp and found their wife missing. They went in pursuit of the rāja, who set Draupadī down to lighten his chariot and make his escape, but Bhīma continued the chase and captured him. In the presence of Draupadī and his brothers, Bhīma proceeded to humiliate the ravisher. He dragged him off his chariot by

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the hair, forced him to acknowledge that he was a slave of the Pāṇḍavas, beat him till he was senseless, cut off his hair, except for five locks, and would have killed him had not Yudhishṭhira commanded him to desist. At the intercession of Draupadī, Jayadratha was allowed to depart.

In the battle of Kurukshetra, Jayadratha was an ally of the Kauravas, and was killed by Arjuna after a terrible fight on the fourteenth day.

Books

See under Mythology.

JAYARĀŚI (fl. AD 650) or Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, author of a surviving nāstika* treatise, the *Tattvopaplavasiṁha* (*tattva-upaplava-siṁha*, 'dogma-assailing Lion'). He and his small following denied the possibility of man having any certain knowledge of anything whatsoever. They were radical epistemological nihilists, and with subtle arguments and skilful dialectics disproved the basic tenets underlying the main religious and philosophical beliefs of the day.

We cannot know the Ultimate since we are finite. Our limitation extends from the senses that perceive the world, to the objects that comprise the world. Material objects are made up of a few simple elements in various constantly changing combinations. What these elements are we can only surmise from their effect on our own insensitive hide. Our sense organs are imperfect, viewing in a succession of fleeting moments the fragments of the material world as they pass before our view. The individual experiencing this brief phenomenon cannot presume to speak of 'knowing' it. From his distorted subjective viewpoint all inference regarding the vast external cosmos of which he is completely ignorant is downright folly. Man's mind is incapable of understanding its relatedness, and all his guesses are necessarily invalid. So far as man is concerned nothing is known and nothing is knowable because he does not have the qualifications of a knower. Religious truth is a make-believe and any one truth is as good as any other. For all our pretentious philosophizing, our worm's world may be trodden underfoot by the paw of some higher reality whom we know nothing of.

Books

See under Nāstika and Philosophy.

JEWS. There is ample evidence of early commercial and cultural contact between India and the Hebrew people. Jewish traders visited India and carried back to Palestine not only the products of the country, but in many cases their Indian names as well. Numerous articles of commerce recorded in the Jewish annals are traceable to Tamil, Malayalam or Sanskrit sources, such as ivory, apes, peacocks, rice, sandalwood, and aloes. Much of the rich oriental merchandise of King Solomon's days came from the western seaports of the Deccan, especially the trading* centre of Sopāra (probably the Biblical Ophir). It may have been to this area that Hiram king of Tyre sent for materials for the building of the Temple that was being raised by his friend and ally, Solomon. Indian precious stones were valued among the Jews from the Mosaic period, and from India came at least some of the

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stones, the beryl, onyx, sardius, jasper, that adorned the breastplate of the High Priest.

The reverse process is also traceable. The curious resemblance in a *Jātaka* legend to the story of the Judgment of Solomon has often been pointed out, and it is likely that the story reached India via Babylon during the Jewish Captivity there (595–538 BC). Again, the story of King Nahusha* who is transformed into a serpent is not met with either in the *Ṛig-veda*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or the Purāṇas, and was obviously an interpolation in the *Mahābhārata*. The king's name bears a resemblance to *nahas* (*nachash*), designating a serpent, and also to Nehushtan the serpent of brass raised by Moses and crushed by Hezekiah. The word *jabala*, found in Pāṇini, and explained as 'goatherd', is compared with the Hebrew *yobel* (ram), from which we derive the word 'jubilee', a festive celebration announced by sounding a trumpet made of ram's horn.

These and other relics of Hebrew influence could conceivably have been the result of Jewish colonies in or near India. The town of Gozan in Media, mentioned in II Kings, xviii, 11, to which Shalmaneser of Assyria transported the Israelites, is sometimes identified with the town known as Balhi in Sanskrit literature, from where the tribes of the Aila migrated to the Indo-Gangetic plain. Historians have variously contended that the earliest Jewish settlers arrived in Malabār with King Solomon's merchant fleet about 950 BC, or that after the Jewish captives taken by Tiglath-Pileser III were freed, they came to the Malabār coast, about 740 BC. Still others are of the opinion that the present-day Indian Jews are descendants of the captives deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar about 600 BC after the fall of Jerusalem.

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JÑĀNADEVA (1275–96) Marāṭhi religious writer. His father was a brāhmin priest who, after donning the robes of an ascetic of a liberal cult known as the Vārkarī Panth, committed the crime of resuming the life of a householder and getting married. Because of this dereliction his family, including Jñānadeva, were excommunicated and persecuted by the paṇḍits. It is said that by his miraculous powers Jñānadeva once made a male buffalo recite the Vedas and so confounded the orthodox.

He wrote devotional Vaishṇavite hymns, often substituting Viṭṭhal and Rukmiṇī for Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. He also wrote a work on the Upanishads and over a thousand smaller poems. But he is chiefly known as author of the *Jñāneśvarī*, a paraphrase and commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, written in Old Marāṭhi, which is one of the most popular books of Mahārāshṭra. Its

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fusion of devotional philosophy and melodious poetry is read with thrills of rapture and it is held in the highest veneration by the Marāṭha people. It is reverently carried on the head and worshipped with flowers.

According to tradition the poet died at the age of twenty-two at Alāndī on the Kistna which is the site of his tomb and temple and where a tree is said to have sprung from his staff. Jñānadeva together with his brothers Nivṛttināth (also a poet-saint of Mahārāshṭra belonging to the Nātha cult) and Sopāndeva, and their sister Muktābāi, are regarded as incarnations of Vishṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, and Lakshmī respectively. All four voluntarily ended their lives in their twenties as soon as they felt they had accomplished their mission in life.

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JOINT FAMILY, a system of communal living characteristic of the family relationship in India. Its roots go back to earliest times and it is probably Austric* in origin. The joint family is usually composed of (*a*) agnatic relations, i.e. males from a common ancestor through the male line, (*b*) persons adopted into the family, (*c*) wives of any of the above and (*d*) unmarried daughters, sisters, widows or helpless girls. All these members do not have the same rights in the 'ancestral property' as it is called. Some have a right only to maintenance and residence; others to varying shares of property. The rights of women to shares in joint property are generally limited, although they have much greater rights in a joint family with a matriarchal basis.

The principal features of a joint family are that (*a*) its members share a common residence, i.e. all live on the same premises or on the same estate, (*b*) they partake of food cooked in the same kitchen, (*c*) their property is held in common, and (*d*) they profess the same faith and share in a common worship.

The *kartṛi*, or manager, of the joint family estate or property in the patriarchal system is generally the eldest male member. The *dāya* or allotment of the estate on division, the rights of the parceners or heirs, the right to spend the income of the estate, the right to hold separate property, the right to claim partition, are all laid down by law, and depend on the 'school' of law (e.g. Mitāksharā, Dāyabhāga, etc.) followed in that part of the country.

The joint family is the unit of the Hindu social system, and a number of such joint families form a sort of 'sub-caste' whose members may intermarry and eat together ('interdine'). 'Beyond this extended joint family', says K. M. Panikkar, 'the Hindu theorist recognized no society or community'.

The joint family provides protection for the aged, the infirm and the unemployed, the sick and the incapable. It encourages unity of purpose and an identity of interest and fosters feelings of solidarity within the unit. But it results in the subordination of one's personality, encourages idleness, and kills initiative.

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It has been pointed out that the chief sufferer in the Hindu joint family system is the newly wedded wife, whose lot is often pitiable. She frequently lives with a dozen other women under the tyranny of her old mother-in-law, and is made to fulfil the function of the household drudge. Among certain sects of Vaishṇavite brāhmins a daughter-in-law may not even speak to her mother-in-law, and when given an order by the latter can only nod her head in acknowledgment. Modern life and a desire on the part of the younger members of a joint family to live separately have, in recent times, caused a rapid decline in this old institution.

Books

See under Community.

KABĪR (1440–1518) Vaishṇava reformer, born near Banāras to a poor Muslim couple. A legend states that he was actually the illegitimate son of a brāhmin widow who abandoned him, and that he was found by a Muslim weaver named Nīrū who adopted the boy and taught him the weaver's trade. It is not clear whether he ever married, but tradition gives him a wife, named Loi, and two children.

Feeling a strong urge for the devotional life Kabīr became a disciple of the reformer Rāmānanda. This he was supposed to have done by recourse to a stratagem, lying across the path of Rāmānanda one morning while it was still dark, so that as the latter stumbled over him he involuntarily uttered the words, 'Rām, Rām', which Kabīr claimed constituted an initiation. Rāmānanda accepted the zealous youth as a disciple, but is said to have received instruction himself on occasion from his young *chela*! Under Rāmānanda's influence Kabīr adopted a number of Hindu notions, though much of his own doctrine and some of his language were borrowed from the Nestorian Christianity of South India.

Among the contemporaries with whom Kabīr was said to have matched his wits or engaged in friendly controversy were Gorakhnāth (who, in fact, lived long before him), Nānak, the emperor Sikandar Lodī (who later persecuted him) and Sheikh Taqqi. The latter is referred to variously as his rival, enemy, guru or disciple. When the arrogant Sheikh came to see him one day he saw a pig tied up outside Kabīr's door and rebuked him for keeping this unclean animal. Kabīr replied, 'I have an unclean animal outside my door, you have many unclean friends inside your heart: greed, envy, pride, anger and avarice'. To a rāja who proudly showed him his beautiful palace, Kabīr said that it had two defects: first, the building would not last for ever, second, the rāja would pass away before the building. When a Jain or Buddhist stressed the need for absolute *ahiṁsā*, or abstinence from killing and violence, he retorted that no life could be sustained but at the expense of life, since life subsists by preying on life.

Popular with the masses but persecuted by the ruling classes Kabīr was exiled from Banāras, and his subsequent wanderings took him from Bukhara to Kālīghāṭ. He visited Persia, Afghanistan and other places in the Middle East before settling down to end his days in Maghar in northern India. It was commonly believed that those who died in Banāras received salvation, while

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those who died in Maghar went to hell. Kabīr deliberately chose to die in Maghar to show his contempt for such puerile superstitions. The legend goes that when he died his body was covered with a sheet. Hindus wished to remove it for cremation, and Muslims wished to bury it. When they lifted up the sheet the body had disappeared and in its place was a bunch of flowers. The Hindus burned half the flowers at Banāras, and the Muslims buried the remaining half at Maghar, where his disciples, the Kabīr-panthi are still custodians of his tomb. His followers number about half a million and are mostly found in Uttar Pradesh.

The philosophy of Kabīr was pantheistic, although he was one of the founders of the deistic movement in India. He permitted the adoration of Vishṇu, Rāma, Hari (a form of Vishṇu), Govinda (Kṛishṇa), and Allah, which he said were merely names for the One Supreme Deity; but he bitterly assailed the idolatrous practices of the Hindus, as well as the sophistication of Muhammadan theologians. He questioned the validity of the Vedas and the Purāṇas, and was critical of parts of the Koran. He accepted *karma* and transmigration, but like Rāmānuja found a way out of the remorseless bonds of karma by preaching that the love of god can bring salvation. He upheld a high moral code, stressing truthfulness, mercy and self-control.

Kabīr's works are written in a colloquial, idiomatic form of Western Hindi, and his songs in this language are extremely popular, some of the best having been translated by Rabindranāth Tagore. He pours ridicule on idolatry, polytheism, priestcraft (qazis and brāhmins both deserve hell), world-renunciation, and religious ceremonial, in a number of apothegms called *sākhī* which are still current and popular, as are also his doctrinal poems known as the *Ramaini*. A collection of these called the *Bījak* (treasury) forms the scriptures of the Kabīr Panth. Some of his verses appear in the sacred Granth of the Sikhs. The founder of Sikhism, Guru Nānak, was in fact profoundly influenced by Kabīr.

The ascetic with matted locks and unkempt hair struck Kabīr as resembling a goat, and the priest who uttered long discourses was accused of not knowing what he was talking about. Those who wish to worship God should flee from the temple and the mosque and seek him 'in the fields, in the weaver's shop, and in the happy home'. The beads of the holy ones are made of wood; the gods are of stone; the Ganges and Jamnā are water; Rāma the Maker and Kṛishṇa the Doer were not spared by Death; the Vedas are empty words. The All Knowing and All Powerful is to be found neither in Kaaba (in Mecca) nor in Kailāsa (the abode of Śiva). 'If God', he said, 'be inside the mosque and Rāma within the image, then what lies outside? Hari is in the east; Allah is in the west. Look within your heart for there you will find both Karim (the Merciful Allah) and Rāma'. Elsewhere he said, 'You make gods of clay and kill living creatures to feed them. If God is in the mosque only, then to whom does the rest of the country belong? Rāma is dead; Hanumān is dead; Kṛishṇa is dead; the saints and prophets are all dead. Only the Everliving God lives for ever'.

On his death, Hindu influences found their way back into Kabīr's sect. The use of the rosary was introduced, though he had been against it. He opposed idolatry, yet his image and his book are both worshipped. He re-

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jected the doctrine of divine incarnation yet he himself is now regarded as an incarnation of the Supreme.

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KALHAṆA (AD ?1095–1170?) poet-historian of Kashmīr, was born in the village of Parihaspura, the son of Chaṇpaka an official of probably brāhmin caste serving under king Harsha (AD 1089–1101) of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmīr. Kalhaṇa himself had Buddhist leanings and held no office, but travelled widely in his country, acquainting himself with its history and traditions.

His masterpiece, the *Rājataraṁgiṇī*, 'Royal Stream', or 'The River of Kings', is considered the only Sanskrit work which can lay any claim to being regarded as history. Kalhaṇa describes the historian's role thus: 'His language, like that of a judge, should recount past events with clarity and without prejudice; his purpose is to relate what has occurred; to entertain and to point out moral and political lessons'.

In writing his history Kalhaṇa consulted the works of eleven earlier chroniclers. Among them he names Suvrata, whom at the same time he condemns for misplaced learning and pedantry, and Kshemendra, of whose work he says that not a single part is free from error. The first three of the eight volumes that comprise Kalhaṇa's history are based entirely on mythology and tradition, but unfortunately this trend often enters into the later books as well. Says Keith, 'He accepts as genuine the marvellous which the Greek historians would have rejected as laughable'. A father ascends the throne seven centuries after his son; a king rules for three hundred years; a brāhmin's curse blasts a village; divine serpents mate with women; demons and sorcerers intervene in daily affairs; a queen comes and goes in the guise of a bee. One king conquers Ceylon because the god Varuṇa obliges by making the sea firm enough for the army to cross over. Aśoka is briefly mentioned but his dating is out by a thousand years, separated from his time by a great mythological stretch; of his historical achievements virtually nothing is recorded. Even Lalitāditya who lived four centuries before Kalhaṇa could, according to him, by a mere command have the fruit of the divine kapittha tree brought to him from Indra's paradise.

Nevertheless, Kalhaṇa is also frequently critical and refreshingly sceptical. There are passages of humour and biting sarcasm in which even the brāhmins are not spared. A substantial portion of the chronicle, and historically the most valuable part of it, is devoted to the first half of the twelfth century, which lies between Harsha's downfall and the date of its composition.

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KĀLĪ, 'black', an aboriginal goddess, wife of Śiva, personifying one of the 'terror' aspects of Śakti* or divine energy, who brings in her train bloodshed, pestilence, terror and death. She is black of visage, and is frequently represented wearing a necklace of human skulls; in two of her hands she holds a sword and a dagger, and in the other two are severed heads dripping with blood. Her long tongue hangs out of her mouth and blood trickles down her chin and neck as she gorges herself at her cannibal feasts. In one hideous image, a headless Kālī holds her own severed head, while the mouth greedily drinks the blood spurting from her neck. The thugs* slew their victims in her honour, and human sacrifices were commonly offered to her in the past, although today she is propitiated with the blood of goats. Her worship is particularly widespread in Bengal where the great temple of Kālīghāṭa (anglicized in the city's name, Calcutta) marks the centre of an ancient Kālī cult.

Closely related to Kālī, and generally identified with her, is **Durgā**. The name means 'far' or 'inaccessible', and also 'fort', hence she may have been the tutelary deity of pre-Aryan fortified towns. The *Mahābhārata* states that Durgā was worshipped by savage tribes like the Śabaras, Barbaras, and Pulindas, and that she was very partial to meat and wine. Her *vāhana* or vehicle is the tiger or lion, on whose back she rides. Her companions are eight demonesses called *yoginī*, who complete the fell work of this goddess, and chew the bones left over from her gory repasts.

Durgā is a renowned slayer of *asuras* or demons, and is actually supposed to be the goddess Kālī, who was so called to commemorate her victory over a terrible asura of the same name. She destroyed another asura, the buffalo-demon Mahisha who could not be killed by either man or beast. Durgā being neither a man (but a woman) nor a beast (but divine) slew him without effort. She next defeated the asura twins Śumbha* and Niśumbha; then helped Nahusha son of Āyu to destroy the demon Tuṇḍa and herself slew the demon's offspring Vituṇḍa; she followed this up by killing the asura Raktavīja, 'blood-sprinkling', and draining his body of all blood because each drop had the power to become a demon if it fell to earth. Another victim of her rage was the dread monster Tripurāsura, so called because he ruled over the aerial 'triple city' of Tripura. She put an end to his power at the request of Śiva.

Books

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(*See also under* Mythology.)

KĀLIDĀSA (AD ?350–600?) the greatest of the Sanskrit dramatists, and the first great name in Sanskrit literature after Aśvaghosha. In the intervening

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three centuries between Aśvaghosha (who had a profound influence on the poet) and Kālidāsa there was some literary effort, but nothing that could compare with the maturity and excellence of Kālidāsa's poetry. Virtually no facts are known about his life, although colourful legends abound. Physically handsome, he was supposed to have been a very dull child, and grew up quite uneducated. Through the match-making efforts of a scheming minister he was married to a princess who was ashamed of his ignorance and coarseness. Kālidāsa (Kālī's slave), an ardent worshipper of Kālī, called upon his goddess to help him, and was rewarded with sudden gifts of wit and sense. He became the most brilliant of the 'nine gems' at the court of Vikramāditya* of Ujjain.

There is strong reason to believe that Kālidāsa was of foreign origin. His name is unusual, and even the legend suggests that it was adopted. The stigma attaching to the suffix 'dāsa' (slave) was very strong, and orthodox Hindus avoided its use. His devotion to the brāhminical creed of his time may betray the zeal of a convert. Remarkably enough, Indian tradition has no reliable data concerning one of its greatest poets, whereas there is a fund of information both historical and traditional about hundreds of lesser literary luminaries. Kālidāsa was well acquainted with contemporary sciences and arts, including politics and astronomy. His knowledge of scientific astronomy was manifestly gleaned from Greek sources, and altogether he appears to have been a product of the great synthesis of Indian and barbarian peoples and cultures that was taking place in north-western India in his day. Dr S. Radhakrishnan says, 'Whichever date we adopt for him we are in the realm of reasonable conjecture and nothing more. Kālidāsa speaks very little of himself, and we cannot therefore be sure of his authorship of many works attributed to him. We do not know any details of his life. Numerous legends have gathered round his name, which have no historical value' (II, p. ii). The apocryphal story that he ended his days in Ceylon, and died at the hands of a courtesan, and that the king of Ceylon in grief burned himself to death, is not accepted by his biographers. Listed below are the chief works attributed to Kālidāsa.

*Śakuntalā**, with a theme borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*, is a drama in seven acts, rich in creative fancy. It is a masterpiece of dramatic skill and poetic diction, expressing tender and passionate sentiments with gentleness and moderation, so lacking in most Indian literary works. It received enthusiastic praise from Goethe.

Mālavikāgnimitra (Mālavikā and Agnimitra) tells the story of the love of Agnimitra of Vidiśā, king of the Śuṅgas, for the beautiful handmaiden of his chief queen. In the end she is discovered to be of royal birth and is accepted as one of his queens. The play contains an account of the *rājasūya* sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra, and a rather tiresome exposition of a theory on music and acting. It is not a play of the first order.

Vikramorvaśī (Urvaśī won by Valour), a drama of the troṭaka class relating how king Purūravas rescues the nymph Urvaśī from the demons. Summoned by Indra he is obliged to part from her. The fourth act on the madness of Purūravas is unique. Apart from the extraordinary soliloquy of the demented lover in search of his beloved, it contains several verses in Prākṛit. After many trials the lovers are reunited in a happy ending.

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Meghadūta (Cloud Messenger): the theme of this long lyrical poem is a message sent by an exiled *yaksha* in Central India to his wife in the Himālayas, his envoy being a *megha* or cloud. Its beautiful descriptions of nature and the delicate expressions of love in which passion is purified and desire ennobled, likewise won the admiration of Goethe.

Raghuvaṁśa (Raghu's genealogy), a *mahākāvya*, regarded by Indian critics as Kālidāsa's best work, treats of the life of Rāma, together with a record of his ancestors and descendants. There are many long descriptions, large parts of which are contrived and artificial. Only one king in this pious dynasty fails to come up to the ideal standard, namely, Agnivarṇa.

Ṛitu-saṁhāra, (Seasonal Cycle), a poem describing the six seasons of the year in all their changing aspects.

Kumāra-saṁbhava (Kumara's Occasioning), usually translated 'The Birth of the War-god', a mahākāvya relating how Pārvatī won the love of Śiva in order to bring into the world Kumāra (i.e. Kārttikeya) the god of war to destroy the demon Tāraka. The last few cantos are usually omitted from printed versions, being of an excessively erotic nature. This is especially true of Canto VIII where the embraces of the newly-wedded divine couple are dwelled upon in vivid detail.

Great as Kālidāsa was, it has been observed that he had his literary weaknesses. He showed no interest in the social problems of his day; his plays do not reflect the tumultuous times in which he lived; he felt no sympathy for the lot of the common man; his work is overburdened with description, and is sentimental, wordy and at times coarse. Within his range he was unsurpassed by any of the dramatists who wrote in the Sanskrit language, but this does not amount to much, for the general standard of Sanskrit drama is not on a par with the best elsewhere. Comparing his works with those of the Persians, Arabs, Greeks and Europeans, and by the same strict standards of criticism, Max Müller declares, 'Kālidāsa's plays are not superior to many plays that have been allowed to rest in dust and peace on the shelves of our libraries'.

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KALIṄGA, traditionally said to have been founded by one of the sons of Bali (*see* Bāleya), was a kingdom on the east coast of India referred to by the lawgivers as inhabited by non-Aryan and impure people, who were, however, breeders of the finest elephants. In the Epics and Purāṇas they are described as fighting or contracting matrimonial alliances with their neighbours. Their towns of Dantapura (probably Purī), Rājapura, Siṁhapura and others, often mentioned in Buddhist and Jain records, were places of probably prehistoric sanctity.

Kaliṅga was briefly under the Nanda rulers, but it first achieved renown

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through its association with Aśoka, whose Thirteenth Rock Edict records the stiff resistance he received from its armies. In Aśoka's time the kingdom covered the coastal area of modern Orissa south of the Mahānadi, including parts of northern Āndhra. In 261 BC Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga, and in the course of his conquest 150,000 people were taken captive, 100,000 killed, and many more died of starvation and disease. It was this terrible carnage that brought about the change of heart that led to Aśoka's renunciation of warfare.

Some time after Aśoka's death Kaliṅga threw off the Maurya yoke. Under Khāravela (183–153 BC) who favoured the Jains, the Kaliṅga revival reached its zenith. He brought large areas of the Deccan under his sway; in 171 BC he invaded Magadha and captured Pāṭaliputra which he held for a short time. Khāravela's Hāthigumphā Cave inscription detailing his military achievements is one of the earliest Indian historical records available to us. Kaliṅga continued to flourish for some time, was mentioned by Pliny and the author of the 'Periplus', but later fell an easy prey to its more powerful neighbours, being subjugated in turn by the Chālukyas, Vākāṭakas and Pālas.

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KALKI, the tenth and last incarnation of Vishṇu* that is still to come. At the end of the present *Kali yuga* (*see* aeon) Vishṇu will appear as the titanic Kalki, seated on a white horse, holding aloft like a blazing comet, a naked sword or a huge razor-edged axe. His voice will resemble the rolling of thunder, and the rumble of his anger at the iniquity of men will spread terror throughout the world. With his weapon he will first destroy all wicked kings and rulers, then all wicked brāhmins, and then all the wicked who still remain, until not one is left. Since his own mother and father will also be numbered among the wicked he will slay them too. A new age will then commence, with men of purity and uprightness, over whom Vishṇu will reign forevermore.

In some legends the white horse itself is Kalki, the Vishṇu incarnation. The horse will stamp on the earth with its right forefoot, and the tortoise supporting the world will drop into the deep and the world with it. The god will then restore the earth to its pristine purity, and rule over mortals, dispensing justice and ensuring bliss to all righteous men.

Books

See under Mythology.

KALMĀSHAPĀDA, son of the Pañchāla king Sudāsa, the story of whose cannibalism is told in the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas, and later legends. It so happened that while out hunting in the forest the young prince encountered Śaktri, the eldest son of the sage Vasishṭha (in some legends the sage Vasishṭha himself) and demanded that the brāhmin get out of his way. Śaktri refused and the prince struck him with a whip. Infuriated, Śaktri cursed him

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to acquire the same instincts as the next animal he saw. This animal happened to be a tiger, upon seeing which the prince felt an irresistible craving for human flesh, and devoured Śaktri.

Another legend has it that Kalmāshapāda once saw two tigers (who were actually *rākshasas*) mating in the forest, and killed one. The other animal disappeared, praying for a chance to avenge the death of his mate. Shortly after, Kalmāshapāda made ready for a sacrifice at which Vasishṭha was to officiate. During Vasishṭha's temporary absence from the sacrificial ground his arch rival Viśvāmitra took the opportunity to transfer the soul of the tiger-rākshasa into the body of Kalmāshapāda, who in this condition cooked human flesh and served it to Vasishṭha on his return. The indignant sage cursed the king, condemning him to retain cannibalistic instincts for twelve years. Burning at the injustice of the curse Kalmāshapāda scooped up a handful of water to pronounce in his turn a curse upon Vasishṭha, but was dissuaded from doing so by his wife Madayantī. As he could not throw this water upon the ground lest it scorch the earth, nor fling it into the air lest it blast the sky and dry up the clouds, he threw the water upon his own feet and they became spotted, hence his name, 'spotted feet' (*kalmāsha-pāda*).

Thereafter, at the sixth hour of every day for a period of twelve years, Kalmāshapāda became a savage cannibal devouring multitudes of men. One of his first victims was Śaktri, Vasishṭha's son, followed by another hundred sons of the same sage. On one occasion he came upon a brāhmin and his wife in the forest in the act of union. He tore them asunder and devoured the man, at which the wife called down upon him a curse that he should die if ever he had congress with his own wife.

For this reason Kalmāshapāda refrained from sexual intercourse with his wife, but by the mediation of Vasishṭha, who cohabited with her according to the custom of *niyoga*, Madayantī became pregnant and carried the child in her womb for seven years. At the end of that time she performed an operation upon herself by cutting her belly open with a sharp stone, and a child came forth who was named Aśmaka, 'stoneling'.

Aśmaka's son, Vālika, saved himself from being killed during Paraśurāma's expeditions against the kshattriyas by mingling with a group of naked women and thus concealing himself. After this he was known as Nārī-kavacha, 'women-protected', and as he was the source (*mūla*) from which the future generations of kshattriyas sprang he was also called Mūlaka, a name later given to a small kshattriya tribe claiming descent from him.

Kalmāshapāda was also called Saudāsa, and Mitrasaha.

Books

See under Mythology.

KALYĀṆA (*c.* 326 BC), 'auspicious', known to the Greeks as Kalanos, was an Indian ascetic of Taxila contemporary with Alexander the Great. The story of this yogi was set down at first hand in a work (now lost) by the Greek philosopher Onesikritus, but is preserved for us in the writings of Strabo, Plutarch and others.

While in Taxila during his Indian campaign, Alexander was told of a small

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community of fifteen ascetics about ten miles from the town. With his customary interest in the unusual he decided to find out more about them and for this purpose selected Onesikritus, a pupil of the Cynic philosopher Diogenes, as best fitted to undertake the task of interviewing them.

When Onesikritus reached the yogi settlement there was a blazing sun overhead, so that it was impossible to stand barefoot on the hot earth, yet the ascetics sat naked and motionless on the rocks, quite unaffected by the heat. The language barrier was overcome by the use of no less than three interpreters: one to translate Onesikritus's Greek into a second language, another to translate that into a third language, and yet another to render this last into the tongue spoken by the yogis.

Through this cumbersome process Onesikritus explained that Alexander, king of the Yavanas, was interested in learning their philosophy. He said that in his own country there also lived men who loved wisdom and sought to understand the problems of man. He told them about Pythagoras, and Socrates, and also about his own teacher, Diogenes, who was so much like them.

The yogis replied that while it was very creditable that Alexander should want to learn their wisdom, it was not possible for anyone encumbered with the trappings of the Yavanas—sun helmet, cavalry cloak, long boots—to understand their teachings. Those who wished to learn must sit naked on the hot stones beside them. In any case it was futile to attempt to convey profound truths by mere words, and as for doing this through a relay of three interpreters, it was like trying to make water flow pure, through mud. They were pleased to know that the Westerners also had philosophers but could not understand why they continued to be trammelled with clothing.

At Alexander's request the king of Taxila was later able to persuade one of these yogis to clothe himself and resume worldly life to join Alexander's entourage, which he did, though not without reproach from the other ascetics. The name of this yogi is rendered in the Greek records as Sphines, but he is known as Kalanos (Kalyāṇa) from some words exchanged with his countrymen, of which this one word was remembered. He became a respected member of Alexander's team of philosophers and accompanied the Macedonian when he left India. At Susa he suddenly announced that his time had come, and made preparations for his end by self-extinction. One legend has it that this took place in Babylon when he foresaw Alexander's approaching end. He fixed a date for his death and had a large pyre built. On the day appointed thousands of Macedonians and local inhabitants assembled to witness the amazing spectacle. Kalyāṇa ascended the pyre, ordered the fire to be lit and perished in the flames, retaining his calm and self-possession to the end.

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KĀMA, the god of love, about whose origin many legends are told. In the Vedas, Desire is said to have been the first thing that stirred in the Deep at

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the dawn of creation, and in the *Atharva-veda* Kāma is exalted as a creator. He is sometimes identified with Agni, god of fire, or with a superior form of Agni; sometimes he is said to be the son of Dharma, god of justice and Śraddhā, goddess of faith; or the son of Lakshmī, goddess of wealth; or the son of Brahmā; or as having been born of the waters. Kāma's wife, *Ratī* (sexual desire) was a daughter of the arch-mage Daksha. She is portrayed holding a small mirror (*darpaṇa*) in her hand since she arouses *darpa* or wantonness.

In one legend Kāma was directed to arouse love-thoughts in Śiva who was so absorbed in meditation that the demon Tāraka assumed control over the universe. Kāma succeeded in his mission (*see* Kārttikeya) but incurred the wrath of Śiva who reduced him to ashes with a flash from his third eye (*see* Pārvatī). The immortal youth, however, survives as *Anaṅga*, 'bodiless', and lives on in the minds of all beings. Another legend says that Śiva finally relented and allowed Kāma to be reborn as Pradyumna* son of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī.

Kāma, lord of the *apsarās*, is depicted as a handsome youth riding on a cuckoo or a parrot, attended by the celestial nymphs, one of whom bears a pennant emblazoned with the makara or crocodile (*see* animal) on a red ground. The god is armed with a bow made of sugar-cane, with a bow-string of bees, and carries a quiver of arrows each tipped with a flower. His chief festival, *Madanotsava*, described by Kālidāsa, Śrīharsha and others, was once a saturnalian occasion, celebrated with dance and song, singing and games, in which kings and beggars, brāhmins and lower castes took part with equal enthusiasm, and which was climaxed by the promiscuous union of sexes.

Kāma is also called: Ātma-bhū, 'self-existent'; Abhi-rūpa, 'beautiful'; Darpaka, 'wanton'; Gṛidhu, 'eager'; Irā-ja, 'water-born'; Ishma, 'inciting'; Kalā-keli, 'diverting'; Kāma-deva, 'love-god'; Kandarpa, 'satisfier'; Kañjana, 'appeaser'; Kiṅkira, 'enslaving'; Kārshṇī, son of Kṛishṇa; Kharu, 'desirous'; Kantu, 'happy'; Kusum-ayudha, 'flower-armed'; Mada, 'wanton'; Madana, 'drunk' (with love); Māra, 'destroyer'; Makara-ketu, 'crocodile-banner'; Manmatha, 'agitator'; Mano-ja, 'mind-produced'; Madhu-dīpa, 'honey-lamp'; Muhura, 'bewildered'; Murmura, 'crackling' like a fire; Pushpa-bāṇa, 'flower-arrow'; Pushpa-dhanus, 'flower-bow'; Pushpa-śara, 'flower-dart'; Pañcha-śāyaka, 'five-arrows'; Ramaṇa, 'dalliance'; Rāga-vṛinta, 'passion-stalk'; Rūpāstra, 'beauty-weapon'; Rata-nārīcha, 'lover of women'; Śrī-nandana, 'gladdener'; Sāmāntaka, 'ender of peace'; Smara, 'rememberer'; Titha, 'fire'; Vāma, 'handsome'.

Ratī is also called: Kāma-priyā, 'beloved of Kāma'; Kāmī, 'loving'; Kāma-patni, 'Kāma's wife'; Kelikilā, 'wanton'; Kāma-kalā, 'love-sporting'; Māyāvatī, 'deceiver'; Revā, 'brilliant'; Rāga-laṭā, 'lust-vine'; Śubhāṅgī, 'fair-limbed'.

Books

See under Mythology.

KĀMADHENU (*kāma-dhenu*, 'wish-cow'), a miraculous cow of plenty who could give her owner whatever he desired. She was sometimes said to be the

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daughter of Daksha, and the wife of the ṛishi Kaśyapa. She appeared on earth as one of the precious things that were brought to light in the Churning of the Ocean. The gods presented her to the *sapta-ṛishis* and she became the property of the sage Vasishṭha.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* relates that the sage Viśvāmitra once paid a visit to the hermitage of Vasishṭha and was received and entertained with great hospitality. At the hermitage he saw the priceless Kāmadhenu who had provided all the delightful things for the repast he had just enjoyed, and he was filled with covetousness for her. He offered Vasishṭha all he owned for the cow but the offer was declined. He then attempted to take her away by force but Kāmadhenu broke away from his grasp and magically conjured up warriors to defend her and her master. Viśvāmitra next summoned a few hundred of his sons to battle for her, but Vasishṭha reduced them all to ashes with a hot blast of rage from his mouth. In the long and fierce struggle between Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭha the former suffered a humiliating defeat and for this reason resolved to become a brāhmin on his own merit and so equip himself for equality with his brāhmin rival. In another legend Kāmadhenu was killed by the exiled king Triśaṅku* to provide food for the sons of Viśvāmitra.

The calf of Kāmadhenu was acquired by the sage Jamadagni after years of penance. It was coveted and stolen by the Haihaya king Kārtavīrya, which led to a wholesale massacre of kshattriyas by Jamadagni's son Paraśurāma*.

Kāmadhenu is also called Surabhī (hence her descendants or worshippers are called Saurabheya); Kāmadughā; Kāmaduh; Śavalā and Nandinī (this last name was also given to the daughter of Kāmadhenu).

Books

See under Mythology.

KĀMARŪPA, the early name of a region in western Assam, associated with an erotic cult of great antiquity. It was so named because it was here that Kāma*, god of love, regained his original form (rūpa) after he had been reduced to ashes by the wrath of Śiva. The worship of *Kāmākhyā* (or Kāmākshyā), goddess of love, which forms part of the śākta cult of East Bengal and Assam, has always been prominent in this area. Her chief sanctuary, also called Kāmākhyā, is situated on the Kāmagiri hill about three miles from the present town of Gauhāṭi in Assam. The town and the legends connected with it are described in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. The original site of the temple was associated with the Tantrik adept Vasishṭha* who dedicated it to the goddess Tārā.

On the hill of Kāmagiri the goddess Satī* used to meet the god Śiva in secret for prolonged erotic sessions, and when she died and her dismembered body was being borne on the head of the distraught Śiva, it was on Kāmagiri that her genitals fell, giving the hill a blue appearance. This hill was thus both the scene of her passion and the site of her grave.

A temple was built to mark the spot where the incident occurred. It contains no image of the goddess, but in the depths of the shrine is a cleft in the rock, adored as the yoni of Śakti. A natural spring within the cave keeps the cleft moist. Kāmākhyā is worshipped both by love and sacrifice. At the dedication

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of her temple in 1565 the heads of 140 men were offered to her on salvers of copper, this metal being peculiarly linked with her worship. There was a class of men called *bhogī* consecrated to her, who were voluntary victims. Human sacrifice continued till as late as 1832 when it was stopped by the British. Today goats are decapitated and offered to her. The temple was popular with the Aghorīs* who on occasion used to perform profligate rites of the Tantrik order there.

An early tribe known as the Kāmarūpa lived in this area, but little is known about them. Another ancient tribe, the *Prāgjyotisha* (*prāg-jyotisha*, 'eastern star'), who appear to have come originally from the north-west of India and settled in the Gangetic plain, also played a prominent part in the history of Kāmarūpa. One of their legendary kings, *Naraka*, was brought up by Janaka king of Mithilā. He came to Kāmarūpa and became the protector of the shrine, then ruler of the country and founder of the city of Prāgjyotisha, famous in legend. He is described as a 'son of the earth', the most cruel and licentious of all the *asuras*, and the worst hated enemy of the gods.

Naraka routed the gods, stole the earrings of Aditi and wore them himself, and took the canopy of Indra and placed it over his own head. In the guise of an elephant he violated the daughter of Viśvakarman, after which he proceeded to abduct the daughters of gods, *gandharvas* and men, and a whole host of apsarās. He built a splendid palace for these 16,000 women, full of gardens and jewelled rooms, and here on a grand scale he practised sex rites in honour of the goddess. Naraka was assisted in his exploits by another asura, Muru (or Mura), the father of Kauverī. In their arrogance both soon incurred the wrath of the adept Vasishṭha who put them under a curse, condemning their city to destruction.

The asuras fortified the city against all possible attack by placing around it 'cunning nooses, the edges of which were as sharp as razors'. The youthful Kṛishṇa at the request of the gods attacked the kingdom of Prāgjyotisha, cutting through the defences with the aid of his discus and slaying Naraka, Muru, and seven thousand of their sons like moths. He released the women, recovered their jewels for them, among them the earrings of Aditi, which he restored to her, and then married them all.

The son of Naraka was *Bhāgadatta*, described as a Yavana (Greek) who assembled an army of *mlechchhas* and barbarians and sided with Duryodhana in the Mahābhārata War. He fought with great valour at Kurukshetra and was finally slain by Arjuna. Several later kings of Assam during the historical period claimed descent from Bhāgadatta.

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KĀMAŚĀSTRA (*kāma-śāstra*, 'love-text'), one of the upavedas, concerns the science, art and technique of *kāma*, or erotics. In the *Kāmasūtra* (see below), kāma is defined as the consciousness of enjoyment through the five sensory organs, particularly the sense of touch.

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The sexual art was first formulated in 100,000 chapters by the god Prajāpati, describing the beginning of things and the progress of creation through the procreative act. This was codified in a treatise of 1,000 chapters by Nandi, bull of Śiva, who observed the god Śiva and his wife Pārvatī in their amorous encounters performed for his benefit. He revealed the science to the sage **Śvetaketu** son of Uddālaka, who recorded it in 500 chapters which he bequeathed to his successors.

This treatise in turn was reduced to 300 chapters by **Śaṅkha**, the members of whose school, the Śāṅkhāyana, wrote dissertations on Vedic ritual and the *śrauta sūtras*. Śaṅkha's work on erotics was still further reduced by the great sexologist **Bābhravya**, who condensed it into 150 chapters in seven *adhikaraṇa*, or sections. Bābhravya came from the region of Pañchāla and the institution he founded became the most famous school of sexology in India. Each of the seven sections was taken up and elaborated by seven contemporary authorities of Magadha, each specializing in one aspect of the subject. Only scraps of their work have survived:

1 **Chārāyaṇa** wrote on *sādhāraṇa*, or the general principles of erotics.
2 **Suvarṇanābha** concentrated on *sāṁprayogika* or courtship.
3 **Ghoṭakamukha** specialized in *kanyā-saṁprayuktaka* or sexual union.
4 **Gonardīya** discussed *bhāryādhikārika* or the wife, i.e. married love.
5 **Goṇikāputra** was responsible for a work on *pāradārika* or the wives of other people. This topic was supposed to have been first dealt with by the ancient author, Mūladeva, who compiled a manual, now lost, on the art of thieving; he then wrote another on the art of stealing other men's wives.
6 **Dattaka** made a study of the *vaiśika* or prostitute. His work, which still exists in fragments, was written at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra.
7 **Kuchumāra,** author of a volume on *apanishadika*, or the secret knowledge of erotic stimulation by means of potions, spells, aphrodisiacs, mantras, and apadravya (special appliances).

Vātsyāyana (fl. AD 450) was the greatest authority on erotics in India. His masterpiece, the *Kāmasūtra*, an encyclopaedia of erotic education, is the best known of all the books on the subject. According to tradition Vātsyāyana remained an ascetic and celibate all his life, and his work was written without personal experience. It was compiled, it is said, in order to check the trend towards the specialization of the Bābhravya school, and to recover and reintegrate the rapidly disappearing general principles of erotics. Its chapters cover most aspects and techniques of human courtship and mating, and all subsequent Hindu writers on the subject have borrowed from him. There have been considerable additions to the original text by later hands. The chief commentary on the Kāmasūtra is the *Jaya-maṅgalā* by Yaśodhara (thirteenth century).

Dāmodaragupta (fl. AD 780) was the chief minister of Jayāpīḍa king of Kashmīr. His work, the *Kuṭṭanī-mata*, Lessons of a Bawd, survives only in fragments. It is written in the form of advice given by an elderly professional bawd of Banāras to a novice who has just become a courtesan, on how to attract lovers and gold. She illustrates her discourse by relating the story of

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another courtesan and her lover. Elegant and polished in style, the book is rich in information on social and religious life in eighth century Kashmīr, and seldom descends to mere pornography.

Kshemendra (990–1065) the Voltaire of Kashmīr, a satirist, wit and cynic, was an accomplished and brilliant writer of *kathās**, and a great lover and patron of the stage. His masterpiece, *Samaya-mātṛikā*, 'The Harlot's Breviary', was inspired by the work of Dāmodaragupta. Compact, unified and full of cruel wit, it portrays the life of a courtesan, but lapses frequently into coarse realism and vulgarity.

Koka (?1060–1215?) ,also known as Koka-paṇḍita or Kukkola, unlike the celibate Vātsyāyana, wrote from personal experience. According to legend a nymphomaniac *yakshī* once appeared at the court of his patron and declared that she had roamed the fourteen worlds but neither gods, demons nor men had been able to satisfy her. Koka took the amorous one to an antechamber and satisfied her so completely that she was rid of her desire for the next seven incarnations. Koka's work, *Rati-rahasya*, Mysteries of Passion, is a factual handbook on love-making and coition, with a classification of female types, the choice of partners, methods of union, postures of sex, and so on.

Jyotirīśa (fl. 1320) also called Kaviśekhara, was the protégé of Ārasiṁha who fought against Ghiasuddin Taghlaq. He was the author of *Pañcha-śāyaka*, Five Arrows, i.e. of the love god. The work discusses the different types of men and women, with physiological particulars of the sex organs, the modes of love-making, ingredients for cosmetics, aphrodisiacs, lifting sagging breasts, contracting the vagina, sterility, coital postures, flagellation, and so on.

Subsequent to these classics, hundreds of books on erotics, most of them crude beyond description, were produced in Sanskrit and the vernaculars. The gods, especially Śiva and Kṛishṇa were made to enact the postures of love for the reader's benefit; the performance of Pārvatī and Rādhā being more appropriate to the bawdy house and the pervert's chamber. Among the few authors that have some claim to serious attention, four may be mentioned. **Padmaśri** (fl. 1350) author of *Nagara-sarvasva* or The Complete Citizen'; **Jayadeva** (fl. 1370) not to be confused with the author of *Gītāgovinda*, wrote the *Rati-Mañjarī*, Love's Blossoms; **Devarāja** (*c.* 1400) or Mahārāja Devarāja, author of *Rati-ratna-pradīpikā*, Love-Jewel-Lamp; **Kalyāṇamalla** (?1460–1530) Hindu courtier to a Muslim nobleman of the Lodi dynasty, whose volume entitled *Anaṅga-raṅga*, Theatre of the Love-god, written for the benefit of his master, is as well known as the writings of Vātsyāyana.

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KĀMBOJA, an ancient tribe of north-western India frequently mentioned in ancient texts, although not in the *Ṛig-veda* itself. In Manu they are classed with the śūdras, in the *Mahābhārata* with the barbarians; and the *Jātakas* say they observed non-Aryan customs. They were among the tribes opposed to King Sagara, who forced them to shave their heads as a token of submission, and Pāṇini refers to them as *muṇḍa*, 'bald'. They were Kaurava allies in the battle of Kurukshetra, and their king Sudakshiṇa displayed great bravery and prowess in the field until slain in a duel with Arjuna.

The Kāmbojas are variously said to have belonged to Khorasan, Balkh, Bokhara, Afghanistan, Kafiristan, Kashmīr, and Tibet, with their capital at an unidentified place called Dvārka, a name with Maga associations. They were frequently listed with the Gandhāra, Yavana, Madra and Śaka peoples. They may indeed have been of Perso-Mongolian stock, although they spoke a dialect midway between Avestic and Vedic. Attempts have been made to connect the name Kāmboja with the Persian Cambyses (Old Persian Kambujiya).

They were famous for their furs and skins embroidered with threads of gold, their woollen blankets, their wonderful horses, and beautiful women, but by the Epic period became especially renowned as Vedic teachers, and their homeland as a seat of brāhminical learning.

Aśoka sent missionaries to the Kāmbojas and recorded their conversion to Buddhism in a rock edict. A branch of the Kāmbojas seems to have migrated eastwards along the Himālayan foothills, hence their notice in the Tibetan and Nepāli chronicles. Later they entered the Gangetic plain and by the ninth century AD came into conflict with the Pālas of Bengal. In the tenth century Pāla rule was terminated by the Kāmbojas who set up one of their chiefs as king. Kāmboja rule in Bengal lasted until they were deposed by resurgent Pālas in 980. The descendants of the Kāmbojas are still said to be found in northern Bengal (I, p. 8).

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KAṀSA (or Kalāṅkura), tyrannical king of the Bhoja people, was the putative son of Ugrasena, king of Mathurā, and the beautiful Karṇī (or Pavanarekhā). In reality his father was the asura demon Drumālika, who fell in love with Karṇī and assuming the guise of her husband united with her. The queen thus became the mother of the child Kaṁsa who grew up to be a vicious, scheming tyrant, albeit a devotee of Śiva. He was believed to be a reincarnation of the asura Kālanemi. His two wives were the daughters of Jarāsandha king of Magadha.

On attaining manhood Kaṁsa imprisoned his aged father Ugrasena and usurped the throne, and it was for the purpose of punishing this crime that the god Vishṇu decided to descend to earth. He incarnated as Kṛishṇa*, son of Vasudeva and Kaṁsa's half-sister Devakī.

Now Kaṁsa had been warned by a sage that a son born to his sister Devakī would encompass his death, so he persecuted her and tried by various

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stratagems to destroy her children. Kṛishṇa miraculously escaped a genera. massacre of innocents, and grew up to become a paragon among men.

Kṛishṇa's slaying of Kaṁsa took place when the king, frantically assaying every means of bringing to an end the victorious career of the boy-god, organized an athletic contest to which he invited Kṛishṇa and his half-brother Balarāma. At the contest he sent savage demons and fearsome beasts against them, but through Kṛishṇa's prowess these were easily overcome. Finding all his plans foiled Kaṁsa entered the lists himself, only to be defeated and slain after a mighty struggle, by Kṛishṇa. Another son of Ugrasena named Sunāman then came forward to avenge the killing of his brother, but he too was slain by Balarāma. The captive Ugrasena was freed and reinstated, and for some time after, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma lived on at Mathurā.

Books

See under Mythology.

KANARESE or Canarese is the corrupt anglicized form of Kannaḍa, a Dravidian language largely influenced by Tamil and Sanskrit, spoken by about eighteen million people in Karṇāṭaka.

The oldest example of Kanarese is said to be found in a Greek farce of the second century BC written on a papyrus called, after the place in Egypt where it was discovered, the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*. It tells about a Greek lady shipwrecked on a strange coast of a far country. The inhabitants of the place speak a 'barbarous' tongue, fragments of which the learned Dr Hultzsch has identified as Kanarese. The next oldest examples of Kanarese are thought to be some stone inscriptions dated AD 190 found in South India. Many scholars, however, disclaim the authenticity of both the papyrus and the stone inscriptions as representing genuine Kanarese. The earliest indisputable Kanarese inscription would therefore be the writing on the Halmidi stone of AD 450 which was discovered near Belūr in Mysore State. Subsequent to that date Kanarese possesses immense epigraphic wealth that still awaits comprehensive study. Stone and copper-plate engravings run into thousands.

Early in its history Kanarese received encouragement from a number of royal patrons, of whom the most liberal were the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed and the Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ. **Nṛipatuṅga** (814–77) a Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler of Mālkhed was the reputed author of *Kavirāja-mārga*, the earliest extant Kannaḍa work of any merit, which mentions other more ancient poets whose work is now lost.

The next important phase was the so-called 'Jain Period', which extended from the tenth to the twelfth centuries and embraced the work of several Jain writers, of whom the most notable was **Nemichandra** (fl. 980) who made valuable contributions to the development of Kanarese prose.

To this same period belong the 'three gems' of Kanarese letters. **Pampa** (fl. 940), also called Ādipampa, 'early Pampa', to distinguish him from a later Pampa, was the son of a court poet, and a brāhmin convert to Jainism, who expounded the doctrines of his new faith with devotion and elegance. His first book deals with the life-story of the first Jain *tīrthaṅkara*; and in his

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Pampa-Bhārata, a Jain version of the *Mahābhārata*, Draupadī appears as the only wife of Arjuna. The second of the trio, **Ponna** (fl. 950) of Veṅgi, likewise left brāhminism for the Jain faith. His fame rests mainly on his biography of the sixteenth tīrthaṅkara. The third 'gem' was **Ranna** (fl. 1000) a Vaishṇava of the bangle-seller caste. His works include a history of the second tīrthaṅkara, and the story, related with feeling and vigour, of Bhīma's struggle against Ḍuryodhana.

In the twelfth century one noteworthy name is that of **Abhinava-pampa** (fl. 1110), 'new Pampa', also called Nāgachandra, whose *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa* presents a remarkable version of the *Rāmāyana* in which the whole atmosphere is Jain, without a single reference to brāhminism. Rāma, Rāvaṇa and all the characters of the epic are Jains and end their careers as Jain *yatis*, or ascetics. In place of the marvels of the brāhminical story, we have a natural and comparatively credible narrative. For example, Hanumān and his followers are not monkeys but an indigenous tribe, whose standard bears a simian emblem.

Another Jain propagandist, **Vṛitta-vilāsa** (*c.* 1160) wrote a Kanarese version in *champū* style (alternate prose and verse) of a Sanskrit work by Amitagati (1014) entitled *Dharma-parīksha*. It tells how two kshattriya princes go to Banāras, and in a series of debates with the paṇḍits there, expose the vices of the gods as recorded in the sacred books, conclusively showing that none one of them is fit to be entrusted with the care of a girl. They further demonstrate the implausibility of tales like that of Hanumān and his monkeys. Through these discussions their faith in Jainism is confirmed.

With the rise of Liṅgāyatism* and its worship of Śiva came a spate of what are known as *vāchana* or 'sentences' by Liṅgāyat writers. These consist of short alliterative paragraphs, epigrammatic prose and prose lyrics, dwelling on such themes as the vanity of riches and the uncertainty of life, and urging men to become devotees of Śiva. This trend began with Basava. The Kanarese philosopher Madhva* wrote in Sanskrit but inspired many Kanarese religious works.

Lakshmīśa (*c.* 1650) was a Vaishṇava brāhmin, whose *Jaimini Bhārata* is probably the most famous work in Kanarese literature. Though its subject deals with the wanderings of the horse appointed for Yudhishṭhira's horse-sacrifice, the real purpose of the poem is to extol the power and virtue of Kṛishṇa. **Shaḍaksharadeva** (fl. 1660) a Liṅgāyat poet, began composing when eleven years old. He is best known for his *Rājaśekhara*, which ranks among the most highly esteemed Kanarese poems. It tells the story of a just king who condemned his own son to death for accidentally killing a boy. In a happy ending Śiva restores them both to life.

There was great literary activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, manifested mainly in fresh presentations of Vaishṇava classics. The latter half of the eighteenth century was unfavourable to authorship, as the country was frequently overrun by alien, especially Muslim, armies.

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of a new spirit among young writers, and the beginnings of drama, novels and western literary forms and themes. Says one critic, '*Palgrave's Golden Treasury* revolutionized Kannaḍa

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poetry' (I, p. 198). The influence of English writing, Christian missionaries and the printing press, and the inevitable grammars, dictionaries and text-books that followed, radically changed the character of Kanarese writing. This period is best exemplified in the work of **Govinda Pai** (*c.* 1883), Kannaḍa 'Poet Laureate', who introduced new modes and rhythms from English verse, adapted the Shakespearean sonnet to Kanarese poetry, and the Greek chorus to the Kanarese stage. He also translated the *Rubaiyat* from Fitz-gerald's version.

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KANAUJ, famous city on the Ganges, whose name is said to derive from Kanyākubja, after a curse by Vāyu*, began its long history as the hermitage of the Vedic *ṛishi* Kuśika. It became the capital of his descendant Gādhi, and the birthplace of Gādhi's son Viśvāmitra, and still later the capital of Amāvasu son of Purūravas of the Lunar dynasty. It was also one of the *pīṭhas* (pilgrimage sites) sacred to Satī. The Greeks and Romans knew Kanauj, which the second century geographer Ptolemy refers to as Canogyza.

Like Mathurā, Kanauj had for centuries been exposed to the impact of invading foreign hordes. The Persians, Greeks, Bactrians, Kushāns, Śakas and Huns, all left their impress there. The city acquired a sophisticated culture evolved from a synthesis of these diverse elements, but paradoxically it has been described as the stronghold of the Indo-Aryan tradition, and as the home of Vedic lore and of brāhmins of the bluest blood in India. It is nonetheless beyond dispute that it was profoundly influenced by foreign races both culturally and ethnically.

For four hundred years a part of the Gupta empire, Kanauj first rose to historical importance in the seventh century when it became the cultural centre of northern India, and remained so until the coming of the Muslims. When, following the Hun depredations, the Gupta edifice began to crumble, many little principalities sprang into existence in various parts of the empire. Four of these were of considerable importance, namely: the Guptas of Eastern Mālwā, probably a branch of the imperial family; the kings of Gauḍa in north Bengal; the short-lived Maukhari dynasty of Kanauj; and the Vardhanas of Thānesar.

In the beginning of the seventh century the Maukhari ruler of Kanauj was on friendly terms with Rājya, chieftain of the Vardhana dynasty, whose sister, Rājyaśrī, he married. The early Vardhanas probably followed a Mithraic sun-worshipping cult, and were established at Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thānesar) in eastern Panjāb, north of Delhi.

Shortly after the marriage, the king of eastern Mālwā assassinated the Maukhari ruler and threw his young bride Rājyaśrī into prison. When Rājya the Vardhana chief went forth to avenge his brother-in-law's death and the insult to his sister, the king of Mālwā sought the assistance of Śaśāṅka (619–37) king of Gauḍa in north Bengal. In the course of the ensuing war

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Rājya was killed and the throne passed to his younger brother, the famous **Harsha***, who thus inherited from his brother the kingdom of Thānesar, and from his brother-in-law the kingdom of Kanauj. He made Kanauj his capital.

Four decades later a brāhmin faction arranged the murder of this celebrated ruler and crowned a man after their own hearts named **Aruṇāśva**, a brāhmin minister of Harsha, whom they enthroned, brushing aside the legitimate claims of Harsha's Buddhist family. Aruṇāśva attacked the escort of the Chinese envoy who had been sent to Harsha with gifts but who did not reach India till after Harsha's death. The ambassador escaped, gathered reinforcements from Tibet, Nepāl and Assam, invaded Kanauj, 'made 580 cities surrender', captured Aruṇāśva and took him, along with his wife and son, to China, where he ended his days in attendance on the T'ang emperor.

Kanauj revived again in the early part of the eighth century under another opportunist princeling of outstanding military talent named **Yaśovarman** (fl. 720–35) who conquered Gauḍa and Magadha, and for a while controlled the north, continuing diplomatic relations with the Chinese emperor (AD 731). His victory over Gauḍa was eulogistically celebrated in a monumental but incomplete *kāvya* (short epic) called *Gauḍavaho*, 'a masterpiece of bad writing', composed in the Gauḍa style by the poet Vākpati (fl. 730). Yaśovarman is chiefly remembered as the patron of the Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti. The king's brilliant career was cut short in a conflict with Lalitāditya of Kashmīr.

The fortunes of Kanauj varied considerably after Yaśovarman's death. For some years it came under the Pāla kings of Bengal who placed on the throne one of their own protégés, **Chakrāyudha** (*c.* 810). Later it became the capital of the Pratihāra* kings, and when the Pratihāra dynasty declined, the Gāhaḍavālas took over.

The early chiefs of the **Gāhaḍavāla** dynasty (1085–1194), also known as Gāhaṛwāra, ruled as feudatories of the Muslims at Kanauj and Banāras. About 1115 they won their independence, and Kanauj once more assumed importance, notably under **Jaichand** (1176–94) or Jayachandra, who was regarded by the Muslims as the greatest Indian king of his day. Kanauj at this time was enormously wealthy, and its culture decadent. It had 30,000 shops for the sale of pān (betel leaf preparation), and 60,000 families of public dancers and singers. Jaichand's great enemy was Pṛithvirāj, the Chāhamāna* king of Delhi who abducted his daughter during her *svayaṁvara* ceremony. If, as one legend relates, Jaichand did not actually invite Muhammad of Ghor to invade India, he at any rate remained aloof at the historic battle of Tarain (1193) when his hated rival was captured and slain. But in 1194 Muhammad of Ghor's general, Qutb-ud-dīn defeated Jaichand in the battle of Chandwār on the Jamnā, and thus brought to an end the Hindu kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and Banāras. The importance of Kanauj declined when Delhi emerged under the Muslims as the principal city and capital of northern India.

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KAṆḌU, a *mahāṛishi* whose formidable austerities caused consternation in heaven. Indra therefore sent the seductive *apsarā* Pramlochā to distract him. Such was her beauty that the moment the sage beheld her he took her into his embrace and they were locked together for a hundred years which passed so swiftly that it seemed as if only a day had elapsed. When he awoke from his erotic trance the holy man drove his temptress from his presence, and himself repaired to the 'region of Vishṇu'. The vital fluid of Kaṇḍu with which the body of Pramlochā was permeated, exuded from her pores in the form of perspiration, and as she passed through the air she wiped her body with the leaves of trees. The wind gently collected the leaves into human shape, the moon shed its vitalizing effulgence on it and it became a lovely girl, Mārishā.

In her former life Mārishā had been the childless widow of a king, whose devotion to Vishṇu had gained his favour. The god permitted her to make any request she chose, and she asked for 'honourable husbands and a son equal to a patriarch'. She was promised ten husbands and a wonderful son in her next incarnation. The ten promised husbands were the sons of the mahāṛishi and prajāpati, Prachetas (or Prāchinabarhis). They were devotees of Vishṇu, and spent ten thousand years in the primeval ocean, deep in worshipful meditation. Pleased with their loyalty Vishṇu bestowed on them the boon of becoming the progenitors of many mighty races. They married Mārishā and their issue through her was the arch-*ṛishi* Daksha*.

Books

See under Mythology.

KANISHKA (?AD 100–162?) the most famous of the Kushān kings and one of the greatest rulers of India. Shortly after his accession to the throne of Purushapura (modern Peshāwar) he annexed Kashmīr and parts of Kashgar and Yarkhand, so that the Kushān domains extended from Khorasan in Persia to Bihār, and from Khotan in Central Asia to the Koṅkaṇ coast. He compelled the Chinese to send hostages, who were detained for some years at his court. Kanishka's rule was brought to an end when he was murdered by being smothered in a quilt as he slept.

It was largely due to Kanishka's devotion to Buddhism that Buddha came to be worshipped as God. Mahāyāna Buddhism was inaugurated after the famous Buddhist council (AD 120) convened by him. But although a Buddhist himself, he gave due honour to Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Mithraic, Zoroastrian and Hindu gods, whose worship flourished in his realm, contributing significantly to the growth and development of that concretion of faiths known as Hinduism.

Kanishka was a liberal patron of literature and art; his reign witnessed the efflorescence of the Gandhāra* school of art, taking its inspiration from both Greek and Buddhist sources. Among the contemporary luminaries who graced the Kushān court were Aśvaghosha*, poet and theologian; Pārśva (or Pārśvika), a Buddhist prelate whose name, also borne by the Jain *tīrthaṅkara*, suggests Persian affinities; Vasumitra, another Buddhist divine, and president of the Fourth Buddhist Council of Kundalavana convened by Kanishka;

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Charaka the physician; Māṭhara the politician; Nāgārjuna* the philosopher; and the Greek Agesilaus who was Kanishka's overseer and chief engineer.

In his capital at Purushapura, Kanishka built the largest Buddhist stūpa ever erected, now a mere ruined mound. It had a stone and brick base measuring 285 feet from side to side, rising in five stages to a height of 150 feet, with a superstructure of carved wood 13 stories and 400 feet high, surmounted by a metal column with 25 copper umbrellas over it, so that the total height of the stūpa was 638 feet. Still extant in the sixth century, it was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Excavations on the site in 1908 disclosed a relic chamber where a small copper-gilt casket was found, believed to contain the ashes of Buddha. The casket is of Greek design and was made by the above-named Agesilaus, Kanishka's engineer, who also designed the stūpa. Shortly after its discovery the casket was sent to Mandalay.

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KAṆVA, one of the *sapta-ṛishis* or progenitor sages, to whom several hymns of the *Ṛig-veda* are ascribed. He was supposed to have been born of a drop (*kaṇa*) of perspiration that fell from the brow of the god Sūrya during the Churning of the Ocean. He probably came of aboriginal stock, and was extremely mild-tempered and kind in disposition. His descendants were the Kāṇva line of ṛishis, of whom the best known were the famous ṛishi Nārada*, and the sage Kaṇva who brought up Śakuntalā* in his hermitage on the banks of the Mālinī.

Another famous Kaṇva ṛishi was *Medhātithi* who, according to the Upanishads, was caught up to heaven by Indra in the form of a ram. During the flight he enquired of Indra who he was, and the god replied that he was the All, and identical with the universe. He allayed the sage's misgivings by explaining that he was well-pleased with his austerities and desired to conduct him to the path leading to the ultimate truth.

Associated with Medhātithi is the rishi *Āsaṅga*, son of Playoga, who was cursed by the gods to become a woman. He appealed to Medhātithi who helped him to recover his sex. Āsaṅga rewarded his benefactor with rich gifts and addressed to him certain verses of praise which are still preserved in the *Ṛig-veda*. The legend is thought to conceal the fact that the author of the verses attributed to Āsaṅga was not a man but a woman, or perhaps a eunuch.

Medhātithi was also the name of a commentator on the *Manu-saṁhitā* which occupies a high place in Hindu law.

Books

See under Mythology.

KĀPĀLIKA, from kāpāla, 'skull', hence 'skull-wearers'. The name of a tantrik or Pāśupata* sect of extreme antiquity, devoted to *śavavāda* or

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necrophilia*. Their deity is Śiva aspected as Kāpāleśvara, 'skull-lord', represented carrying a skull.

The Kāpāli yogis, as they are sometimes called, are characterized by utter indifference to orthodoxy; they reject the Vedas, scorn caste, flout convention, and are thoroughly antinomian*. Most of their sub-sects are now classed with the Criminal Tribes. They go about naked, smear their bodies with the ashes of a corpse, wear long matted hair, and never bathe for fear of washing off the powerful aura inherent in their skin. This aura they further augment by rubbing their perspiration back into their bodies, and by applying their discharged semen over the skin like ointment. They usually carry a triśula or trident, or sometimes a sword. The few who are clothed wear a cloth suspended from a string over the genitals; others wear a patchwork cloak and cover their heads with a cap, like the Muhammadan Sufis.

Solitary places, far from the abode of men, such as cremation grounds, are their chief haunts. They eat and drink from human skulls and delight in flesh and excrement, believing that the latter is a highly concentrated 'medicine' (*aushadha*) of immense occult potency. Human flesh picked from the burning grounds, or torn from the victims of their human sacrifices, is also eaten when opportunity provides. Disdaining the general prohibition of the Hindus they drink liquor, and also mixtures of their own bodily juices and excretions, as well as the blood that flows from their bodies during rites of ceremonial flagellation.

Some Kāpālikas are accompanied by a single female attendant, whom they use for the performance of their sex-magical copulatory rites. Sterile women sometimes go to them as a last resort. Their paramudrās include sitting for long periods of meditation with organ erect or locked within the yoni of their female devotees. At the two chief seasonal festivals in spring and autumn, members of the cult meet and indulge freely in orgies of drunkenness, cannibalism and sexuality. Through these practices the Kāpālikas are believed to obtain frightful occult powers, and are universally detested and dreaded as a malignant class of sādhus.

There are several Kāpālika sects, of which the Aghorī and Sepala are the most notorious. The *Aghorī*, also called the Aghorī-panthī, are cannibalistic, and will eat the flesh of any animal except, for some reason buried in their tradition, the flesh of the horse. They practice a kind of divination by the examination of a child cut out of a pregnant woman at full time (III, p. 58). They offer human sacrifices, generally of volunteer victims who, immediately they volunteer, become sacred and are assigned a place in Śakti's paradise, and are given whatever they desire. In particular, they are allowed, and encouraged to have as many women as possible. On the appointed day and at a special ceremony the victim is decapitated, or slain by having a dagger stuck in his throat. The Aghorīs then drink his blood and eat his flesh. The *Sepala* also eat all kinds of flesh, their special choice being jackals, scorpions, eels and snakes. Snakes are closely associated with their cult and snake-charmers are often recruited from their ranks. Although the snakes used by snake-charmers are drugged on capture and their fangs removed, the snakes used by the Sepala for their rituals are not so treated and their bite is fatal. The Sepalas claim immunity from their poison. An ancient sect, they believe

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that their founder, Kānipā, caught the fish (or eel) from which Matsyendra* was born.

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KAPILAR (?AD 150–320?), 'tawny', the name or pseudonym of a Tamil poet around whom many legends have grown up. According to one story his father was a brāhmin who while yet a boy went on a pilgrimage and was approached by a low-caste girl whom he drove off, striking her across the head with a stick. Returning home from his wanderings after some years he met a beautiful girl, fell in love with her and married her. During the marriage ceremony he noticed a scar on her head and recognized the low-caste girl whom he had previously repulsed. He allowed the marriage ceremony to proceed only on condition that she should abandon every child born of the union. She bore her husband many sons and daughters and in each case kept her cruel compact with her spouse. One of these children was the poet Kapilar. The legend probably conceals the lowly and possible illegitimate birth of the poet.

Kapilar grew in wisdom and learning and received the friendship and protection of a local South Indian Chera chieftain named Pāri. Once when the principality was being besieged Kapilar assisted his patron by training birds to fly beyond the enemy camp and bring back provisions for the beleaguered town. After Pāri's death Kapilar took charge of Pāri's unmarried daughters at the Chera court and arranged suitable marriages for them. Having successfully fulfilled this mission he starved (or burnt) himself to death.

Some of his poems are included in the Tamil Pattuppāṭṭu, but small collections of his works survive in other anthologies. His uncompromising views on the issue of caste are often quoted:

'Vasishṭha was born of a lowly mistress. Śaktri was born of a chaṇḍāli to Vasishṭha. Parāśara was born to Śaktri of a Puliah (degraded caste) woman; Vyāsa was born of a fisher-girl to Parāśara. All these by study of the Vedas rose to high estate and are famous as holy men'.

Again,

'In the various lands of the Mlechchhas (foreigners), Hūṇas (Huns), Yavanas (Greeks), Chīnas (Chinese) and Oṭṭiyas (Tibetans) there are no brāhmins. But you have set up in this land a four-fold division. Yet only by conduct are the high and low degrees distinguished'.

Books

See under Tamil.

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KARMA (*kar*, 'do'), the principle of universal causality resulting from action. The concept of karma, also found in primitive Indian beliefs, may be ultimately derived from pre-Aryan, probably Austric* sources. It was first expounded in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and now forms one of the basic constituents of the Hindu philosophical system. A term of wide application, karma is used in various contexts to mean action, deeds, destiny, causality, effect, product, result. It is rooted in the idea of *ṛita* or universal order which is the foundation of dharma*, and is based on the premise that the whole world order rests on rigid principles dominated by the immutable law of cause and effect. There is no random combination of events, no accidental or fortuitous occurrence, since Causality underlies all.

This concept is linked to that of *niyati*, 'fatality', or destiny, also called *daiva* since it is part of the cosmic or celestial law ordained by the gods, and an emphatic affirmation of the law of causation. The doctrine of niyati characterizes several non-Vedic systems of philosophy. The Chārvāka notion of one's own intrinsic nature implied a belief in the inescapable bonds of one's destiny. The Ājīvikas based their philosophy on this doctrine. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, Kṛishṇa tells Arjuna, 'You are fettered by your karma which is born of your own nature. Even if, from delusion, you do not want to do something, you will have to do it in spite of yourself'.

Owing to the importance of the karmic law, the analysis of action is very minutely undertaken in Hindu philosophy. Action is an unavoidable concomitant of one's birth and being. The impulse to action resides in *vṛitti*, 'whirl', the maelstrom of activity that starts from one's very inception, even before one's appearance on the earthly scene. Two kinds of vṛitti are distinguished, namely (*a*) *pravṛitti* or active activity, which manifests itself in the activities in which one is inextricably enmeshed as long as one is in and of the world, and (*b*) *nivṛitti* or passive activity, manifested in acts of world renunciation, abnegation and abstinence.

Every mode of existence has its form of activity, so that both kinds of vṛitti, that involving association with society and the world, as well as that belonging to the field of renunciation, are equally karma-generating. Even he who has completely abandoned so-called worldly existence is bound by acts, physical and mental. In the mind of the passive yogi as much as in the mind of the man of the world there is an infinite and continuous series of *chitta-vṛitti*, 'thought actions', or mental processes, feelings, moods, desires that constitute the psychomental stream of his life (*see* psychology).

The *chitta* or mind of the individual, being essentially rooted in the concept of self-ness, or *ahaṁkāra*, determines his *cheshṭā*, character and mode of life; and is tainted by *dosha* or defects arising from his egoism, aversion and ignorance, which results, among other things, in *duḥkha* or suffering*.

Suffering is only the immediate and perceptible fruit (*phala*) of action. There is another and more serious consequence which is not apparent and yet which exercises an irresistible power. This unseen effect is called *adṛishṭa*, 'invisible', for it is beyond the reach of consciousness and observation. Every virtuous and meritorious deed (*puṇya*) and every sin (*pāpa*), leaves its hidden impress on the soul, that remains with it through its present life and serves to identify it in the future life.

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The sum total of a man's thoughts, feelings, desires, and actions, thus constitutes his karma, the consequences of which are only partially worked out in this life, continuously forging the links that make up the chain of his existence. At the same time it determines his *pretya-bhāva*, 'spirit-state', or the nature and circumstances of his life after death, and the conditions of his next incarnation (*see* eschatology). Because of karma we are eternally bound to the wheel of *saṁsāra*, or birth-death-rebirth.

Karma is thus seen to be a cosmic law of debit and credit for good and evil; a law of moral retribution, eternally recurring. Karma does not create, it only adjusts the effects of actions. 'Man', it is said, 'is punished by his sins, not for them'. This inexorable doctrine was considerably mitigated by the idea of bhakti* or faith, according to which total surrender to God leads to the bestowal of God's grace which absolves one from the results of one's actions, halts the wheel of *saṁsāra* and assures personal salvation. It should be noted that the orthodox schools speak of *bhakti* merely as a nivṛitti activity and deny that it has any neutralizing effect on karma.

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KARṆA, the illegitimate son of Kuntī (*see* Śūra) and the sun-god Sūrya before her marriage to Pāṇḍu. Afraid of censure and disgrace Kuntī exposed the infant on the banks of the Yamunā, where he was found by a childless couple, Nandana (or Adhiratha), a charioteer from Aṅga, and his wife Rādhā, who named the child and brought him up as their own. In other legends Nandana is represented as a prince of Aṅga or as the charioteer of Dhṛitarāshṭra.

Karṇa was equipped at birth with celestial earrings (whence his name, which means 'ear'), an invulnerable coat of mail, and a magical scimitar given to him by his divine father. When he grew up Indra, in the guise of a brāhmin, wheedled the magical scimitar from him, and gave him in return great strength and a commanding presence, as well as a javelin with the power to kill anyone against whom it was directed.

Karṇa went to the veteran hero Paraśurāma for training in the use of arms, but aware of the latter's hatred of kshattriyas he first disguised himself as a brāhmin. Paraśurāma discovered the deception after he had completed Karṇa's training. In a rage he cursed the young pupil, predicting that he would meet his death through choosing a wrong weapon in battle. The gods had also ordained that Karṇa should die in his third encounter with his half-brother Arjuna.

Meanwhile the young Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes, having completed their training in arms under the mighty Droṇa, were brought together by the Kaurava king Dhṛitarāshṭra for a display of skill in a grand tournament held before the royal court and the people of Hastināpura. While the contest was

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in progress there suddenly appeared an unknown warrior of noble bearing who ridiculed the 'bloodless feats' of Arjuna. When, according to the rules of chivalry, he was asked to state his lineage, the youth, who was none other than Karṇa, kept silent, for he believed himself to be the son of a lowly charioteer. Thereupon the king's son, Duryodhana, sprang up and declared that valour was reckoned by deeds and not by birth, and that Karṇa was obviously a peer among princes. In any case the lineage of the youth meant nothing, for was not Droṇa of humble birth, and were not the Pāṇḍava brothers themselves born out of wedlock, the sons of certain amorous deities? He then bestowed upon the young warrior the title of Rāja of Aṅga (Bengal) and had him crowned and anointed by the attending priests. This was the first of the fateful encounters between Karṇa and Arjuna. According to tradition Karṇa founded the town of Karṇāl, about eighty miles from modern Delhi, and established a small but powerful kingdom in the area.

He appeared at the *svayaṁvara* of Draupadī* as one of the contestants for her hand. But as he took up the great bow that no warrior had yet been able to bend, and easily bent it and fixed the bowstring, Draupadī intervened, saying that she could not consent to marry the son of a base-born charioteer. Burning with shame Karṇa cast aside the bow and walked away, and shortly after witnessed Arjuna bend the bow and win the beautiful Draupadī as a prize. This was the second encounter.

During the subsequent hostilities between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, Karṇa, although he had by now learnt from Kuntī that he was her true son and the half-brother of the Pāṇḍavas, took sides with their opponents so that he might have the chance of fighting his rival, Arjuna. On the terrible sixteenth day of the battle of Kurukshetra* he met his death in an unfair encounter with Arjuna, in circumstances that fulfilled the curse of Paraśurāma and the destiny allotted to him by the gods.

Karṇa was also called Ādhirathi or Sūta from his foster-father; Champādhipa, king of Champa; Kānīna, 'bastard'; Rādheya, from his foster-mother; Vaikarttana, from his father Vikarttana, the sun; and Vāsusena from his foster-parents.

Books

See under Mahābhārata and Mythology.

KĀRTTIKEYA, god of war and ruler of the planet Mars, was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. One myth states that he came into the world without the intervention of a woman, but was created when Śiva, having indulged in love-play with his wife for a thousand years, was approached by the gods with the plea not to impregnate her, lest a being be born who would be more powerful than any god. Śiva consented and asked the gods to prepare a place to receive the seed already aroused. The earth was not large enough so Śiva voided his seed into the sacrificial fire. Agni, concealed in the flames, received the seed into his mouth whence it was transmitted to the womb of Pārvatī. In another legend Kārttikeya is the child of Agni* and Svāhā, born out of Agni's delusion that he was uniting with the six wives of certain *ṛishis*, actually impersonated by Svāhā. In yet another legend Pārvatī gave into

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Agni's keeping the foetus of her unborn son Kārttikeya. While it was being carried by Agni it fell into the Ganges, hence Kārttikeya is sometimes referred to as the offspring of Agni and Gaṅgā. The infant was brought up by the six Pleiades (Kṛittikā) whence its name, and had six heads and twelve hands to receive the milk of his six nurses.

According to the Purāṇas, Kārttikeya was created for the purpose of destroying *Tāraka*, the son of the *daitya* Vajrānaka. Tāraka grew so powerful through his austerities that he became a source of peril to the gods. He asked for and obtained from Brahmā the boon of immortality, the condition being that only a son of Śiva could slay him. As Śiva had just lost his wife Satī and had taken to continence and meditation, Tāraka had no fear from that quarter, and he started tyrannizing over the whole world. For his benefit the moon had to shine perpetually without waning, the sun had to shine continually with a moderate heat, and the gentle zephyr had to blow throughout the year. He demanded and obtained Indra's prized horse, Uchchhaiḥ-śravas, and the miraculous cow of plenty, Kāmadhenu, besides many other wonderful things. The gods thereupon commissioned Kāma, god of love, to inspire Śiva with erotic thoughts so that he might father a child who would slay Tāraka. This mission Kāma successfully accomplished, making the god open his eyes just as the voluptuous Pārvatī was passing by, so that the god emitted his seed. This seed then either entered Pārvatī or touched her, or fell into the sacrificial fire, giving rise to Kārttikeya.

Kārttikeya in due course became the celestial general, slew the tyrant Tāraka and had many other encounters with the demon hosts. Two of Tāraka's confederates, Krauncha and Mahisha, escaped during the fight with the war god and took refuge in the Himālayas. There they began haunting the pass that had been earlier opened by Paraśurāma to make a direct route from Mount Kailāsa to the south. Kārttikeya led a battalion of gods against these tyrants and slew them, freeing the pass which was thereafter named the Krauncha Pass.

Kārttikeya is depicted riding on his *vāhana* or vehicle, the peacock, Paravāṇi, holding a bow and arrow. His banner bears the figure of a cock, and his weapon is the *śakti* or spear. In most legends he is unmarried, but in some he is wedded to the maiden Devasenā (called Vallī in South India) who had been rescued from the clutches of an *asura* by Indra.

Kārttikeya has many names (*see* below), the best known being Skanda, a quite unusual name whose analogy to Alexander the Great (known also as Sikander) has been pointed out. Kārttikeya is also called Kumāra, 'boy', because of his youthful appearance and because he never married. The cult of the boy-god, known as Kaumāra, was once widespread in north India although now practically extinct there. Children are not allowed to worship at his shrine. In eastern India he is worshipped once a year, chiefly by women of doubtful reputation, while in Bombay he is regarded as inauspicious, and married women will hesitate to enter a shrine dedicated to him. In South India among the Śaivites he is still widely revered as *Mūruganṇ* who is associated with serpent worship. He is often described as joining the fierce goddess Koṛṛavai (sometimes said to be his mother) in her cannibal feasts in the battlefield.

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He was supposed to induce violent sexual passion in girls, and his votaries danced frenzied dances in a ring, and propitiated him with magical rites. Today his devotees visit his shrine, especially at Palni near Madura, bearing an ornamental bamboo pole called the *kāvaḍi*, from which are hung small pots containing milk, sugar, honey, flowers and fruit. All hill tracks are sacred to him, and unwary travellers are often afflicted by him. Cases of so-called demon possession in areas sacred to him are often ascribed to Mūruganṇ.

Kārttikeya is also called: Aṅgāra, the limb of Āra, a name said to be borrowed from the Roman Ares, or Mars, god of war; Agni-bhū, 'fire-born'; Dvadaśa-kara, twelve-handed; Bhauma, 'earthy'; Gaṅgā-putra, 'son of the Ganges'; Guha, the 'mysterious' one; Khaṇḍojī, the name by which he is known in Mahārāshṭra; Mahā-sena, 'great general'; Maṅgala, identified with the planet Mars; Śakti-dhara, 'spear-holder'; Śara-bhū, 'thicket-born'; Senā-pati, 'lord of generals'; Shaṇ-mukha, 'six-faced'; Siddha-sena, 'chief of magicians'; Śeyon, 'red-complexioned', known as such in South India; Su-brahmaṇya, 'favourable to brāhmins'; Svāmi-nātha, 'teacher-lord', because he taught Śiva the meaning of the mystic syllable Oṁ; Tāraka-jit, 'the vanquisher of Tāraka'; Velan, 'carrier of the vel or spear'.

Books

See under Mythology.

KASHMĪR, a country in the mountainous regions of north-west India. There is much dispute about the origin of the name, which is said to be derived, either from a tribe who came to settle there from the Caucasus (Kargaz); or from a class of degraded kshattriyas called Khash; or from the mythical hag Kāsha; or from the *ṛishi* Kaśyapa who raised it from the great lake which once covered the land. Kashmīr's basic population is an Aryan-Mongolian mixture, and its ruling classes were for many centuries men of Scythian or Turkish stock. Owing to the beauty of the Kashmīris, intermarriage among all castes was always widespread, and Kashmīri women filled the harems of Indian kings.

There have been several ancient chronicles of Kashmīr, written by Suvrata, Kshemendra and others, all of whose early material was incorporated by the Kashmīri historian Kalhaṇa* in his great work. Despite Kalhaṇa's frequent lapses into credulity, particularly in regard to the early period, his general reliability for the historical events nearer his own time is admitted.

The beginnings of Kashmīr's history are inextricably mixed up with mythology and tradition, in which the Nāgas seem to have played a significant part, and many geographical place-names in Kashmīr still bear traces of the serpent people. The earliest recorded king is the legendary **Gonanda** (2500 BC), who is followed by forty other kings, equally legendary. The first historical name occurring in the chronicle is **Aśoka,** although Kalhaṇa gives him only brief mention. The dating of Aśoka is out by a thousand years, and his historical feats are passed over in silence.

In spite of its comparative isolation, Kashmīr was open to outside political and cultural influences. At various times the region had been part of the

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empires of **Aśoka** (d. 232 BC), **Kanishka** (d. AD 162), and **Mihiragula** the Hun (d. AD 528). That there was considerable Eastern Himalayan contact is supported by the tradition of the semi-legendary king, **Meghavāhana** (AD 12–46), who had a Tibetan guru, and whose court was thronged with foreign scholars, Bactrians, Kushāns and Yavanas, besides Tibetans and Nepālis. The historical existence of another king **Pravarasena II** (*c.* AD 550), founder of Srinagar, is borne out by his coins.

Kashmīr reached the peak of her power during the reign of **Lalitāditya** (699–736) of the Karkoṭa dynasty, a renowned warrior of Turkish antecedents. His chief minister was a Tokharian; and Central Asian and Chinese political factors made themselves felt throughout his reign. His sway extended from the Koṅkaṇ coast to Turkestan, and was felt in the Gangetic area and Kanauj*. He is believed to have built the great temple of the Sun at Mārtāṇḍa (760) of Hellenistic derivation and today a crumbling ruin.

Kalhaṇa was already aware of the undermining influence of the brāhmin priesthood, who were slowly getting the upper hand in Kashmīri affairs. Succession to the throne was becoming more and more a matter decided by the paṇḍits, who clung to their power like limpets and squandered their time in barren debates on the *śāstras*.

'With beards besmeared with the smoke of sacrifice, these brāhmins, or bullocks without horns, fought among themselves for want of authority. Instead of sprinkling a fit person with the water of sovereignty, they only wetted their beards with the spit thrown out by their own wrangling'.

Lalitāditya's grandson, **Jayāpīḍa** (*c.* 800) was both a patron of letters and an avowed opponent of brāhmins, whose military adventures took him as far as Bengal. The fame of **Avantivarman** (855–873) is kept alive by the existence of two ruined temples at Avantipura. His attitude towards the paṇḍits was one of watchfulness and suspicion.

But the brāhmins were too powerful a force to contend with, and by the end of the ninth century they had assumed a virtual strangle-hold on the affairs of the kingdom. Henceforward, Kashmīr was ruled by a long line of weak-willed misfits and profligates installed by the priests, who pandered to their every weakness so that they themselves might be left to govern the country without determined royal interference. In Kalhaṇa's account of the blood-thirsty and licentious **Diddā** (980–1003) who put her own grandson to death so that she might rule alone, he presents a vivid picture of the petty politics, intrigue, treachery, cruelty, debauchery and murder, that characterises much of Kashmīri history at that time. With few exceptions, from the end of the ninth century until the beginning of Mahmūd of Ghazni's invasion in the eleventh century, 'page after page of the chronicles of Kashmīr record only the bestiality and savagery of low-born adventurers who misgovern the country' (II, p. 274).

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the Muslim conquest of Kashmīr was so easily accomplished. The Muslim advent ushered in a period of peace after a long night of brāhmin oppression, and the people were gradually lured to Muhammadanism. The process was accelerated during the reign of outstanding monarchs such as Zain-ul-Ābedīn (1417–67) whose

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conciliatory policy towards the downtrodden Hindu peasants 'favoured the almost universal acceptance of Islam' (I, p. 87).

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KAŚYAPA, one of the seven great progenitor-ṛishis about whom conflicting myths abound. He is called a *prajāpati* or mind-born son of Brahmā; the offspring of Time; the first-born of Marīchi; and is identified with the Pole Star. He is the father of Vivasvat and grandfather of Manu, progenitor of mankind. Several Vedic hymns are attributed to him.

His non-Aryan name is believed to be cognate with the suffix *kaśipu*, 'throne' in the name of the daitya (aboriginal) king Hiraṇyakaśipu. Another legend states that *kaśyapa* means tortoise, and that Prajāpati having assumed the form of a tortoise created offspring, and that all creatures are thus descended from Kaśyapa. Many other creation stories are linked with his name. In later legend he appears as the priest of Paraśurāma and Rāmachandra. He is sometimes identified with Kaṇāda founder of Vaiśeshika philosophy. His descendants are known as the Kāśyapa, notable among them being the ṛishi Ṛishyaśṛiṅga.

Kaśyapa was a prolific sage, and many were the *devas* and demons, titans and ogres, *ṛishis* and kings, born to him through the thirteen daughters of Daksha and his other wives. Such were the Ādityas (through Aditi); the Gandharvas (through Arishṭā and Munī); the Asuras and Daityas (through Diti); the Dānavas (through Danu); Garuḍa (through Vinatā); the Nāgas (through Kadrū); the *yakshas* and *rākshasas* (through Khaśā); the Piśāchas and all sharp-toothed, flesh-eating monsters (through Krodhā); the thousands of ferocious and powerful Kālakañja and Pauloma (through Kālakā and her sister Pulomā) who were later slain by Arjuna; the Mauneya (*see* Māndhātṛi); Sumatī (who married Sagara) and many others. By his wife Surabhī, Kaśyapa fathered the Rudras, and also the horned Rohiṇī who became the mother of all horned cattle, including the wonderful Kāmadhenu.

Books

See under Mythology.

KATHĀ, 'narration', a comprehensive term embracing all types of narrative tales, fables, and apologues, whether wholly or partly legendary, based on the acts of deities or the heroic deeds of actual persons, whether in verse, mixed verse and prose, or wholly in prose. Conventionally its chapters are called *lambha*.

The Indian fable or parable goes back to a very remote date. It appears

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that the art of the fabulist reached its highest form in India and from here spread throughout the ancient world. Even today the *kathā* is used as a means of religious instruction, where a paṇḍit well versed in the Epics or Purāṇas weaves a story or relates an episode to point a moral for today's needs to a village audience.

The seeds of the kathā are said to be found in the Vedas, but it is now generally admitted that they had their true origin in the Prākṛit folk-tale. The first literary example of the kathā is seen in the Buddhist *Jātaka** or birth-stories about Buddha in his previous incarnations. These have been in existence since the fourth century BC. The kathā is also exemplified in a class of writings known as the *Nītiśāstra*, which relate legends and parables to illustrate the principles of *nīti* or conduct, explain some ethical idea or drive home a piece of practical advice. They formed the core of many handbooks on polity*.

One of the oldest collections of beast fables is the *Tantrākhyāyika*, which also adopts the device, later very popular, of a story within a story. In the original text it consisted of five books, each with its main story interwoven with other tales. Today only remnants of this work are known in Kashmīri, Nepalese and South Indian versions. The present text belongs to the Gupta period and is of unknown authorship. The two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka, which appear in the *Pañchatantra* also figure here. It might be called the oldest Sanskrit version of the *Pañchatantra*.

The *Pañchatantra** (AD 200–600), a much better-known collection of Sanskrit tales, represents a rich storehouse of Indian fables, full of delightful narrative and pithy maxims. Possibly preceding it in order of chronology is the *Bṛihatkathā* (AD 50–300) or 'Great Story', by Guṇāḍhya*, which goes back to remote legend and primitive memories, of immense interest to the researcher. An eighth century version of the Bṛihatkathā contains an oft-quoted reference to the Greeks as clever craftsmen, capable of building flying machines.

Another much more voluminous series, the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, 'The Ocean of Rivers of Stories', written in verse by the Kashmīri priest Somadeva* (*c.* 1070) is a sort of Hindu *Arabian Nights*, and embodies a vast cycle of interesting legends. Included in this anthology, but usually regarded as a separate cycle of its own, is the collection of tales called *Vetāla-pañcha-viṁśati*, 'The Twenty-five Tales of a Vampire'.

Yet another compilation is the *Vikrama-charita*, alternatively known as *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśikā*, 'Thirty-two Stories of the Lion Seat', in which the throne of the legendary king Vikramāditya relates a number of tales. Like the preceding seeris it is of Buddhist origin.

An anthology similar to the above Kathā-sarit-sāgara is the *Hitopadeśa*, 'Sound Advice', ascribed to a Tantrik writer, one Nārāyaṇa (fl. AD 1360) of Bengal. Many of its tales are taken from the earlier kathās, especially the *Pañchatantra*, although much new matter is also added. One of the most popular works in India, it is read by nearly all beginners in Sanskrit.

The *Śuka-saptati*, 'Parrot-seventy' (*c.* AD 950), also called The Enchanted Parrot, by an unknown brāhmin author, consists of seventy stories told by a parrot to keep its mistress, Prabhāvatī, from going out with her lovers for

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sixty-nine successive nights while her husband is away. In general it contains tales of feminine fickleness, arrant breaches of the marriage bond, and cunning stratagems by which women hoodwink their men.

Kshemendra (d. 1070) Kashmīri court poet, author of a *kāmaśāstra*, summaries of the two Epics, and numerous other works of dubious poetical merit, also wrote a famous book of tales and fables, known as *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī*, 'Great-story-bouquet', an abridged compilation based on Guṇāḍhya. Written in a mannered and concise style which makes it difficult to read, it is replete with erotic passages.

Books

See under Sanskrit.

KATHAK, 'story', a form of semi-classical dance originating in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in northern India, and extremely popular in the Panjāb and Uttar Pradesh. The themes of this dance are sometimes taken from the Epics, but the most favoured incidents relate to the life of Kṛishṇa, especially his moods of love. The Kathak is meant to be a solo dance, though this limitation is not always observed today. The dancer with the aid of mime and gesture alternately takes the part of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and the whole dance though highly stylized can be quite lyrical and graceful.

The Kathak acquired great popularity during the Moghul period, but much of its original purity is now lost. It became the form of dance used by the nautch-girls, who were the secular counterparts of the temple *devadāsīs*. Many of the nautch-girls were attached to the courts of Moghul princes and nobles as professional singers and dancers, and the Kathak acquired an unsavoury reputation as a result of its association with them. Both the tender story it was supposed to tell as well as the movements of the dancer grew coarse and crudely suggestive.

A Kathak story is conveyed by means of posture (*aṅgika*), hand movements (*mudrā*) and facial mime (*abhinaya*), which it shares with most of the Indian dance forms. But the style has its own distinctive traits. Thus there is a peculiar gliding movement called the *gati* (*see* dance) performed by the female dancer, ending with a sudden abrupt swing of the head and change of direction. Also typical is the *chakra*, 'wheel', a rapid whirling movement in which the dancer spins around like a top.

Another characteristic of the true Kathak is the highly intricate footwork, called *tatkar*, nimbly executed by the male dancer, which calls for great skill, and can only be acquired after long years of practice. The footwork is intimately linked with the beat of the music, and there is a fascinating cross-timing and counterpoint in the interlinking patterns of rhythm and tatkar. Its nearest Western counterpart is the tap-dance. During practice the accompanist or the dancer himself often calls out a beat of meaningless syllables, called *tat*, and the foot rhythms and gyrations of the dancer are regulated by these syllables. The tatkar sequences sometimes develop into an exhibition of pure virtuosity and lose much of their grace.

Just as the classical Bharata-nāṭyam poses, movements and musicians are captured in South Indian sculptures, reliefs and bronzes, so the Kathak style

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lives in the North Indian miniatures. Hundreds of charming paintings depict the gay moods and passion of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in the Kathak dance.

Books

See under Dance.

KATHĀKALI (*kathā-kali*, 'story-play') a mimetic dance-drama of Malabār, which has now become popular throughout India. It started in about the fourteenth century AD as a village pantomime performed in the fields, began to receive court patronage about two centuries later, and assumed its present shape during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Its choreography continues to be arranged for courtyard performance.

In its original form, as still played in Malabār, it is performed in the open air, with hardly any stage properties, and is very long drawn-out, beginning at sunset and ending at dawn, but it is considerably shortened for modern presentation elsewhere. Among the accompanying orchestral instruments are the *maddalam*, a long cylindrical drum hung from the neck of the drummer; another large round drum called the *chenda*; brass cymbals and stringed instruments. The costumes and especially the headgear are flamboyant and colourful, with a wealth of gaudy ornamentation. Masks are used, leaving part of the face exposed. The principal masks are often laboriously built up by the application of layer upon layer of heavy flour pastes which form a projecting frame around the face and give the impression of something larger than life. The colour of the paints used and the shape of the paste masks are dictated by convention and are all symbolic. In many places chins and cheek-masks of indiarubber are used instead.

The performers are all male dancers, with boys taking the part of women, and it is essentially a masculine dance (cf. Bharata Nāṭyam) being full of virile and vigorous movements. A feature of the kathākali is the *kalāsam*, from an Arabic word meaning conclusion. It is a short dance sequence in pure *tāṇḍava* (vigorous) style, performed at the end of sung verses, for which great speed and agility are required. A typical dance posture is the deep bend of the widespread knees, and with the weight resting on the outer sides of the feet. This stance of 'turned-in feet and bandy legs' is characteristic of kathākali.

Many characters are introduced to the audience by means of what is known as the *tiranokku* or 'curtain-look', where a curtain is held up over which the actor first shows his face to the accompaniment of suitable drumming on the part of the orchestra and grimacing on the part of the actor. Kathākali mime consists entirely of highly stylized gestures of the hands, and bodily positions, all executed according to fixed rules. Many years of practice enable an actor to bring into play his eyes, eyebrows, neck, lips, and even cheeks and nose (*see* dance) to convey feelings by exaggerated expressions. In anger the face is tensed, the eyes opened wide, the lips tightly drawn over the bared teeth, and the whole face pulled into a dreadful grimace. Sarcasm is expressed by a tilt of the head, a lifting of one eyebrow, the raising of one cheek and one side of the upper lip to expose the teeth. When passion is to be conveyed the mouth opens wide, the eyeballs roll, the nostrils dilate and the chest heaves.

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The actors themselves say nothing, but where necessary singers stand behind them and carry on the dialogue. There is also a kind of chorus which at the beginning of the play and at intervals thereafter chants in mixed Sanskrit and Malayālam, giving moral discourses and explaining the transitions between the acts. There are more than a hundred standard kathākali plays, usually drawn from the Epics and Purāṇas, many written by the ruling princes of Kerala. A considerable literature in Malayālam*, known as the *aṭṭha-kathā*, both critical and creative, has grown around kathākali. The greatest modern exponent of kathākali is Kunju Kurup.

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KĀTYĀYANA (fl. 200 BC), grammarian, believed to be an incarnation of Pushpadanta, 'flower-tooth', the guardian elephant of the north-west direction* and one of the attendants of Śiva. He once overheard and repeated an intimate conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī. For this indiscretion he was condemned to be born a man on earth, and grew up to be a great grammarian.

In his *Vārttika* or 'corrective' supplement to the grammar of Pāṇini*, Kātyāyana discussed, annotated, and added to the rules of his illustrious predecessor, adapting them to the Classical Sanskrit which was just beginning to be written. These supplementary rules justified certain new forms which had crept into the language since Pāṇini, with the result that Kātyāyana rejected a number of Pāṇinean rules as obsolete. In many ways he improved on the *Ashṭādhyāyī* to meet the demands of the living language. Several grammarians wrote vārttikas on Pāṇini's grammar, but none equalled Kātyāyana, who is referred to as the *vārttika-kāra, the* annotator.

Kātyāyana is generally identified with Vararuchi, poet and grammarian who was one of the Nine Gems of the court of Vikramāditya*. A *śrauta-sūtra*, a *Yajur-Veda prātiśākhya*, and a *dharmaśāstra* are also attributed to authors bearing the name Kātyāyana.

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(*See also under* Grammar.)

KAURAVA. In general the patronymic belongs to the descendants of Kuru, a king of the Paurava line of the Lunar dynasty, but specifically it refers to the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra who opposed the Pāṇḍavas* in the events of the *Mahābhārata* and in the battle of Kurukshetra.

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In accordance with the custom of *niyoga*, the sage Vyāsa raised issue on the two widows of his childless half-brother, Vichitravīrya, and fathered two sons: Pāṇḍu through Ambālikā, and Dhṛitarāshṭra through Ambikā. **Dhṛitarāshṭra** (*dhṛita-rāshṭra*, 'holding the realm') was born blind, because his mother suffered the embraces of Vyāsa with closed eyes since she could not bear to look upon the emaciated face of the sage. He married **Gāndhārī,** daughter of Subala king of Gandhāra (also known, after her mother, as Saubalī and Saubaleyī). In order to be like her blind husband she always wore a bandage over her eyes.

Legend has it that in reward for the hospitality she once showed to the sage Vyāsa, Gāndhārī was promised anything she desired. She asked for 'a century of sons', and this the sage agreed to grant. When she conceived, her pregnancy lasted for two years, at the end of which time she was delivered of a lump of flesh. Vyāsa took up the mass and divided it into one hundred and one pieces, and placed them in jars. In due time a son, **Duryodhana,** appeared in one of the jars, but such frightful portents accompanied the birth that the blind father was besought to abandon him, but this he refused to do. After a month ninety-nine other sons and one daughter came forth.

Besides the eldest son, Duryodhana, Dhṛitarāshṭra's children included **Duḥśāsana** (*see* Śakuni) the second son; **Durmukha,** 'stern-faced'; **Duḥśala,** 'hard to control'; and **Subāhu,** 'beautiful-armed', who became king of Chedi. The daughter, **Duḥśalā,** married Jayadratha king of Sindhu. Dhṛitarāshṭra also had a son, **Yuyutsu,** by a vaiśya handmaid. On the eve of the battle of Kurukshetra this youth left the Kauravas and joined the Pāṇḍava side. When Yudhishṭhira retired from the world he gave the kingdom of Indraprastha to Yuyutsu.

On his brother Pāṇḍu's death, Dhṛitarāshṭra ascended the throne of Hastināpura. He took Pāṇḍu's sons, the forest-born Pāṇḍava princes, under his care, treated them as his own children, and had them educated along with his own sons at Hastināpura. Under Bhīshma's supervision, all the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava children received their training in arms from Droṇa.

Among the counsellers of Dhṛitarāshṭra was his charioteer **Sañjaya,** son of Gavalgaṇa, who often advised and consoled him, and acted as his emissary to the Pāṇḍavas before the great battle of Kurukshetra. He once recited the *Bhagavadgītā* to Dhṛitarāshṭra. The blind king and his wife Gāndhārī died in a forest fire not long after the battle.

Books

See under Mythology.

KAUṬILYA (?290 BC–AD 300?), also known as Chāṇakhya and Vishṇugupta, was believed to have been the friend, counsellor and prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya, and the author of a book on statecraft. The word kauṭilya means crookedness and treachery, and there is considerable mystery about the person who bore this name. It may well conceal the identity of a school of political philosophers who earned the opprobrious title for the doctrines they taught.

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Kauṭilya or Chāṇakhya, the individual known to have been Chandragupta's counsellor, was born and probably educated at Taxila, where he began his career as a practitioner of medicine. It was said that he had 'the wisdom of a serpent' and possessed a knowledge of many obscure arts. He was apparently acquainted with contemporary aspects of Greek and Persian learning, and was closely associated with the magians. His book, the *Arthaśāstra* (below), dedicated to Venus and Jupiter, shows that he was also a student of astrology in which the Maga priests were adepts. In this book he places *ānvīkshikī* i.e. the nyāya doctrine which also comprises yoga, before the three Vedas, a thing no orthodox brāhmin would ever have done. What is more, he exalts the *Atharva-veda*, which embodies Maga doctrines, above the three other Vedas. Although many historians make Chāṇakhya a brāhmin and Chandragupta a Jain, some scholars adduce proof to show that both king and minister were Zoroastrians.

Chandragupta left the actual organization of state affairs to Chāṇakhya, whose administration of the vast Mauryan dominions is considered to be an example of Machiavellian and malevolent genius, for he made the Mauryan state, if one of the most oppressive, also one of the best governed in Indian history.

Kauṭilya was the reputed author of the *Arthaśāstra*, whose text was discovered only in 1905. The manuscript has been much mutilated and tampered with but retains elements that do provide a nucleus that has some claim to authenticity as an early document. It is clearly a work based on the traditions of a whole school, and cannot be held to reflect conditions in Mauryan India. The author states that his book is a compendium of almost all the ancient works on *artha* (economics); among the earlier authors cited are Bāhudantiputra, Uśanas, and Ambhiya (*see* Gandhāra). The language is extremely pithy and difficult to understand fully, and many of the terms used were not current till post-Mauryan and even Śaka times. The text refers to peoples and places which do not appear to have been known to the Indians of the fourth century BC, and the accounts of Indian society as reflected in Kauṭilya's work and in Megasthenes, both supposedly contemporaries and both describing identical circumstances, are widely divergent.

The *Arthaśāstra* is divided into fifteen books treating of a variety of political topics. Book I deals with the general principles of kingship; the education of a prince in the art of government; the precautions to be taken for safeguarding his life; the conduct of the king's family and ministers; Book II, the principles of civil administration; duties of the vast armies of inspectors and their methods of controlling governmental and private institutions; Book III, the civil, criminal and personal law and administration; Book IV, police methods for dealing with criminals and wrong doers, cheats, users of false weights and merchants who adulterate their goods, or illegally increase prices; Book V, the responsibilities of ministers, retainers and followers; how a king can get rid of undesirable ministers; various ingenious methods of collecting taxes; Book VI, the seven elements (*prakṛiti*) of politics, namely, king, ministers, land, fort, treasury, army, ally and interstate relations; Book VII, the six methods of international relations, namely, peace, war, neutrality, preparedness, alliance and double dealing; Book VIII,

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the misfortunes that follow a king's indulgence in hunting, gambling, women and drink; Books IX and X, the phases of war; Book XI, methods of sowing dissension and destroying friendships among hostile aristocracies and powerful opposition groups; Book XII, the use of secret agents and poisoners as an aid to aggrandisement; Book XIII, the securing of divine favour for the capture of a fortified city; Book XIV, methods for murder, ways of causing blindness, insanity and disease; Book XV, political science as a whole, with a general plan of the work, with examples and certain broad principles.

In general the *Arthaśāstra* is totalitarian and secular in tendency; a handbook of ruthless and cynical statecraft. Royal ordinances could override all other sources of law. The king did not so much rule as protect and he decided what was best for the state. An inflexible bureaucratic system resulted in excessive state control. The government regulated the economic life of the country, and all important industrial enterprises were the property of the state. There were state-owned mines, fisheries, farms, salt-pans, forests, fields, shipyards. These were either worked directly with the labour of criminals or serfs, or let out to contractors.

Police secret agents and *praṇidhi* or spies infiltrated all walks of life, and the *daṇḍa* or chastisement was the order of the day at all times. Punishment of criminals was barbaric. Trial by ordeal was recommended for ascertaining the truth, and bodily tortures included flogging to death; suspension by the hands being tied to a rafter; the water-tube torture, in which the stomach was filled through a tube inserted in the mouth; cutting out the tongue (for betraying military secrets); impalement alive; burning the head and hands; mutilation of organs and limbs. Such tortures were imposed for even comparatively trivial crimes such as evasion of state taxes, and trespassing into the royal hunting enclosure.

The cynical doctrines of the *Arthaśāstra* have been almost universally condemned by scholars. Vincent Smith refers to its 'ferocious criminal code'; Aiyer in his work on Hindu Morals says, 'The depravity of the standard of morality displayed in the Maxims of the *Arthaśāstra* surpasses one's imagination'; and A. B. Keith concludes, 'It is difficult not to feel that it is a very misplaced patriotism which asks us to admire the *Arthaśāstra* as representing the fine flower of Indian political thought'.

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KĀVYA, 'poem', in Sanskrit literature, an extended poetical composition distinguished for its artifice, mannerisms and erudition. It is usually serious in intent, requires great narrative skill, and is used for stories, romances, lesser epics and long lyrical poems.

The origin and development of the kāvya coincides with the period of Śaka

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ascendency in north-west India, and some connection has been traced between the two. It became popular by the fifth and sixth centuries AD and remained the most important medium of poetical expression throughout the classical period of Sanskrit literature. The distinguishing features of the kāvya may be briefly summarized:

1. It begins with a benediction and salutation, and a prologue outlining the occasion and purpose of the poem.
2. Both prose and verse are used, with verse predominating, and constituting not less than eight and not more than thirty cantos, each canto having not less than thirty and not more than two hundred verses. The last two or three stanzas of each canto are written in a different metre from the rest.
3. The development of the plot is natural, and the junctures (*saṁdhi*) are well arranged. These saṁdhi are borrowed from the conventions of Hindu dramaturgy*.
4. The hero is a deity, or a man of high status, and endowed with greater virtues than any other character in the poem.
5. The predominant *rasa* (*see* empathy) is erotic and heroic. The hero is always a man of considerable valour and sexual prowess and is given plenty of opportunity to show off these qualities.
6. Full scope is provided for the display of marvels, worked by the gods or a more convenient *ṛishi ex machina*. The stock-in-trade includes prophetic dreams, flying steeds, talking parrots, the ṛishi's curse, shape-changing, sex-metamorphosis, sundry tokens of recognition, and magical mirrors, rings, flowers, gems, swords, sandals and so on.
7. The hero and heroine pass through a series of perils and temptations, but emerge triumphant through them all.
8. In all cases love triumphs, truth prevails, duty is done and the gods obeyed, and release obtained from the dread burden of *saṁsāra* (trans-migration).
9. There are frequent descriptions of the central characters, of nature and the seasons, of day and night, of moonrise, of dusk and dawn, of forests and streams, of battles and drinking bouts, sacrifices and the ṛishi's wrath, of religious debates and diplomatic parleys.
10. The whole poem is a refined and polished piece of work, satisfying the most exacting standards of writing. It reveals a fine command of language and vocabulary and a thorough acquaintance with poetical technique.

There are six epics (some add a seventh) that illustrate the kāvya style to perfection. These are therefore known as *mahākāvya*, 'great kāvyas', all composed in ornate diction, richly embellished with the flowers of rhetoric and with subject matter taken from the two great Epics. These mahākāvya are: *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasaṁbhava* both by Kālidāsa* (*c.* AD 470); *Kirātārjunīya* by Bhāravī* (*c.* AD 550); *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, ascribed to Bhartṛihari* (*c.* AD 651); *Śiśupālavadha* by Māgha* (*c.* AD 700); *Jānakī-haraṇa*, the story of the abduction of Sītā, written by the blind poet-king Kumāradāsa (fl. AD 670), and *Naishadha-charita*, the story of Nala and Damayantī, attributed to the philosopher* and poet of Bengal, Śriharsha (fl. AD 1180). Learned commentaries on the mahākāvyas written by the industrious Mallinātha

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(*c.* AD 1440) have helped to preserve many of the original readings. Mallinātha explains every word in some of the texts, gives notes on every scene, character and dialogue of the mahākāvyas, and comments on the stylistic competence of the writers.

The kāvya form required great restraint, and few were the poets who were able to keep their difficult medium under control. Even the gentle tales of Nala and Damayantī, Rāma and Sītā, Sāvitrī and Satyavān, were often grossly mishandled, without taste or discrimination.

Portrayals of nature became more and more stylized and crowded with stereotyped images: the bee (*bhramara*, 'the beast with two r's') drunk with honey; the parting of the *chakravāka* bird from its mate at night; the *chakora* bird drunk with moonbeams; the proud *chātaka* bird which would die of thirst rather than drink anything but the raindrops from the clouds; the lotus opening her cup to her lover the moon; the blooming of the red *aśoka* at the touch of the fair lady's foot; the elephant in rut; clouds pregnant with rain; the caves of distant hills resounding to the roar of lions. All these and similar clichés were used over and over again.

The erotic element, an integral part of the kāvya form, received particular emphasis. It was generally intermixed with the didactic, so that suggestive dialogue, double meanings, and descriptions of rampant lust are followed by passages of pious moralizing. Often there are vivid accounts of the emotions of panting maidens and exhausted swains, with more than frank physical descriptions of both. Ravishing women bend under the weight of their ample breasts and are only held upright by the counterpoise of their massive hips. Scratches, bites and bloodshot eyes bespeak the hero or heroine's indulgence in amorous combat. There are scenes of seduction and graphic details of the techniques of the love act, as though the poet wished to give living and working examples of the *kāmaśāstra* (erotics).

In their manner of presentation the later kāvya writers succumbed completely to the lure of literary artifice. The style became inflated and pedantic and it became a matter of pride to make the poems as allusive and recondite as possible. The writer was expected to be a *vidagdha*, 'sophisticate', steeped in worldly experience, and many boasted that their poems could not be understood without a commentary or by those unacquainted with the life of kings.

To demonstrate their skill with words they filled their poems with metrical puzzles, acrostics and anagrams. Long strings of contrived metaphors, rhymes, puns, alliteration and other figurative conceits, compound words and euphuistic bombast succeed each other in stanzas weighted down with the 'ornaments of style'. There are diagrammatic or 'shaped' verses in which the lines are so arranged that the completed page looks like a vase, a lotus, sword or wheel, a woman's hips and breasts; there are serpentining verses such as those of Bhāravi* (*c.* AD 550), and boustrophedon lines, in which one line is read from left to right and the next from right to left; verses which can be read in more than one language or dialect; whole stanzas with one letter of the alphabet missing, as in the lipogram of Daṇḍin*.

There is one *tour de force* of ingenuity, the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya-yādavīya* by Chidambara (*c.* AD 1600) a self-styled *kavi-rāja* (poet-king) of Vijayanagar,

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which through the use of ambiguous words and phrases relates the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* at one and the same time by treble punning. The Jain poet Meghavijayagani (*c.* 1640) in his poem *Sapta Sandhāna* gives, in the same stanzas, a simultaneous résumé of the doctrines of seven different teachers. In Māgha's* palindromic verses each stanza if read backwards is identical with the preceding one read in the ordinary way. The *Rāma-kṛishṇa-viloma* of Sūryakavi (*c.* 1560) gives the story of Rāma when read from one end of each line, and the story of Kṛishṇa when read from the other end.

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(*See also under* Sanskrit.)

KĀYASTHA, a caste of disputable origin who have been ranked by various authorities in each of the four castes in turn. They are extremely shrewd in business, and make efficient bureaucrats, which has earned them a somewhat opprobrious reputation. The Kashmīri historian Kalhaṇa declared, 'The crab kills its father; the white ant destroys its mother; but the ungrateful kāyastha when he becomes powerful destroys everything'.

Some kāyasthas claim to be brāhmins, tracing their descent from Chitragupta, record keeper of Yama*, god of the dead. This claim though not generally accepted is fostered by the fact that they excel in the clerical, accounts, legal and other so called 'brāhminical' professions.

A class of kāyasthas known as the *khattri*, prevail in northern India and the Panjāb, and claim kshattriya origin. Some trace their descent from the kshattri line mentioned by Manu, which originated from a śūdra father and a brāhmin mother. Vidura the half brother of Pāṇḍu was known as Kshattri, although his mother was not a śūdra but a slave girl.

The *cheṭṭiār* of South India, usually classed with the vaiśyas*, are a rich landowning and money-lending community who have ventured as far afield as Burma and Indochina, acquiring vast wealth in these countries through commerce.

Most authorities, however, designate the kāyasthas as śūdras, and one subdivision, called the *Kait*, are spoken of as a 'clean śūdra caste'. They belong to upper and eastern India. The kāyasthas of Bengal usually carry names like Bose, Bāsu, Dās, De, Datta, Ghosh, Guha, Kor, Mitra, Palit, Sen and Sinha.

Books

See under Caste.

KEKAYA (or Kaikeya), an important ancient Indian tribe mentioned in the Vedas. From epic times they had settled in the north-west between Gandhāra and the river Beas, and according to the Purāṇas were the descendants of the

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non-Aryan Ānava tribes. Jain chronicles speak of them as 'only one-half Aryan'; the other half, if proportions must be allotted, was probably Scythian. The earliest known Kekaya king, **Aśvapati,** 'horse-lord', was said to have given religious instruction to a number of brāhmins. Other kings of the same name are also mentioned in both the Epics as ruling the tribe. In the *Mahābhārata* the Kekayas fought on the side of the Kauravas in the Battle of Kurukshetra. One branch later migrated as far south as Mysore.

The most famous of the Kekaya princesses was **Kaikeyī,** daughter of Aśvapati. She became the second wife of Daśaratha* king of Ayodhyā, and mother of Daśaratha's third son **Bharata,** who was educated at Aśvapati's court. Daśaratha was once severely wounded in battle and only Kaikeyī's careful nursing saved his life. Shortly after that he received a wound while hunting and once again was saved by the care and devotion of Kaikeyī. Out of gratitude Daśaratha promised to grant his wife any two requests she might make to him.

Years later when preparations were being made for the anointing of Daśaratha's eldest son Rāma as crown prince, Kaikeyī was persuaded by the vicious counsels of Mantharā, her deformed slave woman, to go to Daśaratha and request the fulfilment of his old promises. Daśaratha gladly agreed to do so, but was horrified to hear his wife demand, firstly, that her son Bharata be made crown prince in place of Rāma, and secondly, that Rāma be banished from the kingdom for fourteen years. In vain did the king plead with his wife to withdraw her terrible demands, contrary to law and religion, but nothing would induce Kaikeyī to change her mind. The king bound by the oath was forced to comply. Bharata was declared successor to the throne, and Rāma, accompanied by his wife Sītā, went into exile.

Now Bharata was at the time in Girivraja (identified with the later Rājagṛiha in Magadha) on a visit to his uncle, and returned home to hear the direful news that his beloved father had died of grief at the banishment of his half-brother Rāma. Bharata, almost demented by the twofold tragedy refused to take advantage of his mother's ruse. After performing his father's funeral rites he went after Rāma with a complete army to bring him back to Ayodhyā and place him on the throne.

The meeting of the two brothers at Chitrakūṭa is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with great pathos. Rāma, bound by his father's promise, refused to return until the period of his exile was completed, and persuaded Bharata to go back and rule as his viceregent. Bharata returned to Ayodhyā as Rāma's representative. He placed a pair of Rāma's sandals on the throne, and an umbrella over it, as a symbol of his brother's authority, and living as a mendicant outside the city, carried on the government in Rāma's name. He is described as just and brave, generous to his friends and chivalrous to his enemies.

Bharata married Māṇḍavi (*see* Janaka), a cousin of Sītā's, and had two children: Taksha (or Takshaka) and Pushkara, both of whom ruled over the people of Gandhāra*.

Books

See under Mythology and Rāmāyaṇa.

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KERALA or Kerala, an ancient Tamil kingdom situated along the Malaya hills at the extreme south-west of India, extending along the coast as far north as Koṅkaṇ, and embracing Malabār, Cochin and Travancore. In ancient Indian chronicles it is referred to as CHERA, and is associated with legends of Paraśurāma. The edicts of Aśoka describe it as the scene of one of Aśoka's 'victories of righteousness'.

From earliest times Kerala carried on an active trade* with Judea, Greece and Rome. Her thriving seaports of Musiris, Nelcynda and Carura are mentioned in Roman chronicles. The old Chera capital known as Vañji is now unidentifiable and its location a matter of archaeological dispute.

It was in this kingdom that the Apostle St Thomas performed part of his missionary labours, and to this area also came the Jewish exiles in about AD 350, who established a prosperous community in Kerala. A number of trading posts and harbours dotted the Malabār coast at that time, four of which grew into the modern ports of Mangalore, Calicut, Cochin and Trivandrum.

There was constant friction and strife among the Tamil speaking Pāṇḍyas, Cholas and Cheras. Because of their comparative isolation the Cheras evolved their own dialect of Tamil which later developed separately as Malayālam*, with a vigorous literature of its own.

The leading Chera dynasty were the **Perumāl** kings (400–826) under whom art and culture, Sanskrit letters and the study of religion and law were liberally encouraged. The most noteworthy of the Kerala thinkers was the great philosopher Śaṅkara (d. 838).

With the advent of Islam in the ninth century Kerala was exposed to strong Islamic influences, since her tolerant rulers did not discourage Muslim proselytisers. There is much uncertainty about the last of the Perumāḷs, **Cheraman Perumāḷ** (742–826). He either made a pilgrimage to Mylapore and became a Christian, or to Mecca and became a Muslim. The latter theory finds greater support. To the present day it is customary at the installation of the Zamorin of Calicut that he should be shaved and dressed like a Mussalman and that a Moplah (Mappila, a descendant of the first Arab settlers) should anoint him. He is regarded merely as a viceroy, awaiting the return of Cheraman from Mecca. Similarly the Mahārājas of Travancore on receiving the sword at their coronation still declare that they will keep the sword until 'the Uncle who has gone to Mecca returns' (I, pp. 33–35).

Kerala was particularly hospitable to foreigners. A friar, Jordanus paid a visit to Cochin in 1324 and found flourishing communities of Christians all along the coast. When the African Muslim traveller Ibn Batuta (1304–68) made his journey along the Malabār coast, touching at Calicut, Cochin, and Quilon, he also met his co-religionists everywhere, including philosophers and jurists from Yemen, the Hadramut, Yezd and Khorasan. A Chinese visited the country in 1347, a Persian in 1442, the Portuguese discoverer Pedro Cabral in 1500, and Vasco de Gama two years later. The Portuguese expeditions returned with a cargo of pepper, after signing a commercial treaty, and later established a trading factory. For a time Kerala was under the kings of Vijayanagar but regained their independence when that great empire fell. The whole area was subsequently the scene of disputes and clashes between

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the Portuguese, Dutch and English colonial factions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until the English finally acquired Malabār in 1792.

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KHAṆḌOBĀ (or Khaṇḍerao), a pre-Aryan deity of southern and western India still widely worshipped in Mahārāshṭra and regarded as the guardian deity of the Deccan. Legend relates that the giant Maṇimalla, sometimes spoken of as the twin asuras Maṇi and Malla, troubled the earth, impeding the labours of the śūdras, terrorizing the vaiśyas, slaying the kshattriyas, and interfering with the sacrifices of the brāhmins. The people of the earth appealed to Khaṇḍobā for protection and he went forth against the demon and after a fierce struggle lasting six days overcame him.

Khaṇḍobā originally had the head of a dog, and to this day his worship retains relics of his canine pedigree. Cynocephalic images were placed in his temple till the middle of the last century. In time he became identified with Śiva and was sometimes referred to as Mallāri (*ari*, 'enemy', of Malla), Śiva himself being commonly worshipped in dog-form until the philosopher Śaṅkara put an end to the sacrilege in the ninth century.

The site of Khaṇḍobā's victory over Malla is Gudguddāpur, where his fifteen foot bow is still shown in the temple dedicated to him. Hook swinging* used to be practised in this area in his honour until it was stopped by the British authorities. The attendants of the temple, called *vāghya*, are believed to be descendants of Khaṇḍobā's dogs, and at the annual festivals they bark and behave like dogs and are fed from begging bowls placed on the ground. Childless couples who beget children after making a vow to the god often give a daughter as a *muraḷī* or temple woman to serve in his shrine.

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KHAROSHṬHĪ, formerly called Indo-Bactrian, was one of the many alien scripts* used in India in the early centuries before and after the present era. It was derived from a form of writing brought by merchants from the Mediterranean, the original being a variety of Aramaic, which had replaced the cumbrous syllabaries of Egypt and Mesopotamia. At that time Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the Middle East and one of the official languages of the Achaemenians, and Aramaic inscriptions dated the fourth century BC have been found in places like Taxila on the Hydaspes.

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Derived as it was from Aramaic, Kharoshṭhī in turn became the common script of the south-eastern provinces of the Persian empire. Its introduction to India was a concomitant of Persian rule in the north-west from the fourth century BC. The term Kharoshṭhī is supposed to have originated either from the Sanskrit name for Kashgar, whose Mongolian people may have made some long-forgotten contribution to the language, or from a word meaning 'ass-lip' or 'camel-lip', that is, the script from the land of the ass and the camel, in other words, Baluchistan and Bactria.

The majority of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions have been found in Gandhāra, eastern Afghanistan and northern Panjāb, corresponding to the ancient Indo-Bactrian and Parthian kingdoms where it was first used. The period during which it appears to have been current in India extends from about 300 BC to AD 300. The westernmost of Aśoka's edicts were executed in this script. It was written from right to left and was manifestly Semitic in origin. It has left few traces on the subsequent development of Indian writing, except perhaps that, as in the case of its ancestor, Aramaic, the *a* sound became inherent in all the consonants of the later Indian alphabet. As a result the Sanskrit script is not alphabetic but semi-syllabic, and the Devanāgarī alphabet, as the letters stand, has no pure consonants.

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KINGSHIP. According to the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas, the world at the dawn of time was without a king. This was during the golden age when men ruled themselves, understanding the great moral principles underlying the universe. With the progressive degeneration of humanity, there came sin, wickedness and confusion among men. This was the period of the *matsya-nyāya*, 'fish-logic', when big fish harried, killed and ate the little fish. For want of a pattern from the gods, men were unable to conceive of the need for rulers or kings.

Originally the gods themselves had no kings, and according to the Brāhmaṇas were being worsted time and again by the *asuras* or demons, whose forces were ably directed by a supreme king. Taking the absence of such a ruler as the reason for their own repeated defeats the gods decided to appoint Indra (in some legends Varuṇa) as their king and were soon reasserting themselves. Kingship is thus believed to have originated in war, and by analogy may have been adopted by the Aryans from current non-Aryan usage.

With this divine prototype before them men were now desirous of having a king, and they appealed to Brahmā who appointed Manu* king of men. But Manu deferred accepting the nomination saying that it was exceedingly difficult to govern man, since he was by nature treacherous, arrogant, jealous, wrathful, and unrighteous. But men said to Manu that if he would bring law to the land and give them security and protection, his subjects would in return give him a wage in the form of taxes*, the most beautiful

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girls for his handmaidens, and the foremost warriors for his retinue; they also agreed to give him full permission to employ the *daṇḍa** or rod to enforce his laws. On this assurance Manu accepted the royal sceptre and became the first king of men.

As in other early societies, the belief was prevalent in India that the destiny of the realm was intimately linked with the person of the king, since he embodied its prosperity and reflected its fate. If he ruled with justice and equity then the character of all things changed for the better and prosperity and happiness followed. The fruits of the trees became full of flavour, the oil more nourishing, the honey sweeter, and the subjects more contented. But, says the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the land is without a king, confusion prevails; and where an evil monarch holds sway, all things in nature take their quality from him. No rain falls from heaven, the rivers run dry, the fields are without grass, and the water of springs becomes bitter. The son does not honour his father, nor the wife her husband, and the peasant sleeps with doors bolted fearing the king's henchmen more than the fierce tiger. The fate of the legendary king Veṇa* was supposed to be an instructive deterrent to overambitious rulers, and the influence of religious law also to some extent operated as a check, although this was by no means always effective.

Since the king was personally involved in the fate of his domain, it was essential that he preserve his physical powers and the authority of his presence without diminution. More than one Indian monarch has resigned the kingship in favour of his eldest son and ended his days by voluntary starvation, by mounting a funeral pyre, or by simply retiring to the forest, because his vitality was on the decline. The tradition of limiting the tenure of kings, of which so many examples have been cited in Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, is often strikingly exemplified in Indian history. Frequently quoted is the custom by which the Zamorin or ruler of Calicut on the south-west coast of India was obliged to cut his throat in public at the end of a twelve-year reign. By the seventeenth century this rule had been modified.

The king symbolized the moral and material order of the cosmos, and received a great deal of honour on that account. His *śakti* or regal might comprised the three elements of *prabhāva*, 'majesty', *utsāha*, 'energy', and *mantra*, 'wisdom'. All rites associated with kingship were attended with great solemnities. The *rājasūya** or royal consecration was a ceremony in which the divine prototype of the consecration of Varuṇa was reproduced in earthly terms; it comprised the rite of *abhisheka* or aspersion*, lustrations and circumambulations, accompanied by a series of sacrifices lasting for over a year. The magical power which imbued the king's person at his consecration was revitalized and strengthened during the reign by further rites, such as the *vājapeya** or 'drink of strength', a kind of rejuvenation ceremony which restored his physical and spiritual energy. The *aśvamedha** was another elaborate ceremony designed to bring prosperity and fertility to the realm and to expand the dominions of the king.

With the coming of the Persians, Greeks, Śakas, and Kushāns, the notion of the divinity of kings received further emphasis. The *rāja*, 'ruler', or *nṛipati*, 'men-lord', of ancient times became the *mahārāja*, 'great ruler', *bhūpati*, 'earth-ruler', or *bhūpāla*, 'earth-guardian'. On the Persian model He

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began calling himself *rājadhirāja*, 'king of kings', *mahārāja-dhirāja*, 'great king of kings' or Supreme Lord. Exalted titles were bestowed on him after solemn rites, elevating his status to the spheres of heaven. After the vājapeya sacrifice he was hailed as a *samrāj* (or *saṁrāṭ*), universal monarch, and after the aśvamedha he was given the title of *chakravartin* (*chakra-vartin*, 'wheel-moving'), ruler over all the territories which his chariot wheels had traversed. The king who ruled by right of *dig-vijaya* (conquest of the four quarters) was called *digvijayin* or sovereign of the four quarters. Sometimes nominal legality was added to such conquests by referring to him as a *dharma-vijayin*, 'moral conqueror'. Before long the semi-divine kings became transfigured deities in human form, identified with the sun, wind and fire, and men were warned to please them lest the royal displeasure consume their families and scorch their fields and cattle. They were addressed by their courtiers and sycophants as Devaputra (Son of God), Deva (Divinity), Bhagavān (Adored One), Îśvara (God), and Prabhu (Lord). The Chola and other South Indian kings were even worshipped as gods in temples.

The Buddhists and Jains on the other hand, with their more democratic outlook, rejected the divinity of kings. Under Buddhist influence the idea of absolute and divine sovereignty was modified by the concept of the king as a *mahāsaṁmata*, or 'great chosen one'; the king was the servant of society, a 'great vassal', and ultimately dependent on the sufferance of his subjects. In the Hindu texts too there are some passages controverting the idea of the king's absolute sovereignty. The *Mahābhārata* sanctions revolt against an oppressive ruler or one who fails in his duties, and in fact lays down that the king who fails to protect his subjects should be killed by his people like a mad dog. Accounts of the royal palace in the *Arthaśāstra*, with its secret passages and hidden chambers (*see* Maurya) suggest that the king's life was not always regarded as sacrosanct by his subjects. Bāṇa, court poet of Harsha also dismissed the idea of royal divinity as the pretence of sycophants who deluded the minds of weak and stupid monarchs. It was however generally held that any king was better than none, so great was the dread of anarchy, and due homage was paid to him as the symbol and fount of the prosperity of the kingdom.

An elaborate symbolism grew up around the concept of sovereignty, and the chakravartin and saṁrāṭ were invested with extraordinary qualities. Kings and conquerors of all ranks are described as bowing down to him, their jewelled tiaras reflecting their brilliance in his mirror-like toenails. His war elephants quench their thirst in the deep seas at the four quarters. Seven august emblems marked the chakravartin, namely, (1) *chakra* or 'wheel', denoting his universal sway, (2) *hasti-ratna*, 'elephant-treasure', a mighty war elephant, (3) *aśva-ratna*, 'horse-treasure', symbol of his military strength, (4) *chintāmaṇi*, 'thought-jewel', or wishing stone which fulfilled every desire, (5) *strī-ratna*, 'wife-treasure', an ideal wife, faultless in beauty and virtue, (6) *geha-pati*, 'house-lord', a perfect major-domo and administrator, and (7) *pari-ṇāyaka*, 'guide', a perfect general or commander-in-chief.

The king was advised by a council called the *mantri-parishad*, 'minister-council' of between seven to thirty-five members headed by the *mahāmantrin*, 'chief minister'. All deliberations were held in secret since enemy agents and

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spies were an ever-present menace. Hindu political texts advised that women and talking birds such as parrots and mynas should be excluded from the vicinity of the council chamber. By extension, as it were, the mahāmantrin represented the ideal of the geha-pati or house-lord, and his handling of the state administration made his position one of great importance.

It was not unusual for this post of chief minister to become hereditary, in which case the incumbent was frequently in a position to become the virtual ruler. Thus in Vijayanagar* the aged Rāmrāja who lost the battle of Tālikoṭa, was not the legal king but the hereditary chief minister of the insignificant puppet ruler Sadāśiva. The Peshwā ministers of the Marāṭha court completely eclipsed their sovereigns; in Nepāl the Rānas or ministers were the de facto rulers and not the king.

Among the chief functionaries of the king were the *geha-pati*, 'house-lord' or chamberlain, one of the 'seven treasures' of the chakravartin (see above) who conducted the palace affairs; the *senāpati*, 'general' or commander-in-chief of his army*; the *prāḍvivāka* (prāchh-vivāka, 'questioning-deciding') or chief Judge; the *saṁnidhāṭṛi*, 'collector', or treasurer; the *sūta*, who was both bard* and charioteer; as well as numerous astrologers, physicians, poets, painters and musicians of the royal entourage.

The religious side of palace and state duties was conducted by the *purohita*, the chief court priest or royal chaplain, who was assisted by a small army of priests and acolytes. They expounded the sacred law and performed the official sacrifices. As guardians of the morals of the realm they constituted a not ineffective check on the excesses of the king. The priesthood operated behind the scenes and were often only too anxious themselves to have feeble monarchs to whose weaknesses they could pander so that they might gain control of the state. The Nanda, Maurya, and Śuṅgan dynasties fell as a result of priestly intrigue; priestly interference was rife in the history of the Kashmīr princes. It was a contributing factor in the decline of the majority of the Hindu kingdoms including that of Vijayanagar and the Marāṭhas.

The provinces were governed in the king's name by viceroys, generally princes of the royal blood. The king was represented in the provincial palaces by one or more of the symbols of royalty, e.g. the *siṁhāsana* (*siṁha-āsana*, 'lion's seat') a richly ornamented throne over which was placed the *chhatra* or 'umbrella', signifying his sovereignty; a pair of *chāmara* (or chaurī) i.e. yak-tail fly-whisks; a *rājadaṇḍa* or sceptre lay on the throne, and a pair of *pādukā* or slippers rested on the *pādapīṭha* or footstool.

A great deal of pomp and ceremony attended the service of the king. His daily programme was elaborately and precisely regulated. The early morning was reserved for granting audiences to foreign dignitaries and envoys; the later morning for the trial of cases brought to him on appeal; the afternoon for a formal visit to his harem*; and the evening for his relaxation and rest. His subjects had access to him at most times; Megasthenes writes that Chandragupta Maurya listened to petitions while being massaged, and from other chronicles we know that Aśoka ordered important business to be brought to him even while he was in the women's apartments.

When a king moved about his capital or when he visited another town he was preceded by music and the beat of drums. Advance couriers armed with

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rods and whips cleared the roadway, and people on all sides shouted salutations to the 'God of all the world' and 'Victory to the Great Deity', and prostrated themselves on the ground. When he went on tour female attendants danced before him in front of gateways and entrances, and strewed flower petals in his path as he passed through.

The king was expected to be proficient in *kshatra-vidyā*, 'knightly lore', which included the use of the bow, sword and javelin, and the art of horsemanship. Very often his prowess was symbolically displayed to endow him with the proper qualities. For example, he killed a fierce-looking dummy king, or a drugged lion.

Some of the king's amusements were obligatory, since they ensured the prosperity of the realm. Chief among these were hunting, ceremonial gambling (the king must always win); ceremonial drinking. There were various earth, air, fire and water sports, which helped to maintain harmony with these elements. Earth sports included wrestling in a small enclosure set apart for the purpose: the king lay down on the earth, was made to rise again by a mantra of the purohit, after which he symbolically threw down three wrestlers one after the other. Air sports and fire sports were likewise little ceremonies connected with wind and fire. Water sports (*vāri-vihāra*) were almost always played with women. These included bathing with the queens and squirting them with a golden syringe; also riding a yoni-shaped boat with the queens.

The *strī-ratna*, 'woman treasure', one of the seven emblems of kingship, symbolized the king's female entourage, which reflected his wealth and power. The chief queen or *mahishī*, was the consecrated consort and the recognized mistress of the female establishment. Born of royal blood, she was generally the daughter of a powerful ally. In important sacrificial ceremonies the mahishī had to be present with her husband, and often played an active part in the rites. The mahishī exercised considerable power behind the scenes, and sometimes herself bore the sceptre.

From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we see that on the banishment of Rāma a proposal was made that the crown be offered to Sītā. In the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma advocates the coronation of the daughters of kings who had been slain and left no male issue. Instances of female rule are quoted in Buddhist literature and examples may be found in the histories of Orissa, Kashmīr (Queen Diddā of Kashmīr ruled for twenty years), Rājputāna, Sind and Mahārāshṭra. Ancient legends about the strīrājya*, or realms ruled by women, also indicate female government in remote areas. Female rulers were often conspicuous in South Indian dynasties.

The eldest son of the mahishī was the *yuvarāja*, 'minor king', the Crown Prince, also referred to as *svāmin*, a title first adopted for the heir-apparent by Bharata in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* from the contemporary records of the Śaka kings. The other wives of the king were chosen either for their beauty or to serve political ends with a view to securing alliances which were sealed by matrimony. In addition to these women of royal blood, the king could make a choice from female war captives, or select young girls from among the daughters of his vaiśya or śūdra subjects. Such royal courtesans, called *vilāsinī*, 'sportive', were kept only for pleasure (*see* prostitution).

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Among the precepts for the king's guidance in his personal and official relationship the following were universally laid down:

1. Self-preservation or *svatrāṇa* should be your guide in all matters. Therefore save your life by escape if the moment calls for it. It is folly for a ruler to risk his life against a mighty foe.
2. Only two methods are open to a king, namely, the *daṇḍa** i.e. coercion, intimidation and force, and *dvaidhībhāva* or duplicity. There is no third way. Pretend to be friendly with your enemy but keep up your hatred; say one thing and mean another. Let all the good you do be only ostensibly so, but actually subversive. Work for the enemy of your enemy.
3. The wise king always pretends indifference but is alert to know what is going on. A show of unconcern keeps your enemies in doubt about your intentions.
4. Watch for the weaknesses of others as a hawk watches its prey. And conceal your own weaknesses as a tortoise hides its soft body.
5. As a hooked staff is used for bringing down the bough laden with fruit, so may crooked means be used to attain one's ends.
6. Make no distinction between friend and enemy when anyone stands in the way of your best interests or prevents you from achieving your ends. By spells, bribery, flattery, deception or poison, beguile and destroy such a person, be he your own friend, son, father or preceptor.
7. When you inflict punishment let it be a permanent deterrent, for a thorn not completely extracted causes a festering sore. A vanquished foe is dangerous and defeat always rankles in his heart. Do not trust a loser but put him away forever without mercy. Remember that three things always multiply if unattended, the unpaid balance of a debt, the unextinguished residue of a fire, and the unslain remnant of a foe.
8. Freely give sweet assurances and promises to your foe as if he were your friend, but distrust him like a snake. Lie in wait for him and when opportunity comes strike at him and destroy him. Be as far-sighted as a vulture, vigilant as a crow, swift as a hawk and as deadly as a fanged serpent.
9. If you cannot chastise pretend not to notice faults. For once you are openly aware of a fault, you cannot avoid punishing the offender without undermining your authority. You will be bending a big bow while possessing a quiver of straw arrows.
10. Beware of those you trust. When you find that your chief minister, even though he has proved his devotion is becoming too powerful, do away with him. The *Mahābhārata* advises, 'Never trust anyone. When you have no more use for a man, even if he has served you well, break him like an earthen pot against a rock'.
11. If you are not prepared to be ruthless and to kill men as the fisher kills fish, abandon every hope of success as a ruler.

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(*See also under* Politics.)

KIRĀTA, an ancient Mongolian tribe widespread over northern India, who are associated in Sanskrit texts with the Chīna or Chinese and the Bhoṭia or Tibetans. Later the term was loosely applied to any hill or forest folk, or to the primitive cave-dwellers of the Himālayas. In the *Mahābhārata* they are classed with the impure barbarian tribes of the north-west, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as 'island folk who eat raw fish and are tigerish in disposition'. Megasthenes refers to them as a nomadic people 'who instead of noses possess merely orifices'.

Their knowledge of herbal lore was proverbial, and passages in the *Atharva-veda* relate how the Aryans used to purchase herbal drugs from Kirāta girls in exchange for mats and skins. The name of the drug chiretta is said to be a corruption of their name (II, p. 12).

The Kirātas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as fighting on the side of the Kauravas, and bringing presents to the *rājasūya* (royal consecration) sacrifice of Yudhishṭhira. Kirāta maidens 'with their sharp-pointed hair-knots' were taken into the harems of the ancient kings and gained favour for their 'golden colour and fragrant bodily odours'.

The *Mahābhārata* relates that Śiva and his wife assumed the guise of a Kirāta couple to test Arjuna when he was practising austerities in the Himālayas, an incident that was the theme of a *kāvya* by Bhāravi.

In later times the Kirātas are found in Uttar Pradesh, with important branches in Nepāl and in Kāmarūpa (Assam). Their association with the latter region commenced from the Epic period.

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KNOWLEDGE. In Hindu philosophy several terms are used for 'knowledge', the commonest being: *vidyā*, meaning, specifically, learning or science; *jñāna* (*jñā*, 'know'), meditative or contemplative knowledge; *prajñā*, spiritual understanding or wisdom; and *saṁjñā*, clear comprehension or intellectual grasp, in some contexts innate awareness. In common parlance these four terms are often combined with specific substantives to designate various sciences or crafts, e.g. *dhanur-vidyā*, 'bow-lore' or archery.

Knowledge is not treated merely as an epistemological factor in philosophy but is regarded as a basic element in the path to salvation, for knowledge can break the cycle of *saṁsāra* (birth-death-rebirth). 'Even if you are the most sinful of men, yet on the raft of knowledge you will transcend all sin', says Kṛishṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā*. True knowledge in its essence is the knowledge of the eternal (as opposed to the temporal) and of the *ātman*, soul or self (as opposed to the not-self). One must know what is to be avoided (e.g. error

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which causes pain and rebirth) and the means of avoiding error in order to attain *moksha* or salvation.

When the true nature of the soul is understood, the bondage of the soul to the body and to bodily desires and aversions will cease and liberation ensue. Through vidyā one gains the positive awareness that personal separateness is an illusion and that all things are identical with the One. The apparent duality between Brahma, the individual soul, and nature is due to ignorance (*avidyā*, see below) caused by the operation of *māyā*, which veils from man the essential nature of Brahma. True knowledge destroys the veil of māyā and brings release from the bondage of saṁsāra. The *Bṛihadāranyaka* states that the gods desire men as sacrificial animals and do not wish them to acquire this insight, for through the realization that they are Brahma, they become identified with Brahma and cease to be men.

The emancipating character of knowledge is evident even in its lesser and more commonplace spheres. Just as comprehension of the highest unity brings freedom from the toils of saṁsāra, so in lesser degrees an understanding in other areas of knowledge brings power in their respective fields. The formula *yo evam veda*, 'who thus knows' is an ever-recurring refrain in Vedic and later texts. 'He who knows thus will acquire supernatural power.' 'He who knows thus participates in the vital principle'. 'Who knows thus will be free from rebirth'.

An understanding of the nature and causes of *avidyā* (or *ajñāna*), 'unknowledge', i.e. nescience, ignorance, error or spiritual blindness, is essential to any appreciation of the main causes of bondage and continuing rebirth. There are many kinds of ignorance and these are carefully distinguished. Apart from the inherited ignorance resulting from one's karma* or actions in a past life, the ignorance due to the play of God which manifests in māyā*, and other hidden causes, ignorance exists in countless forms. There may be ignorance due to mere absence of knowledge, but there is also positive wrong knowledge, due to false presentation (as in a *marīchikā* or mirage), fanciful or wishful knowledge, incomplete knowledge, ignorance resulting from non-apprehension, misapprehension, misrepresentation, misinterpretation, and false impression. It may result from a basic illusion as in a dream (*svapna*) in which case knowledge is spoken of as a bubble (*budbuda*) or foam (*phena*).

Truth may be vitiated by bringing false concepts to its study, just as a pure white crystal may become red because of a red flower placed near it. Delusions (*bhrānti*) and deceptive notions (*viparyaya*) based on false cognition are prolific sources of ignorance, and include illusions and hallucinations which may be produced by the organs of sense or by the mind. Illustrative examples abound in Sanskrit philosophical writings. Such are: *alāta-chakra*, 'firebrand-wheel', the illusion created by a firebrand when it is whirled around; *dvichandra-darśana*, 'double-moon seeing', or seeing two moons in the sky instead of one; *ākāśa-tala-malinatā*, 'sky-surface-soiling', when because of clouds, fog or twilight, one believes that the surface of the sky is dirty; *śukti-rajata*, 'shell-silver', i.e. mistaking a shell for a piece of silver; *rajju-sarpa*, 'rope-snake', mistaking a rope for a snake; *gandharva-nagara*, believing in the existence of a Gandharva city in the sky, i.e. a cloud-cuckoo-land; *kadalī-garbha*, 'plantain-kernel', thinking that a plantain has a kernel like a nut.

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Confusion of thought and bewilderment (*bhrama*) flow from false logic*. Inferential conjecture (*ūha*) based on insufficient knowledge, and probability (*saṁbhava*), both lack certitude and are therefore potential dangers. Fanciful notions (*vikalpa*), and imaginative assumptions are to be avoided; also doubt (*saṁśaya*) or conflicting judgment, stemming from inadequate knowledge. Finally, the means of acquiring knowledge are to be considered. One may be born with it, receive it as a gift, learn it from nature, animals or men, or from experience. The systematic acquisition of knowledge is the province of education*.

The means by which true knowledge is obtained are termed *pramāṇa*, 'standard' measure, in Nyāya philosophy. Several have been added to by other systems. Chief of these pramāṇa are the following: (1) *pratyaksha* or sense perception*; the only means of knowledge accepted as valid by the Chārvākas and materialist schools; (2) *śabda*, the testimony of Vedic revelation or scriptural authority; the chief means admitted by Mīmāṁsā; (3) *anumāna* or inference; this is the domain of reason and logic*; (4) *upamāna*, 'similarity', or knowledge by analogy. Thus the statement, 'The animal called gavaya is similar to a cow', is an addition to our knowledge; (5) *paroksha*, 'invisible' or indirect knowledge, sometimes taken to include 'instinctive' or 'intuitive' knowledge received without the aid of the five senses; (6) *āptopadeśa* (*āpta*, a suitable or trustworthy person; *upadeśa*, instruction) or knowledge obtained through instruction by the wise; (7) *manaskāra*, 'mental work', the mental operations preceding samādhi, namely, concentration and meditation*; (8) *mati*, opinion or judgment; (9) *aitihya* or tradition, knowledge handed down from the past; (10) *arthāpatti*, self-evident deduction from a statement or fact; (11) *khyāti*, 'awareness' of the general relation of objects presented to the senses; (12) *vāda*, debate or discussion resulting in an exchange of ideas, which also leads to knowledge.

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KOLARIAN, a term of convenience employed for the primitive aborigines of Central India, Orissa and parts of the Deccan, who are usually regarded as being descended from the Negrito and Austric peoples who entered India in prehistoric times. The term is of very loose connotation and embraces a number of tribes listed together because they speak varieties of a 'Kolarian' language*, although in fact not all of them do. They are described as a palaeolithic or neolithic people, ethnically related to the inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and having some affinities with the Mons of Burma and the Khmers of Cambodia. They are as a rule short of stature, very dark complexioned, thick lipped, broad nosed. In mythology they are the

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descendants of Veṇa*. They evolved no important civilization in India, and in the Aryan social scheme they were classed with the outcaste *pañchamas**.

Certain aboriginal tribes, presumably Kolarian, are referred to in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Epics and Purāṇas, and also in the writings of the Greek and Roman chroniclers. One of them, the Muṇḍa (see below), is cited in the *Mahābhārata* as having fought on the side of the Kauravas. Another ancient tribe, the **Śabara** (or Śavara) of Orissa and Central India, are described in the Vedas and Epics as a savage people who clothed themselves with leaves. Ethnologists have tried to identify them with the Suari and Sabari of Pliny and Ptolemy. Closely associated with the Śabara and frequently named along with them are the **Mūtiba** and the **Pulinda,** wild tribes who were spread over western and central India.

Chief among the present-day Kolarian tribes are the **Kol** of Chota Nāgpur, from whom the above term is derived; the Austric **Asur**, according to some the descendants of the asuras mentioned in the Vedas; the **Baiga,** also of Proto-Australoid descent, whose marriage system permits the union of grandparent and grandchild; the **Birhor** of the forests of Chota Nāgpur who once had the custom of eating the bodies of their deceased relatives; the **Kūrkū** (90,000) of western Madhya Pradesh; the **Chero** who claim Rājput status; the **Ho,** related to the Muṇḍa (below); the Austric **Santāl** (2 million) of Chota Nāgpur and West Bengal.

The **Khond** (Kand or Kui) of Central India until recently used to practise human and animal sacrifice* to secure fertility for their fields. The Austric **Oraon** (or Uraon) (800,000) of Chota Nāgpur have an institution of great anthropological interest known as the *dhūmkuria*, or Bachelors' Dormitory, where boys spend two or three years in educational discipline. There are similar separate dormitories for girls. The **Muṇḍa** (500,000) (see above), an Austric-speaking tribe of Chota Nāgpur are sometimes identified with the **Muruṇḍa** of the Purāṇas. They believe in a Supreme Being called *Siṅg-Boṅgā* to whom they sacrifice white fowls. Their *akhrā* or dancing ground is an open space under the shade of trees encircled by large stone slabs used as seats; it also serves for meetings of the village pañchāyat. The Muṇḍas erect rude megalithic cromlech-like monuments for their dead. The **Bhīl** (2 million) of west central India were noted bowmen (*see* Droṇa) and their women were experts with the sling. They have great veneration for the horse.

Frequently included among the Kolarians are the **Gond** (or Goṇḍ) a widespread tribe occupying the region of Gondwāna in Central India. They include a number of aboriginal Negrito and Austric as well as Dravidian groups. Some practise a form of *bīnā* marriage (also prevalent in Ceylon) where a man lives with his wife's family and serves them; he has very little importance himself and his children belong to his wife's kindred. Many Gond branches were culturally advanced; some rose to prominence and had an extraordinary bardic* tradition. Several claim Rājput, kshattriya, status. There is evidence of intermarriage between invading foreign tribes and leading Gond families during the medieval period, and certain Rājput clans such as the Chandells are definitely of Gond descent. The Gonds established several important dynasties in Orissa*. For centuries they remained independent, successfully resisting the Muslims and the tide of Hindu domination till the Marāṭhas

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finally subjugated them by treachery, guile and terror. Today many have given up their tribal dialects, adopted Hinduism and the Hindu social system, including caste.

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(*See also under* Anārya.)

KRATU, a *mahāṛishi* and *prajāpati* of native, pre-Aryan origin. A celibate, he was nonetheless the progenitor of numerous offspring. In the etymological fancy so dear to the Purāṇas, it is said that a hair (*vāla*) from his pubes fell into a cleft (*saṁnati*) on a piece of arid land (*khilya*), from which there emerged in due time a swarming brood of between 60,000 to a quadrillion little men no bigger than the thumb-joint, known as the Vālakhilya. These elf-size *ṛishis*, also called Kharva, 'innumerable', because of their numbers, were regarded as the children of Kratu and Saṁnatī, and often classed with the *gaṇadevatā* (*see* godlings). Chaste and virtuous by nature and able to fly swifter than birds, they were resplendent as the rays of the sun, and were in fact guardians of the solar chariot. The *Ṛig-veda* speaks of them as having sprung from the hairs of Prajāpati.

Eleven hymns of a very peculiar nature interpolated in the eighth book of the *Ṛig-veda** are named after the Vālakhilya.

Books

See under Mythology.

KṚISHṆA, 'black'. The name often occurs in the Vedas and other early literature without reference to any deity. Kṛishṇa, son of Devakī is mentioned in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* as a scholar who composed a hymn and as a pupil of the sage Ghora Āṅgirasa. Another Kṛishṇa is a *ṛishi*, the son of Viśvaka, while yet another Kṛishṇa was a 'loud-yelling' non-Aryan *asura* chieftain of the Jamnā region who led a 'godless legion' of ten thousand followers and committed great havoc until he was defeated and skinned by Indra. One Kṛishṇa was also a Dravidian god of youth. A Vedic passage speaks of a leader of fifty thousand Kṛishṇas, who was captured and slain together with all his pregnant wives so that he might leave no issue. There is evidence to suggest that he was 'a hater of the brāhminic faith' who declared, 'I will surely cause the worship of cows, through force if need be' (IV, p. 173).

It would appear therefore that Kṛishṇa was the name of an important cow-worshipping tribe as well as a dynastic line of pre-Aryan India who vigorously opposed the Aryan invaders. The traditional Kṛishṇa is described as *śyām*,

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'black', in complexion, and in paintings is invariably depicted as blue or dark-skinned. In the *Mahābhārata* Śiśupāla the Chedi chieftain refers to him as a cowherd of low birth, and one of his wives is the *chaṇḍāla* (untouchable) woman Jāmbavatī. The Kṛishṇa of later legend is basically non-Vedic with a later Aryan overlay. S. K. Chatterji perhaps best sums up the evidence when he says, 'Kṛishṇa was at least a half caste' (VI, p. 495).

According to some scholars (e.g. Barth and Hopkins) Kṛishṇa was not a human king but a popular god. Others maintain that he represents a solar myth. But it does seem well established that the apotheosis of Kṛishṇa in the form now known is post-Christian and strongly tinged by the Christian ideal. In particular the story of his boyhood in Gokula (see below) as related in the *Harivaṁśa*, was unknown till the beginning of the Christian era; it bears points of striking similarity to the early years of Christ's life, and was probably introduced into the Kṛishṇa legend by the Ābhīras*, a tribe to which Kṛishṇa may have been related.

Kṛishṇa is the most celebrated deity of the Hindu pantheon. His life-story is told in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (especially in its Hindi translation known as the *Premsāgar* or Ocean of Love) and in the *Harivaṁśa*. The *Bhagavadgītā* is supposed to express his own doctrine, as recorded verbatim from his utterance. He is worshipped as an independent god in his own right, but is also regarded as the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu. The latter deity assumed the form of Kṛishṇa in order to destroy the tyrant Kaṁsa*, son of Ugrasena of Mathurā.

King Ugrasena had a daughter named Devakī (in some legends she is the daughter of Ugrasena's brother Devaka) who was believed to be an incarnation of Aditi. She married Vasudeva (also known as Bhūkaśyapa or Dundu) a son of Śūra* of the Yādava race, who ruled over Dvārakā. Vasudeva had also married the seven daughters of Āhuka, the youngest of whom was Rohiṇī. Legend has it that at the moment that Vasudeva impregnated Devakī, Vishṇu plucked a white hair from his body and caused it to enter Devakī's womb, and that in the fulness of time was born the fair-complexioned Balarāma*. When Vasudeva impregnated Devakī again, Vishṇu plucked a black hair which in like manner entered her womb so that in due course she gave birth to the dark-hued Kṛishṇa.

Now the tyrant Kaṁsa, half-brother of Devakī, had usurped the throne of his father Ugrasena and imprisoned him. Warned by the sage Nārada that he was destined to die by the hand of one of Devakī's sons, Kaṁsa arranged for the killing of all her children as soon as they were born. Six children had so far been slain, and when the seventh, Balarāma, was conceived he was miraculously withdrawn from the womb of his mother Devakī and transferred to that of Rohiṇī, Vasudeva's youngest wife.

The eighth child, the dark-hued Kṛishṇa, was born at midnight, at a time of happy augury, celebrated in India as the *Janmāshṭamī* festival*. Vasudeva was now also imprisoned and manacled along with his wife in order to prevent their escape, but suddenly his chains fell off and the guards fell into a profound slumber. The infant was secretly carried by Vasudeva to a place of safety across the Jamnā, the waters of which miraculously receded so that he walked over on dry land with his sacred burden. He delivered the child for

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safe keeping to Yaśodā wife of the cowherd Nanda, and this couple became the foster-parents of Kṛishṇa. By a series of miracles the child Kṛishṇa escaped a general massacre of innocents ordered by Kaṁsa when he came to know of the escape.

Nanda and Yaśodā fled to Gokula with the child, and it was there and in the meadows of Vṛindāvana (*vṛindā-vana*, 'herd-forest') in the Brāj country on the opposite bank of the Jamnā that the boy was reared in the company of cowherds and milkmaids. Scores of miraculous legends are told of the youthful Kṛishṇa of which only a few can here be briefly recounted.

While still in infancy his life was sought by the evil demoness Pūtanā, whose milk was poisonous. She gave him her breast to suckle and the infant god drained her dry and thus killed her. When he was twenty-seven days old the demon Śaktāsura flying through the sky noticed him lying in a cart and alighted to destroy him, but the infant kicked him and the demon was reduced to pulp. Next, when he was five months old a demon named Tṛiṇāvartta in the form of a whirlwind carried off the child, but Kṛishṇa brought the demon down to earth with such violence that he perished. Another five-headed, fire-breathing *nāga* or serpent* named Kāliya who dwelt in a deep pool of the river Jamnā menaced the herdsmen of the countryside and was subjugated by the boy-god and banished to the ocean.

Kṛishṇa was full of boyish pranks and well known for his predilection for milk and butter. He would raid the orchards of Vṛindāvana and the dairies of the *gopīs* (milkmaids) to steal fruit, milk and butter, and delighted in accusing others of his misdeeds. One day his forays on the household butter so angered his foster-mother Yaśodā that she bound a rope (*dāma*) around his belly (*udara*) and tied him to a large jar. The child dragged the jar away till it was caught between two trees which were uprooted. The uprooted trees released two youths, the sons of the Yaksha king Kubera who had been cursed to become trees till released by Vishṇu. From this incident Kṛishṇa was known as Dāmodara.

Kṛishna's parents and companions were allowed only fleeting visions of his divinity, and these visions were forgotten almost immediately by them. Once he ate a handful of mud and denied that he had done so. His mother made him open his mouth and peering within saw the three worlds. In a moment of perception she realized that he was the Lord of the Universe. Then the vision faded and she picked him up and kissed him.

Perhaps the most widely sung of all Kṛishṇa's attributes is his devotion to the service of the fair sex as indicated by some of his titles. In the course of his life he was supposed to have had 16,108 wives and 180,008 sons. In Gokula his youthful companions the gopīs*, headed by his favourite Rādhā, were ever entranced by the magic of his flute and maddened by his love. On one occasion he humbled the brāhmins of Mathurā who had refused him food, by making their wives come to him.

Near Vṛindāvana stood a hill of cowdung called Govardhana (cow-prosperity) to which Kṛishṇa taught the cowherds to pay homage in place of the god Indra, his rival. Angered and jealous Indra sent a deluge to wash away the hill and flood out the inhabitants of the country. Kṛishṇa thereupon took up the Govardhana hill on his little finger and held it up like a canopy

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for seven days to give shelter to his friends, and Indra thwarted in his design departed in frustration. On their way home from this adventure Kṛishṇa and his companions were enveloped by a huge forest fire, but Kṛishṇa quickly sucked the fire into his mouth and ended the blaze.

All this while, Kaṁsa was scheming to kill the youth, and planned various stratagems to bring about his end. He first put the matter to his general Aghāsura (Agha the *asura*) who devised a scheme. He turned himself into a huge serpent and opening his mouth lay waiting; Kṛishṇa's companions mistaking it for a cave walked into the trap but were rescued in time by Kṛishṇa. Kaṁsa then decided to organize a series of athletic games to which he intended to invite Kṛishṇa and Balarāma and slay them both. The emissary selected to take the invitation was *Akrūra*, son of Śvaphalka* and uncle of Kṛishṇa, who was a courtier at Kaṁsa's court. The old man was secretly pleased at this mission for he had always desired to see Kṛishṇa and pay homage to him. On his way he sang to himself a song of thanksgiving: 'Now my life has borne fruit for I shall see the glory of glories and the sovereign of the universe who has taken upon himself the condition of humanity to redeem the world'.

While on their way to Mathurā, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma had many more adventures and scores of contests with sundry demons, ogres and monsters who attempted to waylay them, but the two brothers dealt suitably with each. Kṛishṇa seized the hind leg of the cow-demon Vatsāsura whirled him around his head and then dashed him to death. The crane-demon Bakāsura swallowed Kṛishṇa but was forced to eject him when Kṛishṇa turned red hot inside his belly. The snake-demon Ugrāsura also swallowed Kṛishṇa but the hero swelled up and caused the demon to burst asunder. He beheaded the monster Śaṅkhāsura, strangled the ogre Vyāmāsura, and disembowelled, tore asunder, dismembered and pulverized a number of other presumptious giants.

On the way Kṛishṇa met Kaṁsa's washerman from whom he demanded some of the monarch's clothes, and when the washerman refused, the god beheaded him and took the clothes. He then encountered the ugly, low-caste, hunchback maiden Kubjā carrying perfumed ointment for Kaṁsa. At his request she rubbed some of the ointment over his body. In return Kṛishṇa pressed her feet down with his foot, lifted her chin and straightened her out. She became a beautiful girl and Kṛishṇa later seduced her.

During the games at Mathurā a succession of fearsome beings were sent against the two brothers. First came the king's giant wrestler, Chāṇūra, who was throttled by Kṛishṇa till his eyeballs fell to the ground; then the great boxer Mushṭika, who was overthrown and killed before he knew what had happened; then came the savage Tosalaka whom Kṛishṇa caught by the ankle and smashed to the ground; then Arishṭa, a daitya or demon, assumed the form of a bull and attacked Kṛishṇa and was cut down; after that came Keśin, king of the fierce horse-demons (*see* asura) who suffered the same fate. Next two mighty wrestlers were disposed of; followed by Kuvalayāpīḍa a gigantic elephant. The asura Pralamba tried to make off with Balarāma only to be squeezed to death by him. Next on the list were the split asuras Jambha and Pīṭha who were also easily dispatched.

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Finally Kaṁsa himself entered the arena and Kṛishṇa slew him, and seizing him by the hair dragged him to the Jamnā. Balarāma in the meanwhile disposed of Kaṁsa's brother Sunāman and other demons who had come forward to avenge Kaṁsa's death. The imprisoned Ugrasena was reinstalled on the throne of Mathurā and for some time Kṛishṇa and Balarāma lived on in that city.

Kṛishṇa next descended into the infernal regions (where he assuaged the sexual longings of sundry demonesses) and brought back his six brothers whom Kaṁsa had slain at birth. These boys went through the symbolic rebirth ritual of tasting the milk of their mother and thereafter ascended to heaven. Kṛishṇa accompanied them, united with certain goddesses who craved his favours, and returned to earth.

He now decided to take leave of his youthful companions, the cowherds and gopīs, and sent a friend, Uḍho to Vṛindāvana to console them. He acknowledged Vasudeva and Devakī as his true parents, and he and his brother Balarāma performed purification ceremonies to free themselves from the taint of having eaten, drunk and consorted with low-caste cowherds. They were then invested with the customary sacred thread. While in Mathurā, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma were given a spiritual preceptor who instructed them in the sacred texts. They studied the skills of arms and warfare under Sāndīpani, a famous wrestler-at-arms. At this time Pañchajana a marine demon who lived at the bottom of the sea in the form of a conch-shell seized and bore away the son of Sāndīpani. Kṛishṇa pursued the monster, slew him, rescued the boy, and thereafter used the conch-shell, called the *pāñchajanya* for a trumpet.

Now the news of the slaying of Kaṁsa and Sunāman reached Jarāsandha* king of Magadha whose two daughters had married Kaṁsa. Jarāsandha assembled an army and marched against Mathurā, attacked it eighteen times, sometimes defeating and sometimes being defeated by Kṛishṇa's forces. This was followed by an attack led by a 'barbarian' king named Kālayavana, 'Black Greek', (*see* Gārgya), whose destruction Kṛishṇa effected by the stratagem of luring him into the cave of the sleeping giant Muchukunda who reduced the Greek to ashes with a fiery glance. Unable to resist the combined onslaught of the forces of Jarāsandha and other enemies and defend Mathurā any longer, Kṛishṇa was forced to abandon it. He moved his capital to a town in Gujarāt called Dvārakā, 'gated', the city of gates, which became one of the seven sacred towns* of India.

Kṛishṇa's exploits at this period include the abduction of Rukmiṇī* the betrothed of Śiśupāla* king of Chedi. At a later date he slew Śiśupāla. He then tried to obtain the miraculous jewel, *syamantaka*, which had been purloined by Jāmbavat king of the bears. Kṛishṇa recovered the jewel but in order to clear himself of any accusation of covetousness was persuaded to restore it to its rightful owner Satrājita*. In the process he slew Jāmbavat and married his daughter Jāmbavatī who bore him a son, Śāmba*. He also took to wife the daughter of Satrājita named Satyabhāmā, as well as the river goddess Kālindī (*see* Jamnā).

The god Indra now came to Dvārakā to seek Kṛishṇa's aid in dealing with the demon Naraka (*see* Kāmarūpa) and Kṛishṇa proceeded to the city of

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Naraka where he slew the demon as well as his ally Muru and the asura* Nikumbha. Mounted on the eagle Garuḍa, Kṛishṇa next visited the paradise of Svarga to see Indra, taking his wife Satyabhāmā with him; and on his return journey he carried off Indra's wish-fulfilling Pārijāta tree to appease his wife's envy. The ensuing duel between Indra and Kṛishṇa took place in Pāripātra (or Pāriyātra) in the Aravalli mountain* range in Rājputāna which was once very high; the trampling of the gods' feet upon the peaks as they struggled and fought, considerably lowered the height of these mountains.

Having defeated Indra Kṛishṇa's next encounter was with Śiva whom he discomfited by his successful attempt to rescue his grandson Aniruddha and bring him safely to Dvārakā. His next adventure concerned the pretender Pauṇḍraka the son of Vasudeva (not to be confused with Vasudeva, Kṛishna's own father). Claiming to be the true Vāsudeva (a title of Kṛishṇa's) he set himself up in opposition to Kṛishṇa and, supported by the king of Kāśī, assumed Kṛishṇa's title, style and insignia. Kṛishṇa went against him, defeated and slew them both and hurling his flaming discus at Kāśī burnt it to the ground. Later however he restored the city.

Among his other exploits are the capture of Saubha the aerial city of Hariśchandra from whom it had been taken by the *daityas*; the conquest of the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and numerous other tribes, and the subjugation of the Bhoja, Pāṇḍya and Śālva kings; the battle with and triumph over Varuṇa god of the sea. He abducted a Gandhāra princess from her *svayaṁvara*, slew several Gandhāra princes who came to her rescue and yoked the rest of the royal suitors to his chariot. He defeated Ekalavya king of the Nishāda* who staged a night attack on Dvārakā.

The next phase of Kṛishṇa's life is linked with that of his kinsmen, the Pāṇḍavas. At the svayaṁvara of Draupadī, Kṛishṇa gave his judgment that she had been fairly won by Arjuna. While the Pāṇḍavas reigned at Indraprastha he sojourned there and went out hunting with them in the Khāṇḍava forest. This forest he and Arjuna burnt down in order to restore the vigour of Agni*, a feat for which Kṛishṇa was presented by Agni with two magical weapons, the thunderbolt Vajranābha and the mace Kaumodakī. When, during his exile, Arjuna visited Kṛishṇa at Dvārakā and fell in love with Kṛishṇa's sister Subhadrā, it was on Kṛishṇa's advice and with his connivance that he eloped with her, thus incurring the dipleasure of Balarāma, her other brother.

When Yudhishṭhira decided to perform the rājasūya sacrifice and embarked on the preliminary 'conquest of all the earth', Kṛishṇa prevailed upon the Pāṇḍavas to overthrow Jarāsandha. This they did and thus Kṛishṇa was avenged upon his old enemy who had forced him to quit Mathurā and flee to Dvārakā. At the subsequent rājasūya sacrifice he met and slew Śiśupāla* whom he had previously wronged by abducting his betrothed. He was also a witness to the great gambling match of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and the humiliation of Draupadī. In the council which preceded the Mahābhārata War Kṛishṇa tried to effect a reconciliation between the rival parties but in vain. He therefore returned to Dvārakā.

Arjuna and Duryodhana followed him to Dvārakā and sought to enlist his help in the war. Prevented by an oath from taking an active part in the

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fighting he gave them a choice: each party could have either his army or himself. Arjuna chose Kṛishṇa and Duryodhana gladly accepted the army. On the eve of the great battle Kṛishṇa, who acted as charioteer of Arjuna, gave forth the discourse enshrined in the *Bhagavadgītā**. Although this episode is said to confirm his claim to the status of a Supreme Deity, critics point out that it is precisely at this period that his title to divinity receives the severest knocks.

During the battle Kṛishṇa betrays his weak and very human nature, showing great rage and excitability and almost joining in the fray in spite of his pledge to keep aloof. He was unable to say where Arjuna was; he himself worshipped Umā (who later bestowed on him thousands of wives) and in fact admitted that he received his power 'from the gods', and was 'unable at any time to perform a divine act' (VIII, p. 196). In the *Mahābhārata* Kṛishṇa declares untruth to be older than truth, and teaches that one may lie without scruple for one's own life. Truth, he states, thrusts a man into hell if it hurts others (V, p. 492). Accordingly, during the battle he prompted the spread of the false rumour that Droṇa's son was dead, hearing which the great hero laid down his arms in grief and was instantly slain. When Karṇa's chariot got stuck in the mud and he dismounted to dislodge it, Kṛishṇa urged Arjuna, against all the rules of war, to attack him, as a result of which Karṇa was killed unresisting. It was Kṛishṇa again who urged Bhīma to deliver the unfair blow which shattered Duryodhana's thigh.

After the battle Kṛishṇa repaired to Hastināpura with the victors to attend the *aśvamedha* sacrifice. For having helped and advised the Pāṇḍavas in the massacre of her sons, the grief-stricken Gāndhārī cursed the god. On his way back to Dvārakā he met the sage of the Bhṛigu race named Uttaṅka who likewise threatened to curse Kṛishṇa if he did not explain to him the philosophy of the soul, which Kṛishṇa did.

When he returned to Dvārakā fearful portents and signs began to manifest themselves and there was a general feeling of unrest and alarm. A dreadful figure, Death personified, haunted every house; fierce hurricanes blew; huge rats multiplied, infested roads and houses and attacked people in their sleep; storks hooted like owls and goats howled like jackals; cows gave birth to foals and camels to mules; food was filled with worms; fire blazed with dark-hued flames and the air was traversed by headless and hideous spirits. Drunkenness became rife and the destructive flame of dissension was kindled, so Kṛishṇa prohibited the use of wine and ordered his subjects to proceed to Prabhāsa, an inland town not far from the coast of Gujarāt, near Dvārakā, and do homage to 'the deity'. This deity was presumably Śiva whose temple is at Somnāth* near by. He then rescinded his order about drinking, and gave permission for wine to be drunk for a limited time. Great drunkenness and licentiousness prevailed and in one of the ensuing brawls Kṛishṇa's son Pradyumna was killed in his presence, and in further quarrels, disputes and mutual clashes nearly all the Yādava chiefs exterminated one another with the very clubs they had forged from the iron rod of his other son Śāmba*.

Kṛitavarman the Kaurava general who had made the dastardly night attack on the Pāṇḍava camp was killed in another fracas at Dvārakā. His slayer Sātyaki, also known as Yuyudhāna or Śaineya (after his father Śini)

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was Kṛishṇa's kinsman, who had fought on the Pāṇḍava side. Sātyaki was in turn cut down by the friends of Kṛitavarman. Tumult and rebellion were in the air, and though Kṛishṇa slew many of the rebels he could not quell the fighting. Only his faithful charioteer Dāruka remained with him to the end and attended his last days.

Full of sorrow Kṛishṇa and Balarāma retired to the forest where Balarāma died in his sleep. Kṛishṇa mourned by himself on a river bank, was mistaken for a deer and shot through the foot by the hunter Jaras who had tipped the fatal arrow with an arrowhead of iron that had been extracted from the body of Śāmba. When Kṛishṇa died his spirit ascended to his paradise, called after its earthly counterpart Gokula (or Goloka) where he dwells in everlasting dalliance with the divine gopīs. It has been pointed out that the elements of Kṛishṇa's later life are 'quite un-Indian in their tragic character' (II, p. 305). The drunken brawl, the general slaughter, the hero slain by an arrow piercing his one vulnerable spot, the city engulfed, the 'twilight of an era', are well-known in early European literature. The notion of the dying god is widespread in the Near East. All these themes are found nowhere else in Indian mythology.

Shortly after the death of his two sons, the aged Vasudeva lay down and died. Arjuna performed the funeral obsequies of Vasudeva, Balarāma and Kṛishṇa. When the pyre was lit, Devakī, Rohiṇī, Bhadrā and Madirā, wives of Vasudeva; and Rukimiṇī, Sahyā and Jāmbavatī, wives of Kṛishṇa immolated themselves upon it. After the bodies were consumed the sea rose up and engulfed Dvārakā. Thus was the end of the Yādavas accomplished, and thus was the ancient prophecy of the sage Durvāsas fulfilled.

Arjuna set forth on the return journey with the survivors of the cataclysm, and on his way he was ambushed and suffered defeat at the hands of the Ābhīras*. He brought back with him to Hastināpura Kṛishṇa's grandson Vajra whom he placed at the head of the remnant Yādava people who had followed him from Dvārakā.

Many of the names of Vishṇu are also used for Kṛishṇa. Among the names applied specifically to Kṛishṇa are: Bālaji, 'boy'; Dāmodara, 'rope-belly' (see above); Dāśārha, belonging to the tribe of Daśārha, a sub-tribe of the Yādavas; Dvārakānāth, 'lord of Dvārakā'; Gopāla, 'cowherd', with its variations e.g. Veṇugopāla, 'cowherd with the *veṇu*' or flute; Madanagopāla, 'passionate cowherd'; Rājagopāla, 'king of cowherds'; Govardhana-dhara, 'upholder of Govardhana' (see above); Govinda, 'cow-keeper'; Kanhaiya, rustic endearment signifying 'lover of virgins'; Kiśorilāl, 'virgin-beloved'; Lāl, 'beloved'; Mādhava, descendant of Madhu; Mohan, 'delighting'; Murali, 'flute'-player; Murāri, slayer of Muru; Śyām, 'black'; Vāsudeva, son of Vasudeva.

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KSHATTRIYA. The term, taken from the Persian word *kshatra*, meaning warrior, was in India used to designate the kingly or knightly class. According to Hindu mythology this caste, also called *rājanya*, was created from the arms of Purusha to defend and rule men. Owing to their arrogance certain kshattriya lines were periodically exterminated by brāhmin kings, notably Paraśurāma* who finally rid the whole earth of the kshattriya scourge in the course of twenty-one bloody expeditions against them.

There is in fact a very discontinuous tradition of kshattriya antecedents and descent. Just as the brāhmins were a priestly class, wherever found, even among *dāsas*, *dānavas* and *ḍoms*, so the kshattriyas were the warrior element of Indian society, whatever their origin. Fresh invaders as they entered India, and according to Havell, 'non-Aryans and men of mixed race who distinguished themselves in war', were assimilated as kshattriyas without distinction being made with regard to their racial or class origin.

Throughout Indian history numerous tribes of Aryans, Scythians, Kushāns, Huns and Mongolians, were accepted into the caste system as kshattriyas. Shridhar Ketkar, an authority on Hindu castes, suggests that if the Moghuls or the British had accepted the brāhmins as their spiritual preceptors and 'taken pains to adopt elevating sacraments', they too could have constituted one of the kshattriya castes. Perhaps the most conspicuous instance of this assimilation is the admission of the Hun invaders, who were metamorphosed into the kshattriya Rājput clans by the expedient of these same 'elevating sacraments'.

In earliest time precedence in all secular as well as religious matters was given not to the priests but to kshattriyas. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* relates that when Gautama the *ṛishi* went to the king's palace and begged the king to answer certain philosophical questions, the king replied that the teaching in question was never previously known to brāhmins, but to kshattriyas alone, which was the reason the kshattriyas ruled the world. The Kaikeya king Aśvapati demonstrated to five learned brāhmins the inaccuracy of their knowledge about the *ātman*; the Kāśī king Ajātaśatru pointed out the errors in the sixteen propositions of the philosopher Gārgya Bālāki; king Pravāhaṇa instructed brāhmins on the nature of ākāśa or ether; king Janaka gave instruction to brāhmins on the agnihotra.

In Buddha's time the brāhmin was spoken of as 'low-born', in comparison to kings and nobles; it was held that even a degraded kshattriya was of higher rank than a brāhmin (II, p. 89). In Buddhist texts brāhmins are frequently mentioned after kshattriyas, and the king occupied a higher seat than his brāhmin teacher. Early tombs, raised over the cremated or buried remains of Hindus, were built hip-high for the lowly vaiśya, mouth-high for the brāhmin, and as high as the upstretched hand for the kshattriya, to indicate his

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superiority (V, p. 40). In the *Jātakas*, kshattriyas are regarded as the highest caste, and in the early Buddhist text, the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the king never allows his brāhmin dependants even to see his face; they must speak through a curtain.

The position was reversed with the brāhmin ascendency, particularly when the lawbooks were being compiled during the brāhminical revival and after the emergence of a new class of warriors formed from the fresh waves of Irano-Mongols who were inundating the Indian plains. It was then that the kshattriyas, the greatest rivals of the priestly class, began to be systematically subordinated in the now fierce struggle for supremacy. Such was the power of the brāhminical upsurge that within a few centuries the kshattriyas had their teeth and claws drawn once and for all. The cosmopolitan creed of Buddhism which accepted the *mlechchhas* (foreigners) as equal with the best Indian was anathema to the orthodox. The strongest weapon for revivalist brāhminism in the face of egalitarian Buddhist teaching and the progressive miscegenation* of the Indians was the claim to an indigenous tradition based on purity of blood and the prerogatives of priesthood.

Any pretensions the neo-nobility might have had could be disposed of by resuscitating the hoary legend about Paraśurāma having wiped out the kshattriyas, a task completed by the Nanda monarch Mahāpadma, who once and for all exterminated them, in case there was still any doubt about it. The Purāṇas declared that the kings of the earth after Mahāpadma would all be śūdra in origin, since there would be no kshattriyas left.

When Buddhist supremacy came to an end and the marks of its catholic teaching were finally obliterated, the neo-nobility who desired to join the ancient Indian caste system could do so only as debased kshattriyas. If the new kshattriyas were to be admitted to the Hindu fold at all, they were admitted by sufference, as pseudo-kshattriyas, definitely and unquestionably below the brāhmin in status, and without hope of ever aspiring to the high dignity they held in days of yore. The old legends of how Viśvāmitra, Gṛitsamada, Dhruva, Vītahavya the Haihaya king, and others became ṛishis and brāhmins, were explained away by asserting that none of these had achieved true brāhmin status, a thing which even the gods could not bestow on one who was not born a brāhmin.

So in the lawbooks we find the king now only 'an appendage of the priests', and his main function is to supply the brāhmin with whatever he requires. His power and prestige were established as much by the number of his household priests as by his elephants and chariots. It was when the brāhmin was able to get his stranglehold on the king, that India set out on her career of intellectual and spiritual serfdom.

Even today the status of the kshattriya is full of ambiguity. Till the medieval period names* were of some help in identifying them, and it was possible to assert with some degree of plausibility that names ending in Gupta, Varman and Sena betokened a warrior origin. But the legend of Paraśurāma still casts a shadow over their birthright. Most kshattriyas are now cultivators, such as the *Bābhan* class of Bihār, the *Kāpu* (related to the Reddi) of the Telugu country, who claim kinship with the Rathor Rājputs; the *Lodhā* of Utter Pradesh and Rājputāna. Some are scribes such as the

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Prabhu of western India, and the *Kāyasthas** of northern India, although the latter are sometimes classed with the vaiśyas or śūdras.

A few, descended from the barbarians*, still retain their warrior occupation, such as the *Dogrā* of Jammu, of mixed Hunnish antecedents; the *Kodaga* of Coorg; the *Kumbi*, now turning more and more to agriculture. Best known of course are the *Rājputs**, directly descended from the Huns. Related to the Rājputs are the *Jāt*, also descendants of the Scythians and Huns who entered India from the third century onwards. The Gupta kings were said to have been Jāts. Attempts have been made on similarity of sound alone to connect them with the *Jarta* of the *Mahābhārata*, but this hypothesis receives no support among modern scholars who treat the Jāts as śūdras. The best known of the present Jāt chieftains is the Mahārāja of Bharatpur.

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KUBERA (or Kuvera), 'ugly-body', a late Vedic lord of evil spirits whose abode was in the shades. He was the son of either Pulastya or Viśravas, and appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Vaiśravaṇa, half-brother of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa. His first residence, *Laṅkā*, situated on Mount Meru was according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, a city of vast extent and unequalled magnificence built of gold by Viśvakarman the celestial architect. Rāvaṇa drove Kubera from Laṅkā but Vāyu* the wind god broke off the summit of Mount Meru with Laṅkā and hurled it into the sea where it came to rest as an island, now called Ceylon. Here Rāvaṇa took possession of the city and became the most famous of the kings of Laṅkā.

In Rāvaṇa's time it was described as surrounded by seven concentric moats, deep and broad, filled with pure water, in which fierce aquatic animals lived. Four bridges spanned the outer moat around the first circumambient wall which was pierced by four massive gates. On the walls there were mechanical contrivances to ward off invaders by means of fire, water and stones. A series of seven such concentric walls, each built of a different metal and each garrisoned by armed warriors, surrounded the fabled city of Laṅkā. After Kubera has been dispossessed he moved his realm to Alakā in the celestial enclosure of paradise*.

Kubera performed austeries for a thousand years until Brahmā promised that he would be given immortality and be made one of the guardian deities of the world. Brahmā gave him the self-moving aerial car called Pushpaka which was described as *ratna-varshuka* (jewel-raining) since it contained within it a magnificent bejewelled pavilion which glistened brilliantly as it moved through the air. It was taken away from Kubera by Ravāṇa but was finally restored to Kubera.

Kubera is regent of the north, and the lord of all the gold, silver, gems* and other treasures of the earth. Chief among them are the nine mystic *nidhi*,

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'treasures' (also spoken of as *nidhāna*, 'hidden'; *nikara*, 'abundant'; *śevadhi*, 'hoarded') which are named as follows: (1) *kachchhapa*, 'tortoise'; (2) *kunda* or *mukunda*, 'jasmine'; (3) *nanda*, 'delight'; (4) *kharva*, 'innumerable'; (5) *makara*, 'crocodile'; (6) *nīla*, 'sapphire'; (7) *śaṅkha*, 'conch; (8) *padmarāga*, 'ruby'; and (9) *mahāpadma*, 'great lotus'. Each nidhi has its own guardian spirit and is an object of worship by Tantriks. What these nidhis are, and what their nature and function, is not clearly understood.

Kubera is served by the *yaksha* (fem. *yakshī*) a class of elemental beings referred to as *puṇya-jana*, 'propitious folk', mostly benevolent though sometimes evil, whose chief is Maṇibhadra. They are the custodians of treasures hidden in the roots of trees and are thus often called sylvan or earth spirits. The most valiant of the yakshas watch over the mighty riches hidden in the Himālayas. Some yakshas are the size of men, some like giants, some like dwarfs. Kālidāsa makes a yaksha the rhapsodist of his famous poem *Meghadūta*.

Also serving Kubera is a class of 'hidden beings' known as *Guhyaka*, led by Revanta son of Sūrya*, who likewise help to guard hidden treasure. The horse-headed, bird-bodied *kiṁnara* (*kiṁ-nara*, 'what-men?') or *kinnara*, also part of Kubera's entourage, are sometimes called the sons of the *ṛishi* Kaśyapa and are said to have sprung from the toe of Brahmā. Like the gandharvas they were the celestial choristers and musicians of Kubera's realm. Associated with the kiṁnaras and later identified with them are the *kiṁpurusha* (*kiṁ-purusha*, 'what-men?'), elf-like beings of a low order, partaking of the nature and appearance of both man and beast. They generally lived in the remoter ranges of the Himālayas and were ruled over by their own chiefs.

Kubera had two wives, namely, Riddhi, 'prosperity', and Yakshī daughter of the dānava (giant) Muru, and queen of the yakshīs. His daughter was Mīnākshī*, and his sons Maṇigrīva (also called Varṇakavi), and Nalakūbara; the latter married the beautiful nymph Rambhā who emerged during the Churning of the Ocean.

Kubera is represented as a white man with eight teeth, three legs and a misshapen body covered with ornaments, and is often shown riding on a man. Among his names are: Vaiśravaṇa (from Viśravas); Paulastya (from Pulastya); Aiḍaviḍa (from Iḍāviḍā); Îśa-sakhi, 'Śiva's friend'; Ku-tanu, 'ill-bodied'; Dhanada, 'wealth-giver'; Dhanapati, 'wealth-lord'; Ichchhā-vasu, 'ordaining wealth'; Yaksha-rāja, 'king of the yakshas'; Māyu-rāja, 'ruler of the Māyus' (see below); Rākshasendra, 'chief of the rākshasas'; Ratna-garbha, 'jewel-bellied'; Rāja-rāja, 'king of kings'; Nara-rāja, 'king of men'.

Yakshī is also called Yakshiṇī, Chārvi and Kauverī. Alakā, the realm of Kubera is called Prabhā, Vasu-dhārā and Vasu-sthalī. The kiṁnaras are also called Aśva-mukha, 'horse-faced'; Turaṁga-vaktra, 'horse-mouthed', and Māyu, 'bleater' or 'bellower'. Revanta is spoken of as Haya-vāhana, 'horse-vehicled'.

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(*See also under* Mythology.)

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KUMĀRAJĪVA (AD 343–413) the greatest of the Mahāyāna translators, in whom Buddhist scholarship reached its zenith. He was the son of an Indian father and a princess of Kuche in Chinese Turkestan where he was born. A scholar of the highest accomplishments, a metaphysician well versed in the religious doctrines of his day, Kumārajīva was a master of Sanskrit and Chinese, besides sixteen other languages, and became the most renowned and most successful interpreter of Buddhism to China.

The official history of the Chin dynasty which gives a life-sketch of this half-caste genius hints at some moral weakness, which was his partiality to women. Although a monk he could not resist the charms of the glamorous ladies of the Chinese court. He renounced monkhood and married one of them but continued his affairs with several others. This weakness remained with him to the end of his days. He would tell his disciples, 'Follow my work but not my example. The lotus grows out of the mud. Admire the flower, not the mud.'

When fifty-eight years old he journeyed to Chang-an, and over a period of twelve years, with the aid of five hundred Chinese clerk-disciples, translated a vast number of Buddhist manuscripts into Chinese, including more than thirty-five of the chief Mahāyāna sūtras, and seventy other highly complex texts, which remained for centuries standard works in Chinese. Among them were the *Satyasiddi Śāstra* and the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*. They did more to popularize Buddhism in China than all the other Mahāyāna translations put together. At the same time he expounded Buddhist doctrines to the brilliant assembly of scholars who gathered around him from all parts of China. Says Bagchi, 'He was responsible for starting a new epoch in the transmission of Buddhism to China'.

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KUMĀRILA (fl. AD 730) also called Kumārila-bhaṭṭa or Kumārila-svāmi, was a celebrated teacher of Mīmāṁsā philosophy about whose life there is much uncertainty. He was educated, according to various claimants, in Bihār, Assam, Kashmīr, Banāras, or South India, and was converted at an early age to Buddhism. But he still had a great reverence for the Hindu scriptures and was once observed to weep bitterly when his Buddhist teacher criticized the Vedas. Suspecting him of being a heretic and also jealous of the love his teacher had for him, his fellow students pushed Kumārila off a high terrace. In falling he cried out, 'If the Vedas are true they will save me from harm'. He escaped with his life, but lost an eye for voicing doubt in his 'If'.

Kumārila rejoined the Hindu fold, now an avowed enemy of Buddhism, and gave all his support to the strengthening of Vedic ritualism and brāhminism. Few made a greater contribution to the strangulation of Buddhism in India. He used his influence with Hindu rulers to have Buddhists persecuted and killed wherever possible, among them his own Buddhist guru who had loved him so well.

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In his latter days Kumārila was filled with remorse, and tradition says that he committed himself to the flames because he could no longer endure the thought of the two great sins he had committed: in having abandoned and been responsible for the death of his Buddhist preceptor, and for having practically denied God in his anxiety to prove the exclusive efficacy of the Vedas, of rituals and sacrifices as a means of salvation. One legend has it that when Śaṅkara heard of Kumārila's intention to immolate himself he hurried to the aged philosopher but was unable to persuade him to change his mind and descend from the pyre, and actually witnessed the great sage end his life.

Books

See under Philosophy.

KUMBHAKARṆA (*kumbha-karṇa*, 'pot-ear'), the gargantuan son of the *rākshasa* Viśravas. His body, especially his ears, were so large that no human building could accommodate him, so he was forced to live out in the open. Like his brother Rāvaṇa he was famed for his devotion to Brahmā who once asked him what boon he desired. He intended to ask for 'eternal life' but his tongue was twisted by the goddess Sarasvatī and his reply was uttered as 'eternal sleep'. Brahmā knew what he wanted, but could not alter the spoken word, so he mitigated his devotee's predicament by allowing him to wake up for one day every six months.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells how when Rāvaṇa was hard pressed by Rāma's forces he sent for Kumbhakarṇa to help him out. Stories of this 'awakening' abound in remarkable detail. He was aroused with great difficulty, by thousands of men and beasts creating a terrible din; by elephants trampling on his body and trumpeting into his ear; by women 'caressing' him with pickaxes and poles and men prodding him with their spears. Awake at last he first partook of a meal of pig, deer, monkeys, and human beings, draining it down with 10,000 to 15,000 jars of liquor. He then went near the *vānara* (monkey) camp of Hanumān and relieved himself, blowing one or two regiments out to sea, submerging several others, and drowning many more before he was through. Taking the field with a mighty roar, he defeated Hanumān, stunned Sugrīva the monkey chief with a rock, and slinging him over his shoulder carried him captive to Laṅkā. Returning to the fray he took on Rāma, and in the savage encounter that followed he was slain by one of Rāma's magical arrows which severed his head from his body. The giant staggered back and fell into the ocean, causing a huge tidal wave that drowned a great multitude of people.

Books

See under Rāmāyaṇa.

KUMBHA-MELA (pot-fête) the largest of the Indian religious gatherings. Originally it seems to have been a fertility festival of northern India, celebrated in special places situated on river banks. During certain astrological conjunctions, pots (*kumbha*) of grain were brought to these centres and dipped into the river, and then sown along with other grain at seedtime to ensure a good harvest.

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According to the mythological story, as preserved in the Purāṇas, when the gods and demons churned the ocean together, a pot or vessel containing *amṛita*, the nectar* of immortality, emerged from the deeps. The demons stole the pot and ran off with it. In the course of their flight they rested at four places, or according to another version the precious liquor spilled at four places, which became the hallowed sites of four melas or fairs.

The four spots thus sanctified are at **Allāhābād** at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamnā; at **Hardwār** on the Ganges; at **Ujjain** on the Kshiprā; and at **Nāsik** on the Godāvarī; and at these places a *Kumbha-mela* is held every three years. The biggest such mela falls every twelve years when the sun enters Aries and Jupiter is simultaneously in Aquarius, and the most auspicious place for this fair is Allāhābād.

Although river fairs are mentioned by Buddha in some early texts there is no reliable reference to the Kumbha-mela being held prior to the seventh century AD. We know that the emperor Harsha invited the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang to a Kumbha fair at Allāhābād where he distributed alms to the poor and ascetics of all faiths. The learned Śaṅkara, who buttressed up the tottering citadel of Hinduism in more than one direction, was the first to organize the mela proceedings on a systematic basis, and the mela became an occasion for large-scale pilgrimages only after his time. Kumbha-melas are casually mentioned in Hindu vernacular records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in greater detail in the Muslim records of the sixteenth century. Descriptions of the fair given by European travellers from the seventeenth century approximate to present conditions.

Kumbha-melas were always notorious occasions for kidnapping, murder, rioting, and rape, apart from widespread epidemics of cholera and plague. Clashes between rival factions were a commonplace. In 1760 in Hardwār the rival monks of the Gosāīṁ and Bairāgi sects had a battle in which 18,000 people were killed. In 1795 Sikh pilgrims slew five hundred Gosāīṁs in the same place. Followers of thuggee*, long believed to be extinct, are still said to find victims on the steps of the ghāṭs and commit their criminal acts of worship with absolute impunity. Other sects for whom murder or suicide are religious duties can perform these sacraments without fear of legal consequences.

A pilgrimage to the Kumbha-mela is regarded as extremely auspicious, and millions of Hindus throng the fair centres to bathe in the holy waters and offer prayers to the gods and lavish presents on the holy ones. They believe that all evils and sins committed by them and their ancestors back to the eighty-eighth generation will be washed away for ever by a dip in the sacred rivers, and that they will emerge regenerated and assured of salvation.

Ascetics and yogis of all sects visit the Kumbha-mela, and a 'Parliament of Hinduism' is held, where learned metaphysical discussions take place. A remarkable spectacle is the procession of naked sādhus, the mere sight of whom is believed to cleanse one instantly of the taint of all sin. Barren women sometimes take the opportunity of rendering osculatory homage to their ash-besmeared organs in the hope of bearing children. The occasion of the Kumbha-mela is regarded as auspicious for initiation into various cults, and offers a rich harvest for hordes of imposters, cranks and quacks, who

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thrive on the credulity and superstitious dread of the pilgrims who congregate there.

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(*See also under* Festivals and Mythology.)

KUṆḌALINĪ, 'coiled', the name of a potent occult energy symbolized by a serpent having three and a half coils, and sleeping with its tail in its mouth. It is often referred to as a goddess and has its home in the subtle body of man, occupying a point near the base of the spine at the *mūlādhāra* plexus, 'two fingers above the rectum and two fingers below the generative organs'.

In most cases the kuṇḍalinī lies in deep sleep throughout one's lifetime, and even its existence remains unsuspected. This is just as well, for, according to the adepts, no one should experiment with it or try to rouse it without explicit instructions from a guru, as the dangers connected with its awakening are very real and terrible. When aroused and let loose without control and direction it rages like a vicious serpent so that it becomes impossible for a man to resist its force. Whatever supernatural powers he acquires through it will only bring him in contact with the lower orders of evolution and diabolical forces. Complete moral and spiritual degeneration will ensue, resulting in the disintegration of the gross and subtle bodies, and irreparable harm both in this world and the next.

The controlled awakening of the *kuṇḍalinī* is one of the main objects of several branches of Hindu occultism, including yoga and tantrism. By appropriate exercises the 'serpent of life, fire and wisdom' can be aroused and properly directed to energize the body and soul. Long training and preparatory disciplines are required for the arousal of the kuṇḍalinī, but no fixed regime exists, and methods vary considerably. The experiences accompanying the awakening also differ; they are believed to be conditioned largely by the traditional background of the pupil and are therefore entirely subjective.

In general the technique follows these lines: a prescribed *āsana* (posture) is assumed in combination with certain *mudrās*; the eyes may be kept open or shut and focused on the roof of the head or between the eyebrows. For some minutes *prāṇayāma* (breathing) exercises are performed with the object of 'collecting and concentrating the upward and downward breaths'. There is then a sudden stoppage of the breathing, followed by the propulsion of the collected air down towards the mūlādhāra. The pressure of the upward and downward breaths arouses the kuṇḍalinī. Another method is described thus: fill the interior of the body with *prāṇa* (air), and after a time apply *kumbhaka* (retention of breath). Then contract the heart, move the air downwards, contract the anus and direct the *prāṇa* through a semicircular motion, left to right, around the pericarp of the basal lotus (*chakra*). This will warm and stir the kuṇḍalinī which should be assisted by the slow intonation of a secret *bījamantra.*

Once so aroused the kuṇḍalinī becomes stiff like a rod, and can be directed by a special secret process to start its journey up the *sushumṇā* (central

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column). As the kuṇḍalinī moves upward it strikes against the downward-facing lotuses (chakras) in order, starting from the lowest, causing them to undergo involution and bloom upward. In other accounts the ascending kuṇḍalinī is said successively to pierce, heat up and burn the various chakras. Some yogis assert that the kuṇḍalinī travels no further than the heart chakra, and that once the heart chakra is reached the kuṇḍalinī makes it her permanent home and does not return below it again.

As each chakra is animated, different *nimitta*, 'signs', make their appearance: the heat of the body increases, the skin sweats profusely, a stinging sensation 'like a scorpion' is felt. Simultaneously the corresponding *siddhis** (occult powers) are released. Thus, by raising the kuṇḍalinī to the *maṇipūra chakra* (near the navel) power may be acquired over fire. Only a few adepts succeed in working the kuṇḍalinī as far as the *sahasrāra*, near the brain. The complete process is known as *shaṭ-chakra-bheda*, 'the six chakra piercing'. Some yogis hold that the kuṇḍalinī has only to break through three 'knots' (*granthi*), namely, the mūlādhāra or base (the knot of Brahmā), the *anāhata* or heart (the knot of Vishṇu), and the *ājñā* or eyebrow (the knot of Śiva), to reach the sahasrāra. Contact between the kuṇḍalinī and sahasrāra results in the flooding of the whole being with indescribable bliss.

Associated with the awakening of the kuṇḍalinī are various experiences on the occult planes, which are manifested, among other things, by different stages of awareness, as each chakra is pierced. When the yogi has pierced all six chakras he listens for the inner sounds. At first many sounds are heard: the sound of a distant ocean; then a thundering; the sound of a waterfall; then a tinkling as of ornaments; then a drum, a bell, a flute, a bee. The head becomes giddy, the mouth fills with saliva, but the adept must carry on. The sounds become more internal and more and more subtle until, from the innermost core of his being he hears the *nāda*, the voice of the inner silence, the 'unstruck' and unmanifested sound*, the uncaused essence of *śabda*, the Word. Accompanying this is the experience of seeing dots of light, flames of fire, coloured lines, dazzling geometrical shapes, and an 'effulgence', manifesting in progressive stages from the *marīchikā*, 'mirage', or illusive bright images, then smoke, then bright circles of light, then the *tāraka*, 'star', a small intensely bright light seen between and in front of the eyebrows. This is followed by the *prakāsha*, an inner illumination, which in turn is followed by the *śamana*-like experience of *jyoti*, 'radiance', which has been described as 'the brightness of the Self which is like a universal flame of a lamp that no wind ever disturbed'.

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KURUKSHETRA (*Kuru-kshetra*, 'Kuru's field'), a narrow plain lying between the Himālayas and the Indian desert, which forms a natural cockpit for armies fighting in the Panjāb. It is situated near Delhi not far from Pānipat. In epic times it was the scene of Paraśurāma's bloody massacre of the kshattriyas whose blood once filled a lake near by; and it was also on this site that one of the most renowned battles of ancient Hindu history was fought between the Kauravas* and the Pāṇḍavas*. The incidents leading up to the *mahāyuddha*, 'Great Battle', also known, from its duration as 'The Battle of the Eighteen Days', form the subject of the *Mahābhārata* epic.

When the disinherited Pāṇḍavas sought to regain their lost kingdom by force, war between the two parties became inevitable. The rival princes Duryodhana and Arjuna visited Kṛishṇa, seeking his aid. Kṛishṇa replied that they could choose either himself or his army, adding, 'Behold, I stand before you as a balance'. Duryodhana chose Kṛishṇa's army, and Arjuna chose Kṛishṇa himself, who undertook to act as his charioteer.

Negotiations continued and many were the councils held of warriors and elders who tried to use their influence in averting hostilities between the two families. Foremost among the emissaries was Kṛishṇa himself, who asked Duryodhana to restore Indraprastha and their rightful half of the kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas; this was refused so he asked for five provinces, one for each of the five brothers; then for five towns, five villages, and finally five houses. Duryodhana, impatient at his importunity ordered Kṛishṇa to be flogged but the latter was able to make good his escape.

In the meantime the other major protagonists were making their new allegiances known before the battle. Śalya king of the Madra people was won over by Duryodhana, and decided to fight on the Kaurava side. Yudhishṭhira, reluctant to raise a hand against the revered Bhīshma and Droṇa who had trained him in his youth, walked into the Kaurava camp and sought the permission of these veterans to fight against them. This they gave knowing that the course of events was no longer within their power to control. Yudhishṭhira then addressed the Kaurava army, stating that those who wished to join the Pāṇḍavas do so immediately. Yuyutsu, half-brother of Duryodhana went over to his side on being assured of equal treatment with the Pāṇḍavas. The two then walked away and no one attempted to hold them back.

Next Kṛishṇa tried to persuade Karṇa, half-brother of the Pāṇḍavas, to renounce his allegiance to the Kauravas, but he remained steadfast. Kuntī (or Pṛithā) his mother added further inducement by confessing that he was indeed her own son. He replied that she had wronged him by her silence all these years and deprived him of his rights as a noble kshattriya, but since she had entreated him now he would spare in battle Yudhishṭhira, Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva, all of whom he had power to kill, and would fight Arjuna alone, either to slay or to be slain by him.

A general picture of the coalition of forces on both sides shows the following disposition. The Kaurava allies were the Andhaka under Kṛitavarman (or Bhoja); the Aṅga under Karṇa; the Ambashṭha people under Śritāyu; Avanti under Vinda and Anuvinda; the Darada of the mountainous north-west (modern Dardistan), who are the Dardae of Pliny; Gandhāra under Śakuni; Kāmboja under Sudakshiṇa; Kshudraka (associated with the

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Mālavas); Kaliṅga; Kekaya; Kirāta under Bhāgadatta ruler of Prāgjyotisha; Kośala under Bṛihadbala; Madra under Śalya; Magadha (east); Mālava (the Malloi of the Greeks); Māhishmatī (under Nīla); Muṇḍa or Kolarians; Nishāda; Śālva; Sauvīra under Jayadratha; Śibi; Sindhu (or Saindhava); Śūrasena; Trigartta under Suśarman; Vāhlīka (or Bactrians); Vaṅga; Videha; Vidarbha; and the Yādavas (in part). On the Pāṇḍava side we find the Abhisāra (of south-west Kashmīr); Chedi under Dhṛishṭaketu; Daśārṇa; Kārusha, an outcaste vaiśya tribe of west Bihār related to the Chedis; Kāśī; Magadha (west) under Sahadeva son of Jarāsandha; Matsya; Pañchāla; Vatsa under Nakula; Vṛishṇi under Sātyaki; Yādava (in part) under Balarāma. In brief, Madhyadeśa and Gujarāt stood for the Pāṇḍavas, and the east, north-west and west opposed them.

The Pāṇḍava army encamped near Upaplavya the Matsya capital, and was commanded by Dhṛishṭadyumna son of Drupada, who arranged his troops in the form of a crescent. The Kauravas encamped near Hastināpura and were led by Bhīshma, who deployed his ranks in the shape of a bird. After Bhīshma fell on the tenth day, Droṇa took command till the fifteenth day, when Karṇa king of Aṅga took over. He was followed by Śalya king of Madra, then by Aśvatthāman who was the last of the Kaurava commanders.

Seated in a position of vantage behind the Kaurava forces was the blind king Dhṛitarāshṭra, father of the Kauravas, and by his side sat Sañjaya who kept the blind king informed of the events of the great battle as they occurred. On the opposite side, viewing the two armies from a rise in the ground behind the Pāṇḍava forces was the young Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna in his chariot driven by his friend Kṛishṇa. As he beheld the two contending armies before him and thought of the bloodshed that was shortly to ensue, his bow dropped from his hand and he expressed his doubts as to the righteousness and advantage of fighting and slaying his kinsmen. In reply Kṛishṇa gave utterance to the teachings that are enshrined in the *Bhagavadgītā**.

Both armies now waited for sunrise. The omens were evil even before the orb of day appeared. A violent tempest swept the plain and a great darkness enveloped the earth due to the dust-laden clouds. Then came a shower of blood. The jackals howled in the distance, and high above the vultures screamed for the flesh of men. When day dawned the battle was joined. It continued for eighteen days, and fierce were the contests as brave warrior met brave warrior from opposite camps.

The progress of the fighting may be briefly summarized. The *first* day: owing to a quarrel with Bhīshma the Kaurava commander-in-chief, Karṇa refused to fight as long as the old man was alive. The main episode of the first day was a contest between Bhīma and Bhīshma. On the *second* day Bhīshma slew the two sons of the rāja of Magadha, and then the rāja himself, killing him and his elephant at a single blow. Abhimanyu son of Arjuna killed Lakshamaṇa son of Duryodhana. Alaṁbusha a great *rākshasa* or ogre (the son of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga) was worsted by Sātyaki, a Pāṇḍava ally, and was then cut down by Ghaṭotkacha, who also killed the rākshasa Alāyudha. On the *seventh* day a Gandhāra prince slew Irāvat, son of Arjuna by a Nāga princess.

On the *ninth* evening, during a temporary cessation of hostilities, the Pāṇḍava envoys went to the Kaurava camp and asked Bhīshma how he

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could be vanquished. Bhīshma who knew his time had come replied that he was invincible except in the presence of a eunuch. In any case he would not allow himself to be slain by anyone but Arjuna and Kṛishṇa. Since Kṛishṇa had taken an oath not to fight, Arjuna undertook to deliver the fatal blow.

On the *tenth* day the Pāṇḍavas sent for Śikhaṇḍin* daughter of Drupada who had exchanged her sex with a *yaksha* and had become a eunuch. Using Śikhaṇḍin as a shield before him, and knowing full well that Bhīshma would not shoot at a eunuch, Arjuna drove innumerable arrows into his body so that there was not a space of two fingers left on him that was without a wound. Bhīshma fell headlong from his chariot and was upheld from the ground by the couch of arrows that had pierced him. Great was the sorrow of all the warriors on both sides. The old hero, however, did not pass away till after the war was over, for he survived for fifty-eight days and delivered several didactic discourses. When Bhīshma fell Droṇa took command. It is said that Bhīshma received his mortal wound at the inauspicious time of *dakshiṇāyana*, when the sun moves to the winter solstice, and by sheer force of will held his life and survived till the *uttarāyaṇa*, after the sun had started its northward course, at which time the old warrior gave up the ghost.

On the *eleventh* day Droṇa attacked Yudhishṭhira who leapt on the back of a swift horse and escaped from the battlefield. The chronicler remarks in extenuation, 'It was no shame for a kshattriya to flee before a brāhmin'. On the *twelfth* day Arjuna slew Suśarman king of Trigartta and his four brothers. On the *thirteenth* day Abhimanyu was directed to break through the impenetrable battle formation of the Kauravas. Taking a last farewell of his wife Uttarā he entered the thick of the battle and died surrounded by his enemies, killed by the son of Duḥśāsana. 'So he died, like a forest lion surrounded by hunters; he sank like the red sun at evening; he perished like to a tempest whose strength is spent'.

Fourteenth day: Bhūriśravas a prince of the Vāhlīka, an ally of the Kauravas, was slain in combat with Sātyaki. Arjuna unfairly interfered in the fight between Sātyaki and Bhūriśravas and slew the latter. Just before sunset Arjuna killed Jayadratha. Then Karṇa slew Ghaṭotkacha son of Bhīma. During the night between the fourteenth and fifteenth day, Bhīma fought with Droṇa until sunrise. When the combatants separated, the redoubtable Droṇa slew his ancient enemy Drupada, beheading him, and dealt similarly with the rāja of Virāṭa.

On the *fifteenth* evening, Dhṛishṭadyumna who had sworn to avenge the death of his father Drupada, killed his father's slayer Droṇa by means of a ruse suggested by Kṛishṇa. The Pāṇḍavas named one of their elephants Aśvatthāman, after Droṇa's son, and then killed the animal. During a lull in the battle Droṇa was told that Aśvatthāman was dead, and he thought he had lost his son. He appealed to Yudhishṭhira for confirmation, knowing that Yudhishṭhira never lied, and Yudhishṭhira confirmed the report. So distraught was Droṇa that he laid down his arms and Dhṛishṭadyumna decapitated the unarmed warrior, so that his soul was released and transported to heaven 'glittering like the sun'. After Droṇa's death Karṇa took over command. On the *sixteenth* day Karṇa challenged Yudhishṭhira to fight, but during the combat Yudhishṭhira for the second time ignominiously retreated.

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A little later Bhīma slew the hateful Duḥśāsana, after which in keeping with his vow at the gambling match (*see* Śakuni) he cut off his head, tore open his breast and drank his blood.

The *seventeenth* day saw the long and terrible duel between Karṇa and Arjuna, in which Arjuna was almost killed by a dread weapon in Karṇa's possession. The wheels of Karṇa's chariot suddenly got stuck in a quagmire and, invoking the recognized laws of chivalry, he called upon Arjuna not to shoot at him. But as Karṇa was busy pulling up the wheels of his chariot, Arjuna released his bow and slew his helpless adversary. 'As Karṇa fell the rivers stood still, the sun became pale and the mountains trembled. Only evil things were filled with joy.' Yudhishṭhira who had earlier retreated from a fight with Karṇa now reproached Arjuna for not having supported him. Filled with rage Arjuna turned upon his brother and would have killed him had not Kṛishṇa interposed.

On the *eighteenth* day Śalya king of Madra assumed command of the Kauravas. It was to be the final day of the great battle. The tide turned definitely in favour of the Pāṇḍavas, whereupon Duryodhana fled and concealed himself in a lake, for he possessed the power of remaining under water. The fighting continued without him. At about noon Sahadeva slew Śakuni, and Yudhishṭhira slew Śalya king of Madra. After Śalya's death Aśvatthāman son of Droṇa took over as the last of the Kaurava commanders. Bhīma next killed all the remaining brothers of Duryodhana. He searched for Duryodhana and at length discovered him hiding in the lake, and with taunts and jeers forced him to come out. It was agreed that he and Bhīma should fight it out with clubs. Long and furious was the combat and Duryodhana was gaining the upper hand. Bhīma knew it was dishonourable to strike below the waist in single combat but his own life was in peril and he had vowed to avenge Draupadī, so he dealt Duryodhana a foul blow that broke his knee and thigh. As his hated opponent fell Bhīma kicked him on the head and trampled upon him for he remembered the humiliation that he and his family had been made to suffer. This brutal behaviour aroused the anger of Yudhishṭhira who struck Bhīma on the face and ordered Arjuna to take him away. Balarāma too was so incensed at the lack of honour and the brutality of Bhīma that he would have attacked the Pāṇḍavas had not Kṛishṇa placated him. The dying Duryodhana was removed to his camp at night.

There were now only three survivors from among the Kauravas: Aśvatthāman son of Droṇa, Kṛipa son of Śaradvat, and Kṛitavarman also called Bhoja. Humiliated and thirsting for revenge, Duryodhana ordered an attack on the sleeping Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍava brothers were away when Aśvatthāman, Kṛipa and Kṛitavarman entered their camp. Aśvatthāman first killed his father's slayer, Dhṛishṭadyumna son of Drupada by stamping him to death as he slept; next he slew Drupada's other son, Śikhaṇḍin the eunuch, and using his celestial weapon, brahmāstra, he killed the unborn Parīkshit son of Abhimanyu while still in his mother's womb. He then murdered the five young sons of Draupadī by her five husbands. While this fell work was in progress Kṛipa and Kṛitavarman kept watch at the gates.

They then brought back the heads of the five youths and told Duryodhana

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that they were the heads of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Exultant the dying warrior asked for the head of Bhīma and when one of the heads was given to him he pressed it with all his hatred. Finding that it crushed easily in his hands he knew that it was not the head of his great rival. He was then told the truth. When he heard the terrible story he was stricken with grief to learn that Aśvatthāman had shed the blood of innocent children. With a bitter reproach on his lips Duryodhana gave up his tormented spirit.

Draupadī wailed aloud when she came to discover that her children had been so wantonly murdered, and clamoured for vengeance, demanding the slayer's life. Yudhishṭhira, however, persuaded her to accept instead a wonderful jewel that Aśvatthāman wore on his forehead as an amulet. Arjuna pursued Aśvatthāman and obtained the jewel, and Draupadī presented it to Yudhishṭhira who wore it thereafter.

To the scene there now came the blind Dhṛitarāshṭra, mourning the loss of his sons and demanding that he might kill Bhīma. Pitying him the Pāṇḍavas gave him a dummy which the old man crushed in his embrace. Then he was struck with remorse, realizing that the nature of events was beyond his comprehension. He was well pleased when told that Bhīma still lived, but he never forgave him. Gāndhārī, his wife, inconsolable at the death of all her sons, had already cursed Kṛishṇa that the whole of his Yādava race might come to extinction even as the Kauravas had been brought to an end by his evil counsels.

The bodies of the slain warriors were gathered up, wrapped in perfumed linen, laid upon a funeral pyre and burned. Yudhishṭhira was proclaimed rāja of Hastināpura. One legend states that because of the terrible crime of slaying their kinsmen, the Pāṇḍavas were disqualified from performing the funeral rites, and had to undertake an expiatory pilgrimage to Badrināth and Kedārnāth in the Himālayas. Huge rocks strewn about the place and still to be seen there are relics of their wanderings as they used to throw about rocks in sport. Great depressions in the hillsides are said to be their footprints. On their return they were advised to kill a rhinoceros, make a vessel of its skin and from it pour a water libation to their kinsmen. This they did, then offered the *piṇḍa*, and thus enabled their slain relatives to attain paradise.

The blind Dhṛitarāshṭra and his queen, together with Kuntī and the wise Vidura, retired to the forest to do penance. They were followed some months later by the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī. With the assistance of the ṛishi Vyāsa they once more beheld the warriors who had fallen in the fateful battle and there was great rejoicing at the mutual reconciliation.

The Pāṇḍavas returned to Hastināpura and shortly after were informed that Dhṛitarāshṭra, Gāndhārī and Kuntī had died in a great fire that ravaged the forest and their retreat. The death of Kṛishṇa* and the extinction of the Yādavas, the renunciation of his kingdom by Yudhishṭhira* and the departure of the Pāṇḍavas for the Himālayas en route to Indra's heaven on Mount Meru, complete the epic of the *Mahābhārata*. One by one the brothers and their wife fall by the way, paying for their sins and moral weaknesses. Draupadī first, because of her passion and vengefulness; Sahadeva for pride in his intellect; Nakula for being vain of his beauty; Arjuna for boasting of his valour; Bhīma for his gluttony and ruthlessness. Only Yudhishṭhira*

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survives the perils of the way, and through him all the others eventually gain Paradise.

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KUSHĀN (165 BC–AD 200) or Kushāṇa, the name of a group of Mongolian tribes of Central Asia known to the Chinese chroniclers as Yu-chi (or Yueh-chi), and to medieval historians like Kalhaṇa as the Turushka (Turks or Tartars). Kushān chronology is still an unresolved problem and much has been built up from indirect sources. The Kushāns lived at first in Chinese Turkestan, but in about 165 BC they were displaced by the Huns, and migrated westwards. They defeated the Śakas and Parthians and established a huge empire which for centuries sat like a colossus astride the back of Asia between the Roman and Chinese worlds, stretching from Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan to the borders of Persia.

One branch of the Kushāns settled in Parthia and north-west India and lost their nomadic character. Their capital was first at Kabul, which had been taken by the Kushān king Kujula, known as **Kadphises I** in AD 50, and later at Purushapura (modern Peshāwar). The Kushāns became complete masters of the Indian borderland, and Kushān kings assumed grandiose titles like the Persian Kings of Kings, the Roman Caesars, and the Chinese Sons of Heaven. The next ruler, **Wema,** also known as **Kadphises II** (AD 78–100) occupied Gandhāra, overthrew the last Bactrian* Greek monarch Hermaeus, and gradually reduced to subjection the various petty Greek, Parthian and Śaka principalities, extending his domain over Sind, Gujarāt, the Panjāb, parts of Central India, and eastwards to Banāras. The third great ruler of this dynasty was **Kanishka*** (?AD 100–162?) an ardent patron of Buddhism, literature and the arts, under whose encouragement the well-known Gandhāra school of art reached its efflorescence.

Kanishka's successors were his two sons **Vasishka** (*c.* 165) and **Huvishka** (*c.* 170) who probably acted as provincial viceroys during the reign of their father. Like most of the Kushān rulers they tolerated all religious systems that were vended in the empire and thus provided the opportunity for the absorption and synthesis of various ancient religious creeds within the melting pot of Hinduism. Huvishka made Mathurā a great centre of Kushān power.

The last Kushān king of whom we have any knowledge was **Vāsudeva** (AD ?170–200?) who ruled at Mathurā. His Indian name represents a landmark in the process of the hinduization of the Mongolian invaders and their surrender to the culture of India. It seems likely that he lost all his north-western provinces.

Kushān dominion finally dwindled in India by the beginning of the third century, and their end was hastened by the growing power of certain tribes such as the Yaudheyas, Ābhīras*, Vindhyaśaktis and the Bhāraśivas. The republican *Yaudheya* tribe claimed descent from the Epic hero Yudhishṭhira, as well as from the benign monarch Uśīnara. During the Kushān period they

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occupied what is now Western Rājputāna, and are probably the progenitors of the Johiyā Rājputs of medieval India; many Yaudheya coins and official seals have survived. The *Ābhīra**, further south, played a conspicuous part in Indian history at this time. The *Vindhyaśakti* (sometimes identified with the Vākāṭakas*) ruled territories near the Vindhyas; and the Śaivite *Bhāraśiva* (or Bhāraśiva Nāga) emerged from the area now known as Bundelkhaṇḍ. They became the political successors of the Kushāns in Mathurā and adjacent areas in the third and fourth centuries, and were zealous sponsors of brāhminism. One of their kings performed an aśvamedha or horse sacrifice. Early in the fourth century the Guptas* rose to power and assumed leadership of the countless warring factions who were trying to carve up the carcass of the Kushān empire in India.

For more than two centuries the Kushāns had formed a bridge between the civilizations of China and Rome, and been a channel of communication between these two great cultures. Gandhāra* became a meeting place of east and west, where all the great Asiatic peoples and religions were represented. The official language of the Kushāns was Tokhāri, which they wrote in modified Greek characters. The Kushāns were on excellent terms with Rome and in the reign of Kadphises II an embassy sent to the West received a cordial reception from Trajan. There was a brisk and uninterrupted trade between the Indian trading centres and the Roman colonies of Asia Minor throughout the period. The principal Kushān port of Barygaza was connected with the inland Śaka capital of Ujjain to the north-east, and by overland and sea routes to the western world.

The Kushāns issued gold coinage of high artistic quality. Their patronage of Buddhism resulted in the propagation of the Mahāyāna form of that religion, in the famous Buddha statues on the Grecian model, and in the influx of a whole new world of art forms from all parts of the civilized world. It was their active encouragement and missionary zeal that helped to spread Buddhism from the Caspian Sea to China.

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KUŚIKA, a *ṛishi* who founded the Kauśika family of Kanyākubja. The term *kauśika* means sexual love, and in combination is used for a courtesan. Kuśika's mother was said to have been an *apsarā* or heavenly nymph, which may account for the name. Another Kuśika was the founder of a degraded Pāśupata* cult. The descendants of Kuśika the ṛishi established an important Vedic school known as the Kauśītaka, which was responsible for the composition of a Brāhmaṇa, an Āraṇyaka and an Upanishad, called Kauśītaki after them.

Among the Kauśika notables was Kauśāmba (or Kuśāmba) son of Kuśa

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and a descendant of Purūravas. Kauśāmba undertook a term of austerity with the intention of obtaining a son as great as Indra, and so vigorous was his penance that Indra in alarm became incarnate as Kauśāmba's son Gādhi (or Gāthin) king of Kanyākubja. Gādhi became the father of the great ṛishi Viśvāmitra*, and of the beautiful Satyavatī who married the sage Ṛichīka, son of Aurva*.

Books

See under Mythology.

LAKSHMAṆA, son of Daśaratha king of Ayodhyā and his wife Sumitrā, was the half-brother of Rāma. He was one-fourth part of the god Vishṇu, although another legend makes him an incarnation of Śesha the cosmic serpent. Lakshmaṇa accompanied Rāma into exile and was so greatly attached to Sītā that it gave rise to the rumour that the two brothers shared her. Once when Lakshmaṇa did not hasten to Rāma's help when the latter was in danger, Sītā accused him of deliberately delaying so that he might have her for himself. On the other hand there was an instance where he was required to establish the identity of Sītā in the Daṇḍaka forest, but could not do so because throughout their life together he had never even looked at her face.

In the course of his adventures in exile, Lakshmaṇa killed several *rākshasas* (ogres) in the forest, and cut off the nose and ears of the love-stricken ogress Śūrpanakhā*. In the battle of Laṅkā he slew Meghanāda son of Rāvaṇa, and was himself slain by Rāvaṇa, but was restored to life by the *vānara* (monkey) physician Sushena. On the return of the brothers to Ayodhyā, during the wanderings of Rāma's sacrificial horse, both Lakshmaṇa and his second brother Śatrughna (below) were defeated by Sītā's sons, Lava and Kuśa.

When Rāma's earthly life was drawing to a close, Time was sent to inform him of the fact. At the same moment the sage Durvāsas appeared demanding to see Rāma immediately. To save Rāma from the possible curse of the irascible sage, Lakshmaṇa entered the chamber where Time was communing with Rāma, and thus took upon himself the fate of Rāma. He voluntarily drowned himself by walking into the waters of the Śarayū river, where the gods rained flowers on him and carried him bodily to heaven.

Lakshmaṇa's wife Ūrmilā, daughter of Janaka, bore him a daughter named Gandharvī (or Somadā), and two sons: Aṅgada, who became king of Āṅgadi in the Himālayan foothills, and Chandraketu who also ruled a kingdom near the Himālayas.

Lakshmaṇa's twin brother ŚATRUGHNA (śatru-ghna, 'foe-destroyer') married Śrutakīrttī, cousin of Sītā and niece of Janaka. He fought on the side of Rāma during the battle with Rāvaṇa's hosts, and slew the rākshasa chief Lavaṇa (*see* Rāma).

Books

See under Mythology.

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LAKSHMĪ. In the Vedas the term lakshmī occurs in the sense of auspicious, and is also applied to a fortunate woman. In the earlier legends Lakshmī is the goddess of good fortune and beauty, who issued from the mouth of Prajāpati, and was the wife of Āditya. Another legend makes her a daughter of the mahāṛishi Bhṛigu who in a fit of rage cursed all celestial beings. Lakshmī his daughter being one of them, took refuge in the primeval waters, from where she reappeared during the Churning of the Ocean in the full bloom of her divine beauty, floating in the dew of a lotus flower.

In all later legends she is spoken of as the spouse of Vishṇu. She is said to have had several rebirths, in each one as the beloved of the Vishṇu incarnation. When Vishṇu came as Rāma, Lakshmī was Sītā; when he came as Vāmana she was a lotus (Padmā); when he came as Paraśurāma she was Dharaṇī; when he came as Kṛishṇa she was Rukmiṇī, and so on. Lakshmī is portrayed as a very beautiful goddess, with two hands (instead of the four she possesses) in one of which she holds her flower, the lotus. In the seasonal worship of this goddess her images are rarely used. It is customary to heap up rice on a tray, decorate it with cowrie shells and place on the pile a small wooden box with a coin in it, symbolizing the goddess of good fortune and prosperity.

Lakshmī is also known as Chañchalā or Lolā, 'fickle' goddess of fortune; Loka-mātā, 'world-mother'; Śrī, 'fortunate'; Hīrā, 'precious'; Indirā, 'lady'; Jalandhijā, 'ocean-born'; Mādhavī, 'vernal'; Kshīrābdhi-tanayā, 'milk-ocean's daughter'; Padmā, Padmāvatī or Kamalā, 'lotus'.

Books

See under Mythology.

LANGUAGE. In India the study of the various *bhāshā*, 'speech', or languages, their origins, development, and mutual cross influences, is extremely confused. At every step scholars are confronted with local dialects, some of extreme antiquity, whose vocabulary and grammatical structure bear traces of diverse origins and admixtures. Further difficulties are added by the fact that different names are often given to the same tongue, or identical names to different tongues. The 1951 census gave a total of 845 languages and dialects spoken in India, of which 63 are non-Indian. These languages may be broadly classified under the following group headings.

KOLARIAN*, descending from the neolithic Kolarian peoples, which represents a pre-Dravidian agglutinative form of speech with Austric affinities, spoken today by about nine million people. The Kolarian tongues are highly complex to understand and study, and are related to a much wider linguistic family, extending to Easter Island and other Pacific areas. The tribal languages comprehended in this group are: Kol, Muṇḍāri, Bhīl, Santāli, Kūrkū, Uraon, Kherwāri, and Nicobāri.

INDOCHINESE, generally divided into two groups, namely, Mon-Khmer, of which an example is found in the Khāsi dialect of Assam, and Tibeto-Burman of the Himālayan foothills and the north-eastern mountain regions.

DRAVIDIAN*, the main linguistic group of South India spoken by about 80

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million people. Dravidian was once believed to have Turanian (Scythic), ancient Median, Finnish or Ostiak affinities, but is now assumed to be related to a hypothetical family of vaguely associated languages called Caucaso-Dravidian or Sumero-Dravidian. The Dravidian tongues were the main vernaculars of India before the Aryan advent, and Dravidian elements are still found in the regional tongues of western India from Gujarāt to Coorg, and in several north Indian forms of speech. This group is classed under two main headings: the cultivated Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam and Kanarese), and the uncultivated Dravidian languages (embracing all the rest).

*Tamil** (spoken by 15 million people) is the richest of the southern vernaculars and is regarded as *the* Dravidian tongue. The terms Tamil and Drāviḍa are derived from an identical source. *Telugu** (24 million in Āndhra Pradesh), because of its melodiousness is called the Italian of the Dravidian tongues. It was the court language of the Vijayanagar kings. *Malayālam** (8 million in south-west India), is almost a dialect of Tamil, though largely influenced by Sanskrit. *Kanarese** (18 million), spoken in Mysore, Kanara, and part of the Malabār coast.

The uncultivated Dravidian tongues are now rapidly dying out; they have no literature, and their traditions are being gradually attenuated under the assault of their more advanced neighbours. Chief of these tongues are *Tuḷu*, spoken by half a million people in a small part of Kanara; *Toda*, spoken by about 1000 Toda villagers in the Nilgiri hills; *Rājmahal*, current in Bihār and Bengal; *Malto*, a semi-Dravidian language spoken by a small tribe in Bihār; *Gond*, by 2 million in Madhya Pradesh; *Kodagu* (or Kurukh) and *Kandh* (Kui or Khond) both current in Bihār and Orissa (100,000); *Kolami*, by half a million in Madhya Pradesh. An interesting relic of Dravidian is found in *Brāhui*, a language spoken in the central highlands of Baluchistan, which although now modified by other linguistic admixtures, still preserves traces of its Dravidian origin. Scholars believe that it marks the trail of a Dravidian speaking people who entered India in prehistoric times by way of the south Persian and Makran routes.

INDO-ARYAN

The most widespread of the linguistic groups of India. Its beginnings date from about 1500 BC, the time of the Aryan advent in India, and from it stem most of the major north Indian tongues. No writings are extant in what is tentatively called *Ādibhāsha* or Proto-Aryan*, the hypothetical precursor of the Indo-Aryan languages, Avestic and Vedic, although there are grounds for the view that the early hymns and songs were composed in that tongue and assimilated by other contemporary vernaculars. From Ādibhāsha the Indo-Aryan languages show three stages of development, namely, (1) Primary Prākṛit, which includes Avestic, Vedic* and Sanskrit*; (2) Secondary Prākṛit, or Prākṛit *proper and the Apabhraṁśas; and (3) Tertiary Prākṛit, which embraces the neo-Indo-Aryan languages. The most important of these modern Aryan languages are listed below.

Kashmīri (2 million in Kashmīr). The peculiarity of its vowels makes it somewhat difficult to pronounce. It seems to be a Dardic language heavily seasoned with borrowings from the Prākṛits of north-west India. The

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prophetess and ascetic Lallā (*c.* 1320) composed Śaivite hymns in the oldest Kashmīri dialect and long enjoyed great popularity.

Lahndā, 'west', also known as Western Panjābi or Hindki. Spoken by about 7 million people in Hazāra and parts of the north-west.

Sindhi, related to *Lahndā*, has borrowed much from Persian. It is spoken by nearly four million persons but has no literature of any particular worth.

Pahāṛi, spoken in the Himāchal Pradesh and the neighbouring foothills. Its dialects include *Chambiāli* (Chamba district), *Gaṛhwāli* (Gaṛhwāl), and *Kumauni* (Kumaon).

*Gujarāti** (12 million in Gujarāt), has been considerably influenced by Scythian and Gurjara forms of speech. It has a rich literature.

Rājasthāni (14 million in Rājputāna), is a rather harsh language lacking in euphony as compared with other north Indian tongues. An old local vernacular of Rājasthāni was Ḍiṅgala, now dead, but preserved to a small extent in the songs of the bards. Other Rājasthāni dialects are *Mārwāṛi* (of Mārwāṛ), *Jaipuri* (Jaipur), *Mālvi* (Mālwā), *Mewāri* (Mewār), *Udaipuri* (Udaipur).

Panjābi (16 million in the central Panjāb), derived from Śaurasenī Prākṛit, is regarded as the purest of all the Midland languages, being freest from Sanskrit borrowings. A mixture of Panjābi and Old Brāj (a form of Hindi) is known as *Piṅgala*, and a variation of this, spoken in south-east Panjāb, is called *Baṅgaru*. Early writers of Panjābi include the Nāthas* like Gorakhnāth; the Afghan saint Mas'ūd (d. 1265), pen-name of Farid-ud-dīn or Sheikh Farid, who wrote in the regional language for the benefit of Rājput converts to Islam. Many of the Sikh gurus wrote beautiful and inspiring poetry in Panjābi, of high ethical content. New grammars, dictionaries and school textbooks by European missionaries inaugurated a new era in Panjābi writing. The most outstanding modern writer is Vīr-singh (1872–1956) whose inspiration was Wordsworth.

Western Hindi, or Hindi* proper, spoken by 45 million people in northern India, between the Jamnā and the Ganges, was much influenced by Persian. Dialects are *Dakhni*, 'southern', carried to the Deccan by Muslims; *Kanauji* (of Kanauj); *Bundelhi* (Bundelkhaṇḍ), *Hindvi* (an early form of Hindi spoken in Delhi and Meerut); *Brāj* or *Brāj-bhāshā*, spoken in Muttra and Agra and extensively used by the writers of Vaishṇava hymns. Brāj is the parent of Hindustāni and consists mainly of deśya (native) words and an equal proportion of Sanskrit and Persian words. *Khaṛī-boli* (derived from Hindvi) is the ancestor of Hindi.

Eastern Hindi, also called *Kośali*, spoken by 23 million people. Offshoots include *Bagheli* (Baghelkhaṇḍ), *Purbi*, *Chhatisgaṛhi*, and *Baisvari* or Avadhi (from Oudh, between Jamnā and Ganges) in which Tulsīdās wrote his works.

*Marāṭhi** (20 million in Mahārāshṭra, with 2 million for the dialect called *Koṅkaṇi*), has many Dravidian affinities, with a strong Sanskrit admixture. Its literature is extensive and vigorous.

Bihāri (35 million in Bihār), has three great subdivisions: *Bhojpuri*, which differs from the other two, spoken by 21 million people; *Magahi* of South Bihār, by 7 million; *Maithili* by 10 million. Maithili, the chief literary dialect of Bihāri, was current from the tenth century onwards in the region once

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known as Mithilā, corresponding to that part of Bihār which lies north of the Ganges. Two famous writers in Maithili are the lyric poet Umāpati (fl. 1320) minister of Harasiṁha, last king of Mithilā; and Vidyāpati (1368–1476) who wrote several Sanskrit works but whose fame rests on his sensual *Padavali*, a collection of lyrics devoted to the amorous adventures of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. The reformer Chaitanya frequently quoted his verse. Maithili drama has also been considerably developed outside Mithilā, in Nepāl and Assam.
*Oṛiya** (10 million in Orissa), a musical language, it has changed very little since the fourteenth century, the date of its earliest known inscriptions. Its literary style is heavily burdened with Sanskritisms.
*Bengali** (53 million in Bengal) has had a tremendous influence on modern Indian writings, although its literature is of recent development.
*Assamese** (2 million in Assam), has an extensive literature but without much influence.

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LAW. The metaphysical basis of Hindu law is *ṛita*, the universal regularity and order of the whole cosmic process. From this comes the notion of dharma*, which means law, religion, morality and a great deal besides. The precepts of ethics are all comprehended in the concept of dharma.

Hindu law is not based on the decree of a sovereign or political body, but, like the Jewish or Islamic commandments, on sacred scriptures believed to be divinely inspired and unalterable. The two chief sources of Hindu law are the *śruti*, i.e. the Vedas, more particularly the Brāhmaṇas, which contain the main body of law, and the *smṛiti*, especially the *dharma-śāstras* or law-books. Various rules have been laid down by the lawgivers for the interpretation of the śruti and smṛiti texts. The general principles are that when two śrutis conflict both are valid; when śruti and smṛiti conflict the śruti is valid; when two smṛitis conflict an option (*vikalpa*) is permitted and either may be followed, depending on reason and prevailing custom.

Custom itself is one of the pillars of Hindu law. It is sometimes spoken of as *āchāra*, 'well-going', which implies the observance of a rule well established by long usage and based on good conduct (*see* ethics), specifically conduct

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dictated by caste. Custom is often binding over all other mandates, since, in the words of Manu, 'Immemorial custom is transcendent law'.

The texts of the śruti and smṛiti have been classified from the legal point of view under the following heads, mainly taken from the Mīmāṁsā school of philosophy: *vidhi*, an order or precept; an imperative commandment ordaining the performance of an act e.g. the text enjoining men to perform the *śrāddha* or post-mortem rites for the deceased; *paryudāsa*, 'exclusion', any clause detailing an exception to a previous order, e.g. the śrāddha should not be performed at night; *parisaṁkhyā*, a complete enumeration of things to be done, thus implying that what is not enumerated is not to be done, e.g. the flesh of the following five animals having claws may be eaten, implying that the flesh of all other clawed animals should not be eaten; *arthavāda*, a recommendation to do something, generally by endorsing a Vedic commandment, or emphasizing a Vedic prohibition; it does not have obligatory force; *nishedha*, a prohibitory injunction forbidding a certain action, e.g. one should not eat fish on *Ravivār* (Sunday); *nirvachana*, or an explanation of a general kind, e.g. a ceremonial bath is not to be taken during sickness; sickness includes a lapse of three sunrises from the day of its termination.

Sometimes kings made changes in the law by fresh interpretation, or even by the promulgation of a new law. In most instances these changes arose as a result of the king's decision on specific cases that were presented to him for judgment. After consulting his priests and ministers the decision was set forth in the form of a decree or edict called a *śāsana*, and important śāsanas were inscribed on stone or metal. Such epigraphic* records are of considerable historical and legislative interest.

Another important source of law were the *nibandha*, commentaries or digests, which although purporting merely to interpret the smṛiti, have considerably modified the old laws. It is to be noted that the commentaries are not all universally accepted as valid, but different commentaries are followed in different localities and have given rise to divergent schools. The Digest, and other legal works of Hemādri* (*c.* 1300) were for long recognized as authoritative in certain parts of India; there are besides the *Ratnakāra* books by Chaṇḍeśvara, granduncle of Vidyāpati, minister of Harisiṁha (fourteenth century); the *Chintāmaṇi* books by Vāchaspati (fifteenth century); and the encyclopaedic *Tattva* books by the sixteenth century jurist Raghunandana (also known as Smārta-Bhaṭṭāchārya) who was a pupil of the logician Sārvabhauma*, which are authoritative in Bengal.

The two principal divisions of Hindu law however, are those based on two works known as *Dāyabhāga* and *Mitāksharā*. The *Dāyabhāga*, by Jīmūtavāhana (fifteenth century) is a commentary on the sṛutis, especially on Manu. It was once part of a great compilation called the *Dharma-ratna*. This commentary represents the source of the Gaurīya school of Bengal and Assam. The *Mitāksharā* is a commentary on Yājñavalkya* by Vijñāneśvara (?1040–1100?) who wrote at the court of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1075–1127). This work is the source of the Mithilā school of north Bihār; the Banāras and Panjāb schools; the Mahārāshṭra school of Bombay; and the Drāviḍa school of Madrās.

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Persons who come within the scope of Hindu law and are governed by it today include all Hindus who profess Hinduism; Jains, Sikhs and other similar dissenters from Hinduism; Hindu converts to Islam and Christianity where they continue to retain Hindu customs; and converts who perform expiatory ceremonies and revert to Hinduism. Hindu law actually differs from state to state and from caste to caste, being as it were a vast patchwork of rules that no single student of law can conveniently master.

In Mauryan times justice was administered by civil and criminal courts presided over by three judges acquainted with the law. The majority of the smaller cases were decided by the *pañchāyat* or village meeting presided over by a committee of 'five' (*pañcha*) of whom two were of the same caste as each of the two litigants, and one was the headman of the village. Often doubtful points of law were settled by a *parishad* or legal assembly of learned men competent to decide the matter, or at large assemblies such as the *sabhā* or *samiti* (*see* politics).

From earliest times, when the resources of the law proved of no avail or too cumbersome, or the evidence insufficient to base a judgment upon, trial by ordeal was resorted to. Such trials included ordeals by fire, water (e.g. immersion), scales, poison, and so on. In the ordeal by scales a man is first weighed against some equal weights; he then steps off the scales and recites a given mantra and ascends again; if he proves heavier he is declared innocent. In the fire ordeal the man walks over burning coals, or touches a red-hot ploughshare with his tongue, or pulls a coin with his bare hands out of a pot of boiling oil; if unscathed he is regarded as innocent. The variations were innumerable.

Torture was used to elicit confessions, and punishment was often severe and in many cases barbaric. In the time of Kālidāsa theft was punishable by death by simple execution or by impaling on a stake and being left to be eaten by dogs or vultures. One horrible punishment was the *sūrmi*, a hollow metal image in which criminals were locked. The image was then placed over a slow fire so that the unfortunate victim was roasted alive. The principle of the *daṇḍa** or 'rod' was basic to much penal legislation, on the hypothesis that human nature was evil and corrupt and that men would only obey the laws through fear of punishment.

A civil dispute between two parties formally brought up before the court of adjudication was known as an *adhikaraṇa*, and in theory at least involved five constituents, namely: the subject-matter of the dispute; the issue; the first party's version; the second party's version; and the decision. By the time of the brāhminical revival the civil law or *vyavahāra* was interpreted almost solely for the benefit of the brāhmin. One or more brāhmins presided over the civil and criminal courts, and their influence was felt in all strata of society. The brāhmin was believed to be incapable of doing wrong. In a dispute between a brāhmin and a non-brāhmin an arbitrator or witness was obliged to speak in favour of the brāhmin. In fact it was considered a sin to accuse a brāhmin of a wrong, even if he had actually done a wrong.

Traditionally there were four stages (*vyavapāda*) in a *vichāra* or trial, namely, (*a*) *pūrvavāda* or 'plaint', the presentation of his grievance by the plaintiff; this was as far as the case of a śūdra against a brāhmin was allowed

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to proceed; (*b*) *uttara*, or the legal defence; a brāhmin defendant only deigned to defend himself if he were on trial against a vaiśya, kshattriya or another brāhmin; (*c*) *upapatti*, 'proof', the third stage was only required in trials with a kshattriya; (*d*) *nirṇaya*, 'verdict', which was given in all trials between any two litigants. Cases between equal castes proceeded through all the stages.

In earlier days when law was the monopoly of the priests the hope of justice for the lower castes was dim indeed. There is a good deal of evidence to show that the laws of the Hindus for long mainly served the interests of the brāhmins, the powerful, and the wealthy. Justice was seldom impartial or disinterested, and the testimony of the *kathās* reveals that the palm was ever open for a bribe. This was particularly true during and after the period known as the brāhminical revival.

The deposition of witnesses was known to be of little value if the case were being tried against a brāhmin offender. The lower-caste man was prevented under pain of eternal perdition from testifying against a brāhmin, and amongst themselves the word of one brāhmin against another was of little worth. The most solemn oath could be broken and perjury committed with impunity for the sake of any matter affecting the fortunes, honour or life of a brāhmin. Muslim observers in particular have made scathing attacks on the 'faithlessness' and 'absence of honour' on the part of Hindus, although in the regions administered by Muslims, Hindus were subjected to an equally iniquitous judicial system in which the scales were weighted heavily against the Hindu in any litigation with a Muslim.

The Herculean task of reducing to order the multiplicity of legal systems prevailing in India was first brought to manageable proportions by the efforts of many nameless English officials working unobtrusively in various parts of the country, and finally entrusted to Lord Macaulay. His dominant motive was the abolition of all legal inequalities between Hindu and Hindu, Hindu and Muslim, and between Indian and European. 'I am not', he declared, 'desirous to exempt the English settler from any evil under which his Hindu neighbour suffers.' He established the great principle of equality before the courts, which in a country where under Hindu law a man of high caste could not be punished on the evidence of a śūdra; where punishment varied according to caste; and where according to Islamic law an unbeliever's word could not be accepted against a Muslim, was, in the words of K. M. Panikkar, 'a legal revolution of the first importance. The imposing and truly magnificent legal structure of India, under whose protection four hundred million people live, is indeed a worthy monument to Macaulay's genius'.

In recent times various legislative acts have further modified the basic framework of Hindu law. Little remains of the original religious sanctions, and the changed social environment is putting further strain on domestic mandates dictated by custom. The fragments that have survived these legal encroachments on Hindu jurisprudence bear little relationship to the ancestral laws. A great deal continues to be done today towards further reform in Hindu law by codification, reorientation and simplification. It is a peculiarity of India that social legislation is rarely demanded by the people but is almost invariably imposed from above.

The decisions of judicial tribunals are now an important source of Hindu

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law, especially till recently those of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the High Courts and Chief Courts of India. Recent statutes passed by the State and Central legislatures have amended and reinterpreted or clarified ancient laws abolishing slavery and suttee, like the Abolition of Slavery Act (1843), and Lord William Bentinck's Regulation of 1829 prohibiting the burning of widows. Other enactments brought changes in the laws governing wills (1870), property (1916), inheritance (1928), e.g. the Hindu Womens' Right to Property Act (1937); and in caste and marriage such as the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (1850); Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (1856), the Sarda Act (1929) prohibiting child marriage, the Hindu Marriage Act (1955), and the Intercaste Marriage Act. Bigamous marriages were banned by an Act in the State of Bombay in 1947.

Inheritance in Hindu law is determined by kinship and community, and governed by the particular school (Dāyabhāga or Mitāksharā) of law that is traditionally followed in the locality. But these laws are now slowly losing their distinctive features. Wills did not originally exist among Hindus, and no synonymn for 'will' exists in any of the Indian languages, but wills are now made in respect of personal property. The actual order of succession is very carefully stated in all schools of law. Where there is a total absence of relations the property goes to the preceptor, the pupil, the priest, the caste people, and the brāhmins of the village. Normally those who are incapable of performing the necessary *śrāddha* post-mortem ceremonies are excluded from inheritance. Formerly not even the blind, deaf, dumb, lame or impotent could inherit, but the Hindu Inheritance Removal of Disabilities Act (1928) confines this exclusion to congenital idiots alone.

Certain estates are regarded as impartible, that is, they are not subject to partition; this applies especially to joint family property. Often impartible estates descend by the rule of primogeniture to the eldest male member, the other male members of the family receiving an allowance for their maintenance. The rapid break-up of the joint family system has also been reflected in the law of such estates. Persons who have inherited property are obliged to pay off all the debts of the deceased. Certain debts are exempted from this obligation such as debts incurred under the influence of liquor or lust, or due to gambling.

Women are generally subject to many proprietary disabilities, but these too are slowly being righted under the pressure of modern trends. Further aspects of Hindu law are discussed in the articles on community, joint family, marriage, ritual canon, scriptures, sonship, etc.

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LEVIRATE. The levirate system of the ancient Jews was almost identical with the Hindu custom of *niyoga*, 'injunction', legalized by Manu, by which a man could have intercourse with his childless brother's widow, or the wife of an impotent kinsman, in order to raise issue for the other's family, without incurring the sin of incest.

Often the choice was left to the widow and she generally appointed her brother-in-law, kinsman or near relative as the 'indrenching agent', but he could not approach her till one year had elapsed after the death of the husband. Then, 'anointed with clarified butter', he could approach the woman only at night and had to perform his duty in complete silence. The couple were not to meet after conception had taken place. Children born of such a union were regarded as the issue of the woman's husband and not of the agent. The number of children procreated by this means was normally limited to three sons, any intervening daughters not being taken into account.

Although originally intended to provide legitimate heirs for childless relatives through the employment of a male relative belonging to the same family as the deceased husband, outsiders were also sometimes chosen as agents, and in due course it became a matter of pride to have a brāhmin, any brāhmin, as a sire for one's offspring. Brāhmins themselves claimed the right to provide the issue upon a childless widow on the basis of a verse from the *Atharva-veda* which glorifies the brāhmin as the best 'husband' for women of all castes. The custom was open to grave abuse. Before long it ceased to be necessary to perform the operation on a childless woman; the brāhmin offered his services even when the woman had other children and the husband was alive, if the children she had were not good enough, or if the husband was not competent, or if he stayed away from home for long periods. Niyoga degenerated into a form of sexual licence, in which the brāhmin took full advantage of his privileged position, virtually claiming the right over the wife of every other man (III, p. 167). Its importance in the miscegenation of the Indian peoples hardly needs stressing.

The right of niyoga was exercised by the *ṛishi* Dīrghatamas in raising issue for the Ānava king, Bali; by Vasishṭha for Kalmāshapāda; by Vyāsa for the king of Kāśī. Purukutsanī obtained a son by niyoga in the absence of her imprisoned husband, and Kuntī's sister Śrutasenā had three sons in the same manner. Professor Upadhya points to several instances in the *Ṛig-veda* of 'the wives of weaklings procuring children from agencies other than their legally married husbands'. Bhadrā the wife of Vyushitāśva had seven sons by niyoga and not through her husband. There is the instance of a kshattriya wife, Śāradaṇḍayanī of Kekaya who at her husband's request came out into the public square where she selected and solicited a brāhmin from among the passers-by as the 'agent' and had successively three sons by him. There is also what S. C. Sarkar describes as a 'revolting example' in the Epic story of the Yādava princess Oghavatī, wife of the Paurava prince, Nīla, who was enjoyed by a brāhmin in her gratified husband's presence.

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Intimate and often sexual relations between brothers and sisters-in-law, still obtain very widely in India, and in some places, notably Bengal, even among caste Hindus. Dayānanda, founder of the Ārya Samāj, allowed his followers to practice niyoga, but modern reformist Hinduism in general has resolutely condemned the custom.

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LICHCHHAVI, the name of a non-Aryan tribe who lived in the north-eastern regions of India from the sixth century BC, and were sometimes spoken of as part of a larger Mongolian confederacy known as the VAJJĪ (or Vṛijī). They venerated the serpent, and the tutelary deity of their capital city, Vaiśālī, was the Nāga, and they were probably totemically related to the Nāga tribe. There is much conflicting opinion regarding their origin. One theory is that they were of Persian antecedents, but the evidence for this seems to rest mainly on the widespread diffusion of snake-worshipping peoples in Iran and India, and on the verbal similarity between Nisibis, the name of a place in Persia, and the word Nichchhivi which occurs in Manu.

Another theory is that they were in all probability a Mongoloid tribe from the Himālayan foothills, and this view finds ample support among scholars. There was certainly a family kinship between the Lichchhavis and the Mongoloid Śākyas, the tribe to which Buddha belonged, and an affinity between them and the peoples of Tibet and Nepāl. Their cultural relationship with Tibet is supported by their common social customs such as intermarriage between brother and sister, and the practice of exposing their dead, generally by hanging from trees, to be devoured by wild animals and destroyed by the elements. Relationship with Nepāl is historically established by the fact that a Lichchhavi dynasty ruled in Nepāl for over five centuries, from AD 350 to 880.

The Lichchhavis were admitted to highborn Hindu status on the strength of their traditional link with Viśāla, descendant of Manu Vaivasvata and founder of Vaiśālī. But even when they joined the Hindu fold as kshattriyas they were not friendly to orthodox Hinduism and in the Gupta period were once more classed as *mlechchhas* or outcaste foreigners.

The Lichchhavis were hardy, active, brave in battle; and Buddha spoke eloquently of their unity, strength, nobility and democratic government. Even today it is this same alien tribe that is held up as a model of the ancient Indian non-monarchical, republican state. Their government was an oligarchy, and the organization of their councils was highly developed and democratically regulated, all matters in dispute being settled by the majority vote.

The mother of Buddha, Māyā, belonged to the Lichchhavi tribe, and when Buddha died the Lichchhavis claimed a share of his relics. The tribe continued

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to be associated with the new religion for centuries after the death of Buddha, and the second general council of the Buddhist church was held at Vaiśālī in 390 BC. Similarly, but to a lesser degree the Lichchhavis were associated with Jainism. Mahāvīra, the founder of the Jain sect was from Vaiśālī, his mother Triśalā being a princess of that place. Lichchhavi princesses, renowned for their beauty, learning and noble birth, were often sought in marriage by the highest-born princes of eastern India.

The Lichchhavis suffered an eclipse with the rise of the Magadha empire after a crushing defeat by Ajātaśatru, but they rose to power once more with the Magadha decline, and filled the vacuum at Pāṭaliputra till the Kushāns conquered the kingdom. There was another Lichchhavi resurgence by the beginning of the fourth century AD just before the Guptas came into power, and Chandragupta I (AD 320–328) married a Lichchhavi princess, Kumāradevī, to gain the support he needed to establish his dynasty. They declined with the later Guptas and finally passed from the scene, after having lasted for a total period of over one thousand years, the longest-lived republic in history.

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LIṄGA. The word is of Austric origin, meaning a digging stick or primitive plough. Since both the plough and the phallus prepare the way for 'insemination', the term liṅga is also applied to the phallus, and to the regenerative religious symbol, particularly the phallic emblem of the god Śiva. The earliest evidence of liṅga worship is found in the Indus Valley, and it also seems to have been current among the intrusive Magas and Vrātyas. A prominent feature of the primitive fertility cults was the worship of a phallus-shaped object of stone, representing the *śiśna* or penis. The immigrant Aryans referred with contempt to the *śiśna-devatā*, 'penis-god' worshippers they found in India, and for long prohibited all contact with them. The *Ṛig-veda* says, 'Let those whose deity is the phallus not penetrate our sanctuary'. Much as it was abhorred by the early Aryans, we find the adoration of the liṅga an established mode of Aryan worship by the Epic period.

Liṅga worship today takes many forms. The liṅga image may be of stone, metal, earth or wood. Sometimes a *kshaṇika-liṅga*, 'temporary liṅga' for ephemeral use, made of cowdung, butter, sandalwood-paste, grass, flour and jaggery, is set up on an altar and worshipped. Small elliptical stones with a natural polish resulting from the action of river water, called *bāṇa-liṅga*, 'arrow-liṅgas' (*see* minerals) are the Śaivite counterparts of the Vaishṇavite *śālagrāmas*. Those picked up from the bed of the Narmadā river are highly prized. Bāṇa-liṅgas are objects of reverence with a special sect of Śaivites known as Liṅgāyats*.

Natural-size liṅgas, with symbolical devices carved on them are used in religious sex-rites, in which both men and women participate. The devotees

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form a circle around a large clay *mukha-liṅga*, 'faced liṅga', in some cases having four or more faces or sides so as to facilitate adoration by all those forming the circle. The rites include perverse sexuality, the smaller liṅgas being used in place of the male member by the participants.

The living liṅga is worshipped in several left-hand cults. In some cases the member of the guru is kissed and adored by his followers. Similarly the phallus of naked sādhus is an object of reverence, and women desirous of bearing children render osculatory homage to the organs of the holy ones to make them fertile. Goldberg speaks of the priests of Kanara who at certain times went down the streets completely nude ringing bells, so that women could perform the sacred duty of kissing the organ (I, p. 63).

In Buddhist tantrism, the *vajra* or thunderbolt is a symbol of the erect phallus, and the 'way of the vajra' is a special ritual in esoteric sexuality. As such it is associated with the lotus, which represents the female yoni. The vajra in the lotus symbolizes sexual union. Another weapon* used in tantrism as a symbol for the erect phallus was the *śūla* or spear (*see* sex mysticism).

There are many legends about the origin of liṅga-worship, some of them referring to the castration of the deity. One story has it that Śiva mourning for his immolated wife Satī, was taunted by the beautiful young wife of a sage and ravished her. Her husband cursed the god to be worshipped not in his own form but in the shape of the instrument of his violence and shame. Another, that Śiva wandering disconsolate in the nude state mourning for his wife in the forest of Dāruvana, was seen by the wives of certain sages who were aroused at the sight and desired to unite with him. The sages cursed the god's liṅga to fall off. As it touched the earth it grew to immense size like a great shining column. Brahmā and Vishṇu saw it when its top had reached upwards beyond the clouds and its lower end was buried deep in the earth. They decided to investigate. Taking the form of a boar Vishṇu dived into the depths of the primeval ocean to reach the base of the column, and Brahmā taking the form of a swan flew up to reach its top. When they returned Vishṇu confessed that he could not find its foundations, while Brahmā boasted that he had reached the summit. At this moment Śiva appeared, denounced Brahmā as a liar, praised Vishṇu for his honesty, and declared that the column could not be measured because it was in fact his liṅga. At the request of Vishṇu he left part of his liṅga in its *tejas* (fire) form on the Aruṇāchala hill. Other legends state that because Śiva once inadvertently had intercourse with his spouse on ground consecrated to the sages; or because he kept the sage Bhṛigu waiting while he completed the act; or because he once performed the sexual act in the presence of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Vasishṭha, he castrated himself from shame and ordained that the organ of his lust should henceforth be worshipped.

Great reverence is paid to the liṅga. One legend relates that the youth Chaṇḍa one day saw his father contemptuously kick a liṅga image. Outraged at the sacrilege the boy took up an axe and hacked off his father's leg. Śiva was so pleased that he visited the household, embraced the lad and garlanded him. The incident of Śiva garlanding his devotee is often depicted in sculpture.

There are believed to be twelve genuine *jyotir-liṅga*, or 'effulgent phalluses'

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in India, although their location is not always consistently identified. In addition to these there are the *pañcha-bhūta-liṅga*, 'five elemental phalluses' in South India, at Kāñchipuram, Śriraṅgam (Jambukeśvaram), Aruṇāchalam (Tiruvaṇṇamalai), Kālahasti, and Chidambaram. The sacred liṅgas are sometimes named after the place where they are situated or are given separate distinctive names, often descriptive variations of the name of Śiva. Many are associated with islands and with legends of death and with cemeteries.

The most famous liṅga shrines are the following: **Achaleśvara,** 'Immoveable Lord', on Mount Ābū, once surrounded by forests; it is said that a stay in the vicinity 'yields liberation'; **Amareśvara** at Ujjain, on the banks of the Siprā river; **Amarnāth** in Kashmīr. Here a liṅga-shaped ice block has been formed in a cave by water dripping from the roof; it is believed that the ice image grows every lunar month in the bright half, and partly melts away in the dark half; **Bhīmeśvara** or Bhīma-śaṅkara at Rājamundry, 30 miles from Poona, at the source of the river Bhīma. There is another Bhīmeśvara liṅga near Gauhati in Assam; **Chidambaram***, the site of the *ākāśa* or etheric liṅga; **Ekaliṅga,** near Udaipur, where the liṅga once appeared in ancient times through a crevice in a rock; **Gautameśa,** somewhere in South India in a now forgotten location; **Ghṛisheśa,** seven miles from Devagiri or Daulatābād; **Ghushmeśvar,** near the Ellorā caves; it is often identified with the temple of Kailāsa at Ellorā; **Gokarṇa,** 'cow's ear', the site of the *ātma-liṅga*. It was given to Rāvaṇa* who placed it on the ground to answer the call of nature whereupon it turned into a stone cow and started sinking in the earth; Rāvaṇa held on to the cow's ears and so only the ears protrude above the ground. It is also associated with a legend about Paraśurāma. Gokarṇa situated in Kanara, thirty miles south of Goa, is also called Mahābaleśvar, not to be confused with the summer resort near Bombay; **Jambukeśvara,** near Śrīraṅgam, is the *āpas* or water liṅga; **Kailāsa** on Lake Mānasarovara in the Himālayas; **Kālahasti** or Śrīkālahasti, so called because a black (*kāla*) elephant (*hasti*) used to worship Śiva at this spot; it is situated in Madrās state and is the *vāyu* or wind liṅga; **Kāñchipuram***, the site of the *pṛithivī* or earth liṅga; **Kedāreśa,** a shapeless formation of stone in Kedārnāth (a name of Śiva) in the Himālayas; it was here that Śaṅkara is said to have died. Beneath this liṅga lie Śiva's testicles; **Mahākāleśvara,** also known as Mahākāla, at Ujjain; this liṅga image was taken to Delhi and broken up during the reign of Iltutmish in AD 1231; **Mallikārjuna** on Mount Śrīśaila in Karnul, near the Kistna river; **Nāganaṭeśa** or Nāganātha at Audhagran near Hyderābād; **Nāgeśvara,** near Dvārakā in Saurāshṭra; there is another Nāgeśvara near Almora; **Oṁkāra** or Oṁkareśvara, on an island on the Narmadā river in Madhya Pradesh; **Rāmeśvaram*** on the island of this name between India and Ceylon; **Somnāth***, destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazni; **Suchīndram,** eight miles north-west of Cape Comorin; sacred to Śiva who coming as far as this place to marry the goddess Kanyākumārī was prevented by daybreak (Śiva travels only at night) and was obliged to stay here in the form of a *mahā-liṅga* or *svayaṁbhu-liṅga*; the goddess still remains a virgin and the large quantities of food prepared for the marriage have turned into coloured sand and pebbles; **Tārakeśvara** in west Bengal; **Tiruvaṇṇamalai,** the

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site of the *tejas* or fire liṅga; this place, also known as Aruṇāchalam was the site of the *āśrama* or hermitage of the Hindu saint Śrī Rāmaṇa Mahāṛishi (b. 1879); **Tiruvarur** in Tanjore, sometimes identified with the shrine of Vālmīkeśvara in the same place; **Tryambaka,** Tryambakeśvara or Tryaksha, 'three-eyed', on the banks of the Godāverī*, near Nāsik; **Vaidyanātha,** at Deogaṛh in Bengal, is still an important centre of pilgrimage; there is another Vaidyanātha at Parli near Paiṭhān in Hyderabad; **Vāmeśvara;** among others, two places in South India and one in Bengal claim the honour of this liṅga; **Viśveśvara,** also called Viśvanātha or Biśveśvara, at Banāras; the site of a temple which was periodically destroyed by Muslim invaders and again rebuilt by the Hindus.

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(*See also under* Sex Mysticism.)

LIṄGĀYAT, the name of a Śaivite sect, also known as the *Vīraśaiva*. According to their belief there is only one Being, the non-dualistic Brahmā who is called Śiva-tattva. In his pre-creative aspect he is characterized by *sthala*, 'place', i.e. existence, potential with all forms, all powers, all souls. By the activation of his inherent energy (*śakti*) this Being becomes two, namely, (1) *Liṅga-sthala* or the manifest Śiva who is worshipped and (2) *Aṅga-sthala*, the individual soul who is the worshipper or adorer.

Śiva is believed to have five faces or forms. In the ceremony of choosing a guru by the novitiate of the sect, four metal vessels full of water are placed at the four cardinal points and one in the middle; these represent the five faces of Śiva, as well as the āchāryas or teachers who are supposed to have sprung from them and established the five (*pañchama*) priestly lines of Liṅgāyats. In the beginning the Liṅgāyats retained many brāhminical forms of worship and the early followers were known as the *Ārādhya*, 'devoted' sect, who became prominent in the ninth century, but soon declined and lost influence. In the twelfth century a reform movement was organized with the object of restoring the popularity of the Liṅgāyats.

The founder of the new movement was **Basava** (?1125–1170?) also known as Vasava or Vṛishabha, a brāhmin of South India, who as a youth refused to undergo the *upanayana* (sacred thread) ceremony, and later protested against the Ārādhya brāhminical ritual of liṅgāyatism. He became the Prime Minister of the Kalachuri king who ruled at Kalyāṇa, and gave his beautiful sister to the king for a mistress. When, as he expected, the ruler succumbed to her charms, he took over control of the state into his own hands. With the help of his nephew Channabasava, Basava embarked on a vigorous crusade against Vaishṇavas, Jains and Buddhists, and spent the public funds on reviving Śaivism and on the Liṅgāyat priests, till he was finally accused of embezzlement by the king. He arranged the king's assassination and then fled from the country. Besieged by the king's son in his hideout Basava threw himself into a well and was killed. Many myths have grown up around his

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name and many miracles are attributed to him. His followers believe him to be an incarnation of Nandi the bull of Śiva.

The teachings of the Liṅgāyats are embodied in thousands of *vāchana*, short lyrical exhortations, ecstatic verses and devotional hymns, written by over two hundred writers. They used the expressive colloquial idiom of the people shorn of all Sanskritic pedantry, and propagated doctrines extraordinarily liberal for the time, several of which may have been borrowed from the Muhammadans. Dr Tara Chand says, 'It is difficult to resist the inference that Liṅgāyatism was the result of the influence which Muslims exercised in these parts of India'.

After their initiation Liṅgāyats are taught the significance of the three kinds of liṅga: the *bhāva-liṅga* or transcendent liṅga of Śiva-tattva, not conditioned by space or time; the *prāṇa-liṅga* or the liṅga that can be apprehended by the mind, e.g. the personal deity; and the *iṣhṭa-liṅga* which can be seen by the eye, so called because it fulfils all desire (*iṣhṭa*) and is therefore to be worshipped. The initiate is presented, as a symbol of the faith and as a replica of his soul, with a small silver box containing a stone phallus (liṅga), 'the loss of which is equivalent to spiritual death', which he wears around his neck. Girls are similarly initiated and also wear the liṅga amulet. A smooth stone or pebble, the *bāṇaliṅga*, is often worn as a talisman.

The Liṅgāyats advocate the abolition of all caste distinctions, deny brāhmin claims to pre-eminence and reject most of the brāhminical rites and forms of worship. Even outcastes may become members of the Liṅgāyat community.

The Liṅgāyat priest, called the *jaṅgama*, is held in deep veneration, and exercises a great influence on the sect. The highest class of jaṅgamas are celibates and recluses, others are permitted to marry. Women have equal status with the men, and are not regarded as polluted or untouchable during the days of monthly sickness. Widow marriage is allowed among them, and child marriage is condemned.

Liṅgāyats are strict vegetarians, abjure the use of liquor, tobacco and drugs, and frown on sorcery and magic. They bury instead of burning their dead. Every Liṅgāyat is connected with a monastery.

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LITERARY FORMS. Very early in the history of Sanskrit writing, standardized forms were developed which became the pattern not only in Sanskrit but in the vernaculars as well.

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The final redaction of a sacred work was known as a *saṁhitā*, 'put together', and represented the efforts of several generations of poets, compilers and schools of thought. The composed texts were handed down with their variant readings and finally arranged in a compilation called the saṁhitā. Such for instance are the saṁhitās of the Vedas, although in the Vedic context the saṁhitā refers particularly to the *mantra* part of the Vedas containing the hymns. The term saṁhitā has an extended connotation in later literature; thus, it is applied to the Vaishṇava texts and scriptures, just as *āgama* is applied to the Śaiva texts and the term *tantra* to the Śākta texts.

The term *kāṇḍa* is loosely used for various divisions of lesser or greater works having the same theme or concerned with the same episode e.g. the seven kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vedic literature is broadly classified into *karma-kāṇḍa*, i.e. those portions dealing with actions or rituals, and *jñāna-kāṇḍa*, all those dealing with knowledge, notably certain parts of the Upanishads. No specific work actually falls into these divisions but the term is loosely used as indicated. Many other descriptive prefixes, suffixes and epithets are applied to the ancient texts, such as *vṛiddha*, 'old', *bṛihat*, 'great', *laghu*, 'small', and so forth.

The divisions of a major work are often conventionally named as follows. The *maṇḍala*, 'circle', is the largest division. Thus the *Ṛig-veda* consists of ten maṇḍalas or books. The *parva* or episode is determined by a natural break in the narrative or ritual; thus the *Mahābhārata* is made up of eighteen *parvas* or sections. The *aṅga* or limb is also often called a *khaṇḍa* (or *skandha*, in the Purāṇas) and is a major section of a book. A work is sometimes named according to the number of khaṇḍas it contains e.g. it is called a *saptaka* (septet) if it has seven sections, or an *ashṭaka* (octet) if it has eight sections. So we have the ashṭakas that comprise the *Ṛig-veda*.

A khaṇḍa is further subdivided into *adhyāya* or *praśna*, i.e. chapters. These are broken up into *anuvāka* (*adhikaraṇa* or *prapāṭhaka*), lesser segments. Still smaller segments are called *vallī*, 'creeper' e.g. the sections of the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, and *kāṇḍikā* or pieces. About fifty words form a kāṇḍikā. These again are divided into *varga* or classes, the latter into *ṛich* (or ṛicha) i.e. verses; the verses into *pada* or words (not to be confused with the pāda of prosody), and words into *akshara*, 'imperishable' syllables.

Many important works in Sanskrit are written in what is called the 'sūtra style'. The *sūtra*, 'thread', is the name by which the last of the Vedic* literary periods lasting from 500 to 100 BC is known. The term however is specifically applied to a mode of writing dating from about AD 200. Most of the *smṛiti* literature is written in this style, and the period is often called the sūtra period of Sanskrit literature. Sūtra refers to the pithy, concise, aphoristic, mnemonic style of writing, and frequently consists of little more than a few suggestive words. It avoids repetition of varying shades of meaning, and is packed with significance. This verbal economy is carried so far that it is generally unintelligible without a commentary. The sūtra was adopted in all philosophical systems, as well as in works on law, domestic rites, grammar and metre, all of which had great authority. Many later manuals of instruction and formulated precepts, especially on the crafts, were also written in the

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sūtra style. The great Mahāyāna treatises (*see* Buddhist scriptures) are also given the name of Sūtra, although these are written in a much more excursive style.

Many ancient texts, especially those on philosophy, grammar and law, have been the subject of the *bhāshya* or commentary, some of which have themselves become authoritative, such as Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (Great Commentary) on the grammar of Pāṇini. In a smaller way the *kārikā* was a verse or text explaining a difficult rule in grammar, elaborating a philosophical doctrine, or elucidating an obscure rite. The *paddhati* or guide consists of verses giving an account of or annotating various texts such as sūtra works. The *pariśishṭa* is a supplement or appendix, applied specifically to a post-sūtra work which gives additional and rather superficial information on theological and ritualistic matters of Vedic interest.

Laudatory writings are prominent in Sanskrit literature. To this class belong the *stotra*, hymns or liturgical poems in praise of the deities, and prayers addressed to them. It was only the bards of Vedic times who had the art of composing great religious eulogiums. The later stotras, little more than sectarian hymns of praise addressed to the object of one's particular worship, were with few exceptions tedious panegyrics without literary merit. Traditionally, most orthodox Sanskrit writers, especially of medieval times began their treatises with a *maṅgala*, 'auspicious', consisting of a short preamble, paying homage and dedicating the work to the patron deity.

Poems of praise are also addressed to kings and even to localities. The *praśasti*, a dedicatory and laudatory poem inspired by feelings of loyalty, glorifies the king or patron by allusion, analogy and comparison, attributing to the royal benefactor almost divine qualities. The praśasti are often quite long and written in the kāvya style. They are commonly found in edicts and epigraphs*. The *māhātmya* are verses which celebrate the virtues of particular tīrthas or places of pilgrimage*, interspersed with incidents in the lives of the deities associated with the site.

The epic, dramatic and ballad types of writing had separate categories of their own. There was also a vast literature in narrative form. Of the latter the *kathā** or tale in verse or prose, is generally held to have its genesis in the Prākṛit folk tale, and often encloses one story within another. Conventionally its chapters are called *lambha*. Examples are the *Bṛihatkathā** and the *Pañchatantra*. The *ākhyāyikā* is a short fictional story or novelette whose plot rests on tradition or history. It is frequently related by the hero himself and is as a rule in verse of a standard type. Its chapters are called *uchchhvāsa*. Such is the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa*. Pāṇini makes a distinction between the ākhyāyikā, i.e. the short work of fiction, and the *ākhyāna*, which is a historical story, a distinction which cannot be maintained in most stories of this kind. The kāvya* or courtly epic is a euphuistic composition, written in verse and prose. Most of the classical Sanskrit masterpieces are written in the kāvya style.

A special class of Sanskrit writings by Buddhist poets, known as *avadāna*, is devoted to commending the performance of some noble or religious act, such as the sacrifice of one's wealth, or even life, for the founding of a charit-

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able Buddhist institution. The stories are designed to show that evil deeds bear evil fruit, and virtuous deeds bear good fruit. The *Jātaka** may be called a form of avadāna, with the Bodhisattva as the hero of the tale. Further examples of this form are found in the *Avadāna-śataka* (AD 100–300), the oldest of the collections, and the *Divyāvadāna* (AD 150) a Hīnayāna work.

The term *gadya*, 'spoken', as opposed to *padya*, 'verse', is generally used for prose works, specifically prose romances, although other prose works like histories are sometimes included under this heading. Although not metrical like poetry, the finest gadyas have a splendid rhythm with grand cadences, and have been described as 'kāvyas in prose'. The theory of their derivation from the Greek does not find much support among scholars. Examples of gadyas are the *Daśa-kumāra-charita* by Daṇḍin, the *Vāsavadattā* by Subandhu, and the *Kādambarī* by Bāṇa.

The *champū* is a composition in mixed prose and verse. This form is seen in the Brāhmaṇas, and is also found in early Sanskrit fables and romances. It is sometimes defined as a mainly poetical composition, with prose passages linking the parts, but the champū does not follow any fixed pattern. The most important champū texts are all dated after the tenth century AD. The style was widely used in South India, among the Vaishṇavas of Bengal, and in the writings of the Jains.

Other literary forms, all with some historical content, were the *śāsana*, ordinances, edicts and deeds of donations, many of which have epigraphic* interest; the *vaṁśa* or genealogical records, some of them forming the basis of *itihāsa* and history proper, e.g. the *Harivaṁśa*; the *prabandha*, a poetical tale of monks and laymen of historical times, with a commentary on morals; the *charita*, a biography of a ruler or saint, such as: the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa; the *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita* by Bilhaṇa* (d. 1130) on the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI; the *Navasāhasāṅka-charita* by Padma-gupta (1000 AD) on the Paramāra king Muñja; the *Rāmacharita* by Sandhyākara-nanda (1150) on the Pāla king Rāmapāla; the *Bhoja-prabandha* by Ballāla on the Paramāra king Bhoja; the *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpati; the *Kumārapāla-charita* by Hemachandra on the Chālukya king; the *Hammīra-kāvya* by Nayachandra on the king of the Chāhamānas; and the *Pṛithvirāja-charita* by Chand Bardai.

The *śataka*, 'century', is a collection of approximately one hundred stanzas, usually unconnected, although the whole century is linked by a common theme, e.g. the śatakas of Amaru* and Bhartṛihari*. The *muktaka*, 'freed', is a short *śloka* or stanza whose meaning is complete in itself. It is sometimes used for an independent stanza with a theme of love, parting, etc., but more frequently employed for the verse at the end of a story that sums up the 'moral' of the tale. The *bhanitā* or personal address, used by authors in the medieval period of Sanskrit and the vernacular literatures, was acquired from the Persian custom where poets attached their name to the work in a verse or couplet, generally the concluding couplet or line of a poem. In longer poems this signature verse occurred in every section and took such a form as, 'Listen brother, listen to the legend, Dādū tells about the end of evil'.

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Books

See under Literature and Sanskrit.

LITERATURE. The literature of the Indian languages is of vast extent, and has a history going back to a very remote past. Indeed, it is sometimes said to begin with the epigraphic* inscriptions of the Indus Valley (*c.* 2000 BC), but since these have not yet been deciphered it would be premature to make any claims for them.

The Vedas*, composed in an earlier form of Sanskrit called Vedic*, and orally handed down through countless generations, constitute in fact the oldest literature in India, dating from about 1000 BC. The Vedāṅgas, sometimes classed as inspired scriptures*, embodied certain post-Vedic studies such as phonetics, metre, etymology and grammar, while the six orthodox systems of philosophy* codified the ancient metaphysical concepts in doctrinal form. Since by this time, i.e. the third or second century BC, divergent *śākhās** or schools of interpretation were already beginning to undermine the integrity of the oral Vedic tradition, it became necessary to formulate the methods of memorizing (*see* reciting) and standardizing the sacred texts.

Sanskrit* proper, which is a late variant of Vedic begins to be dated from the same period. Four stages in the development of Sanskrit writing are distinguished. The first is known as Pāṇinean Sanskrit, after Pāṇini* who first formulated the rules governing its usage. The second is the period of Epic Sanskrit, the language of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, whose stories were probably based on an ancient vernacular bardic* tradition. The legends of the Epics and the Vedic texts were further elaborated in the medieval Purāṇas*.

The third stage is that of Classical Sanskrit, in which an immense body of amorphous writings was produced; these are best studied along the lines of the various literary forms* employed. Thus the *kathā** or story form, which had its origins in the Buddhist *Jātakas**, reached its culmination in the *Pañchatantra*, and saw its finest synthesis in the megatome of Somadeva*. The history of Sanskrit drama* bears such notable names as Aśvaghosha*, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. The kāvya* or long narrative poem produced its masterpieces in the works of Bhāravi, Bhartṛihari, Māgha and several others. Exponents of lesser forms of poetry were poets like Mayūra and Jayadeva, although the latter stands in a class by himself. Good prose writers are scarce in Sanskrit, the greatest being Bāṇa and Subandhu*, and the great Jain polyhistor Hemachandra*. History* is yet more poorly represented, the only two historians worthy of mention being Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa*.

The fourth and last period of Sanskrit writings, termed Medieval Sanskrit, includes works written in the jargon of monasteries, and the 'dog Sanskrit' in which the craftsmen's handbooks were couched (*see* skills).

Parallel with Sanskrit writings were works written in the various Prākṛit* vernaculars from which the modern Indian languages* evolved, as well as in the Dravidian tongues of south India. This regional development is discussed separately under Assamese, Bengali, Gujarāti, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayālam, Marāṭhi, Oṛiya, Tamil and Telugu literature.

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(*See also under* Language, Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Vedism.)

LIVELIHOOD, or the means by which one earned one's living and supported oneself was known as *jīvikā*, and was an important concept of ancient and medieval social philosophy. All professions and occupations were not freely open to all, for social as well as religious reasons. Primarily, considerations of caste* regulated the choice of livelihood. In general, the brāhmin's function was to teach, the kshattriya's to fight, the vaiśya's to trade, and the śūdra's to do manual labour; and although certain types of work overlapped, these broad distinctions remained.

The main duties of the brāhmin included performing the temple rites and religious services for the community, presiding over the sacrifices, teaching the Vedas and giving moral instruction. They were guides at holy places, kept family and community records and interpreted the legal texts. A number of them served as cooks and domestic servants, in certain cases even for lower castes (e.g. for kshattriya or śūdra rulers), but the masters had to undertake never to touch the cooking vessels of their brāhmin cooks. Some were dancing masters to the *devadāsīs* in temples, although the calling of dancer and musician was anathema to them. Curiously, the brāhmin's association with the 'care' and exploitation of women is age-long. S. C. Sarkar states that when Kṛishṇa's harem of 16,000 women was captured by a wandering tribe, they were reduced to prostitution, 'in which profession they were confirmed and instructed by Dalbhya-Chaikitaneya, a brāhmin. Brāhmins were in fact chiefly instrumental in fostering and sanctioning the profession'. The legend of Dīrghatamas shows that he himself lived for a time on the immoral earnings of his wife.

Trade was normally prohibited to a brāhmin. The *Ṛig-veda* refers disparagingly to the brāhmin Dīrghaśravas as 'the merchant'. He was the son of the above Dīrghatamas, and during a famine he took to trade in order to make a living. Brāhmins were precluded from certain other occupations as well, but it has been pointed out that in practice they disdained no calling that brought them profit, justifying it on the ground that the whole bounty of the earth was the brāhmin's by divine right. The brāhmin Dharmavyādha, learned in the Vedas and versed in sacred lore, was a seller of the flesh of swine and buffalo. The *Mahābhārata* explains this by saying that he had been a brāhmin in an earlier birth but wounded another man of his caste while out hunting, and was cursed to be reincarnated in the family of a butcher. He himself did not eat the flesh of the animals he slaughtered, but merely followed the hereditary profession as a virtuous butcher. Another brāhmin, advised by a wise brāhmin woman, came to seek knowledge of dharma from him and even accepted water from his hands.

The kshattriya's permissible vocations were those of a ruler, warrior, and

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teacher of the knightly arts. The vaiśya's, those of the trader, money-lender, shopkeeper, money-changer. The śūdra's was that of the agriculturist and artisan. The pañchamas were hunters, fishers, scavengers, sweepers. From the śūdra and pañchama classes came the 'degraded' professions of dancers and actors. The latter have always had an unsavoury reputation, the male actor (*naṭa*) being regarded as little better than a procurer, the female (*naṭī*) destitute of chastity and virtually a whore. The actor was given the unflattering title of *jāyājīva*, 'wife-living', or the man who lives on his wife's earnings, and the actress was regarded as belonging to everyone, 'like a vowel, which goes with any consonant'.

A second classification of professions was grounded on considerations of morality. This was largely a Buddhist elaboration of the Right Livelihood of Buddhism's* Eightfold Path. Right livelihood was determined by the degree of freedom from spiritual contamination involved in the occupation. Jīvikā was thus classified into three groups: white, blemished and black.

The white occupations included teaching, performing religious duties, ascetic begging, healing (a debased livelihood according to Hindus since it involved contact with the sick), cooking, serving, etc., constructive work such as masonry, carpentry, and metal work. The blemished included trade, industry, and all money-making occupations such as money-lending; astrology and divination (in some lists these predictive arts are placed in the black category), painting (it is very easy for this to fall into the black category), singing, and music. The black occupations were based on false or illusory notions, those that harmed others, those that were plainly selfish, sensual or demoralizing, and those whose end was only to amuse and entertain. Such were dancing, acting, public entertaining; writing bad books; manufacturing and selling spirituous liquor and drugs; butchering and selling meat; engaging in engineering works, civil and mechanical, on a large scale, like building dams, since these interfered with nature; supervising labour in mines, government offices and factories (I, p. 130).

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(*See also under* Sociology.)

LOGIC. Hindu logic impinges upon areas of Hindu metaphysics, psychology and epistemology, and the several terms used for logic overlap these spheres of study. Among the terms generally used for the subject are *nyāya**, named after one of the six orthodox systems of philosophy that specialized in logical method; *ānvīkshikī*, the science of enquiry into a subject; *tarka* or debating; *anumāna* or inference; *hetu* or reasoning.

Anumāna, 'inference', or deduction is the process by which knowledge is augmented, after perception or verbal testimony, by means of the reasoning faculty. The term covers discussion (*vāda*) and the processes of discussion, taking into account the reasoned, logical progress by which the 'end in view' is reached. It may also be applied to the more scholastic form of

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mediate inference such as is found in the syllogism*, consisting of the orderly presentation of a statement by a series of given steps from given premises to a desired conclusion.

An important branch of logical study relates to the *hetvābhāsa* or fallacy, which diagnoses the 'blemishes of reasoning'. The nature of the fallacy must be clearly understood in all its strength and weakness. It is not only meant to be guarded against, but may be a useful weapon against a 'slumbering opponent'. Several types of fallacious reasoning are defined, mostly by exponents of the Nyāya school. The Nyāya system of fallacies has served Indian philosophers for ages as a convenient dialectical storehouse, 'saving us', in the words of a writer, 'from the need of going to the ocean every time we want to wash our hands'.

Among the fallacies listed are those belonging to the laws of reasoning which betray the defective syllogism, but there are others, the fallacies 'extra dictione' and those rooted in the lack of knowledge* and the wilfulness of the opponent, which are the particular province of *hetvābhāsa*. Fallacies therefore involve a study not only of the formal laws of thought but also of the character and intention of the opponent, in order to gain an insight into the kinds of arguments he is likely to use.

Thus the bewildered person with hazy notions about his subject is likely to produce an argument characterized by *bhrama*, 'confusion'; the fool will be guilty of *kūṭatā* or falsehood resulting from ignorance; the pretentious but empty-headed scholar will have *mithyā*, or 'feigned' learning; and the clever debator who finds himself in a tight corner may resort to *vañchana* or falsehood, deliberate bluff or deceit. It is to be remembered that anger (*rasha*), sarcasm and mockery (*avakshepa*), and abuse (*pārushya*) can be dealt with but should never be resorted to; and one must learn fully the value of keeping quiet, for sometimes the most telling argument is silence (*mauna*).

Arguments are also variously classified as *vitaṇḍa*, captious and critical, with no desire to establish a proposition; *jalpa*, 'prating' or idle chatter; *chhala* or deceptive quibbling. The delusions of reason include *vakra*, 'equivocation'; *nishprabha* or 'obscurity'; *nirvishaya*, 'irrelevance'; and arguments based on the *ślesha*, 'pun'; *rūpaka*, 'metaphor', or other *upachāra* i.e. figures of speech; on *jāti*, superficial 'similarity'; or *sāmānya* or vague generalities.

One must watch out for the merely disputatious types of reasoning: these include *tarka* or reasoning by 'supposing' the opposite view, revealing its absurdity (*argumentum ad absurdum*) and so refuting it; *nigraha-sthāna*, in which one tries to 'seize a place' in the opponent's argument by attacking a vulnerable point and claiming victory.

Vāda or discussion is the reasoned and tested argument properly pursued for the purpose of establishing a truth, and is one of the means of attaining knowledge*. There is always a topic or *prakaraṇa*, presented as a thesis for discussion, and the proper consummation of its implications needs what is called *dṛishṭānta*, an 'end-in-view', without which the discussion would soon get lost in the thickets of mere verbiage for want of a proper aim. The progress towards the end is marked by various stages such as doubt, conflict, objection, refutation, contradiction, counter-argument, contention, which are progressively resolved by *nirṇaya*, 'ascertainment' as the doubts are

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removed and the difficulties resolved, till the conclusion, *siddhānta*, is arrived at and truth established.

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LOKĀCHĀRYA (1130–1210) or Pillai Lokāchārya, Vaishṇava* philosopher, was the chief exponent of the Teṅgalai school of south Indian Vaishṇavism (*cf.* Vaḍagalai). Lokāchārya held that God's grace is spontaneous (*nirhetu*, 'without cause'), and should be sought not only through bhakti or active devotion, but met by *prapatti*, a passive acceptance of God's grace freely given. Bhakti should be of the *mārjāra* (cat) type, as opposed to the clinging monkey type of the school of Deśika*. Man has merely to lay down his burdens and give himself up completely to God, like a kitten held in its mother's mouth. No exertion is needed on the part of the devotee; all he requires is the spirit of complete and utter surrender. This is more in line with the Āḻvār* doctrine.

Lokāchārya is the author of several works called *Rahasya* (Secret) which were added to by his disciples and influenced a large, if licentious, following. The Teṅgalai school regards the Tamil Prabandham as canonical and is indifferent to the Sanskrit tradition. The school adopted the unique doctrine of *doshabhogya*, 'sin-enjoyment', which holds that God enjoys, indeed encourages, sin, the pleasures of the flesh and moral transgression, since these provide a larger area for the operation of divine grace, forgiveness and love.

Books

See under Vaishṇavism.

LONGEVITY is among the chief goals of Hindu occultism, for the long lived are believed to accumulate with their increasing years great spiritual powers and much hidden wisdom. Yoga disciplines with their concomitant breathing exercises, *āsanas*, *mantras*, asceticism, and other esoteric techniques (*see* physical culture) can all be aids to achieving longevity, or as the more presumptuous claim, even immortality.

Apart from those who sought to prolong life by these means, there were certain beings known to Hindu tradition as *chirajīva* (*chira-jīva*, 'long-living') who survived for lengthy periods, occupying their physical bodies for centuries or even aeons. Among birds* the secret of longevity is held by the crow which is spoken of as a *chirajīvin* (also *chiraṁjīva* or *chirañjīva*).

Several characters in Hindu mythology have been chirajīvins, chief among

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them being: **Nārada** the ṛishi, who is still said to wander through heaven and earth with his lute; **Vyāsa**, author or compiler of the *Mahābhārata*; **Hanumān** the monkey general who was given the gift of longevity as a reward for his devoted service to Rāma; **Vibhishaṇa,** who allied himself with Rāma (even though he was the brother of Rāma's enemy, Rāvaṇa), also received the gift from Rāma; **Maru,** grandson of Agnivarṇa, is still alive in a state of samādhi, waiting to repeople the earth with kshattriyas; **Paraśurāma** was granted longevity for successfully exterminating the kshattriyas; **Bali** the virtuous Daitya king who lost his kingdom to Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation received the boon of eternally occupying his body as long as there were people to do him honour; **Aśvatthāman,** son of Droṇa, and **Kṛipa,** grandson of Gotama, for their murderous night attack on the Pāṇḍava camp were condemned to long life as a curse in order that they might suffer through the centuries for their unrighteous deed.

The most enduring of all mortals is **Mārkaṇḍeya,** also called Dīrghāyus, 'long-lived', a devaṛishi, the son of Mṛikaṇḍa. His life has lasted through the *yugas*; he knows the past from the very beginning of things, 'when the world was without a foundation and there were no kings'; he knows the future to its end, 'when the world will be without a firmament and there will be no gods'. In the *Mahābhārata* he visits the exiled Pāṇḍavas in the forest to whom he explains the four great yugas of Brahmā and describes the end of the whole cycle in a great Deluge when the sinfulness of the present *Kali-yuga* will have reached its climax. He will also witness the next creation by the Divine One who is 'the Creator but is himself incarnate'. A Purāṇa is named after Mārkaṇḍeya.

Books

See under Mahābhārata and Mythology.

LOVE, particularly sexual or erotic* love, called *śṛiṅgāra*, 'horny', in Sanskrit, came in for elaborate treatment by Indian writers. It was precisely defined, and subdivided into its several progressive phases, and many of its concepts were employed in Hindu mysticism to symbolize the love of the human soul for the divine. A man may love god not only as the child loves its parent but also as the lover loves his mistress.

The *lakshaṇa* or signs of love were described in great detail, some of them with acute psychological insight, but more frequently with crude and exaggerated emphasis on the devastating effects of the divine passion. Girls, young men, women, wives, concubines, husbands, old men, lovers, all had their specific type of passion, depending on sex, age and experience. Thus, the signs of a girl in love include blushing; inability to look the lover in the face; inordinate giggling, talking loudly or irrelevantly in his presence; kissing or embracing a child when he is near; looking in his direction when he isn't watching; turning away when he looks at her; speaking inaudibly, haltingly and with downcast or averted face when talking to him; desire to be in the same place as he is; keen attention when anyone speaks of him; regarding with reverence anything received from him. Many of these symp-

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toms are applicable to the young man in love. He too is afflicted with pallor, palpitation, trembling, when near her, or when speaking or hearing of her.

Mature and experienced lovers suffer as much, but are often better able to control their emotions. But when passion grows beyond control anything may result, including insanity and suicide. These and scores of other symptoms were listed together by Vātsyāyana, and further expanded and elaborated under ten headings by later writers. These ten stages of love, or *smara-daśā* 'love-ten', are: (1) the delight that one experiences on seeing the beloved, or hearing about him or her; (2) pensiveness, and constant thoughts about the loved one; (3) growing desire for the uninterrupted presence of the loved one; (4) sleeplessness; (5) loss of appetite resulting in physical emaciation; (6) a growing indifference to the world and all its affairs; (7) complete indifference to the opinions of others and a growing loss of the sense of shame; (8) the desperate stage of infatuation, when nothing else matters and a state of mental instability is imminent. (Where love is returned the affair proceeds as given in texts on erotics. Unreciprocated love may lead to the last two symptoms.) (9) periods of senselessness and swooning; and (10) death, either as a result of bodily and mental debility, or by suicide.

Every imaginable variety of love was treated with similar exactitude, the catalogue reaching its climax in the work of Narahari (*c.* 1720) also called Narahari Chakravartti, who in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*, gave 350 headings under which the emotion of love could be classified. This number was later reduced to twenty as follows:

1. *Pūrva-rāga*, 'first-love', the dawn of the love emotion; the desire for the presence of the other, as of a child for its mother's arms;
2. *Vatsalatā*, 'calf-love', the first shoots of a budding emotion, as of a *vatsa* or calf for another calf;
3. *Prema*, a gentle and pure love, with no element of sexual desire in it;
4. *Prīti*, fondness and joy in the other's presence; an intellectual love;
5. *Sneha*, a demonstrative affection, a feeling that begins to show itself; a tenderness towards the other;
6. *Ruchi*, love growing into a wish to please or shine before the other;
7. *Manmatha*, 'agitation', the stirrings of the deeper layers of the love instinct;
8. *Manasi-śaya*, 'mind embedded', a love that now occupies one's constant thoughts;
9. *Hārda* (*hṛid*, 'heart'), the affection that has penetrated the heart and is on the verge of physical desire;
10. *Smara*, 'remembered', complete preoccupation of mind, heart and body with the beloved;
11. *Rāga*, 'passionate' attachment, the stirrings of sexual love; also called *rama*, 'delighting in amorous dalliance'; or *praṇaya*, 'longing';
12. *Mādhurya*, 'honied' love that has reached the stage of kissing and caressing; it is immediately pre-sexual;
13. *Kandarpa*, wanton love; also called *anurāga*, 'tinctured'; or *anurakta*, 'reddened'; passionate love; desire for mutual sexual contact;
14. *Kāma*, a 'designing', craving, erotic love, eager for sexual experience;
15. *Śṛiṅgāra*, 'horny' love; the urge to effect penetration, and receive the lover's entry;

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16. *Rati*, the lust for the sexual pleasures of union;
17. *Madana*, 'rutting', a greedy, torturing desire for the other; also called *tṛishā*, 'thirst';
18. *Maithuna-jvara*, 'coition-fever'; the passionate love engendered during union;
19. *Lālasā*, 'moist-desiring'; the desire to reach culmination;
20. *Yutī*, the desire to be one, as during simultaneous orgasm.

Books

See under Erotics.

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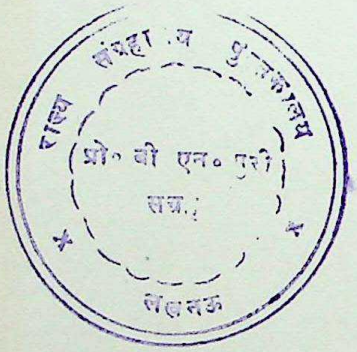

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S. Radhakrishnan

THE BRAHMA SŪTRA

The illustrious scholar-statesman Dr. Radhakrishnan to whom we already owe many standard works on religion and philosophy here gives us another classic. The spiritual tradition of India is based on the three-fold canon *prasthāna-traya*, the *Upanisads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahma Sūtra*. These texts are not only bound up with an historic past; they are a living force in the present and have a contemporary accent. Though the conditions of modern life have become different and are in some ways better, we cannot say that we are superior to the ancients in spiritual depth or moral strength. The problems which the *Brahma Sūtra* raises and attempts to solve are not dissimilar to those which engage us even today, the nature of the Supreme Reality, the status of the world, the future and destiny of the individual, the pathway to perfection.

This study of the *Brahma Sūtra* is a notable contribution to the development of solidarity in thought to which our world is committed. It is no exaggeration to say that this book in its theme and in its serene prose will prove invaluable to all those who are interested in the problems of man's spiritual quest and fulfilment. A book of the highest erudition and authority.

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'It should be studied by missionaries and others who have the high and responsible task of representing our culture in the East . . . An admirable exposition of the basis of Aryan philosophy.'

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'If what he describes in such masterly English and in such a scholarly and lucid way really be Hinduism, then there are many thousands of Friends who belong to that religion, though they call themselves Christians.'

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'This book will, I believe, remain for many years a standard and authoritative edition of the principal Upanisads and an indispensable aid to the Western Student of Indian religion; and what greater and more understanding mind could we desire to lead us through these otherwise difficult Indian scriptures than India's greatest religious philosopher, Radhakrishnan?'

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